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Sean MacStiofain, their chief of staff, made the risky visit to Londonderry on Easter Sunday to re-assert his authority over the Derry and Belfast command.

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Meanwhile, in Belfast, sections of the Catholic community are beginning to openly attack the Provisionals' terrorist policies.

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BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

'I hope the nationalist-minded women of the Six Counties will stand behind their menfolk, and the men behind the wire, the men on the run and the Republican movement.'

Speaking from a lorry at the city cemetery, he urged his followers not to hesitate. Everyone should recognize that compromise never solved anything.

Truce

'If we become hesitant, the fight of this generation is lost,' he added.

But if some of his supporters are arguing for a truce with the Tory government, it is no use MacStiofain complaining, because he himself inaugurated a 72-hour truce only a month ago as part of a 'peace-feeler'.

The confusion in the ranks at this moment also reflects on statements made a few months ago by another Provisional leader, Joe Cahill.

He said that the purpose of their military campaign was 'to bring about the downfall of Stormont, direct rule from Westminster and then a conference resulting in a final settlement of the Irish question.'

Yet now that these reactionary demands are met, Cahill changes his tune—or is forced to by the working-class Catholic communities who are demanding that all internees be released and the complete withdrawal of the British army.

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This connection with the civil rights led Tomas MacGiolla, president of the Official Sinn Fein, to make this astonishing deduction during his Easter oration in Dublin:

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Turkey: President bans politics

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The letter also revealed that Prime Minister Nihat Erim offered to resign on two occasions last week, claiming that he was responsible for Turkey's present political problems.

Sunay's letter follows the massacre at Kizildere of ten Turkish urban guerrillas and

their three NATO hostages five days ago.

Sunay's letter said Turkey's problems were organized abroad. They were not getting any better despite repeated calls from the armed forces since the military coup which toppled the government of Suleiman Demirel just over a year ago.

Students are among the regime's latest targets. The military governor of Ankara has warned teachers, students and their families that harsh measures would be taken if they step out of line.

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killings did not cease.

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Makarios' peace feelers over arms

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He said the government had 'repeatedly made certain suggestions aimed at the general disarmament of the island by stages'.

He added that they had also accepted the UN proposal calling for a progressive reduction in the armed forces with demilitarization as the ultimate object.

He said: 'We are willing to discuss the working out of a plan for the abolition by

either side of military posts in the island.'

Greece and Turkey each have a regular army battalion on the island and Greek and Turkish Cypriots each have conscript forces of about 10,000 men.



workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● TUESDAY APRIL 4, 1972 ● No. 730 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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AROUND THE WORLD

PUPPET DEFENCES CRUMBLING

BY JOHN SPENCER

S VIETNAMESE defences around the city of Quang Tri were reported to have crumbled yesterday as the invading northern Army's tank units closed in on the provincial capital.

About 50 N Vietnamese tanks and infantry were sighted ten miles to the N of Quang Tri. Other reports said tanks were only five miles from the town.

The Saigon government's defence lines S of the demilitarized zone were knocked out in the first days of the offensive, which began five days ago with a heavy bombardment by rockets, mortars and artillery.

A S Vietnamese command spokesman in Saigon told a press briefing that 12,000 reinforcements, including Marine, Ranger and Armoured units, were being sent into Quang Tri in a desperate bid to hold the city.

The spokesman admitted, for the first time, that Saigon forces had abandoned all their bases below the demilitarized zone. This was 'a new tactic called mobilization', he said.

US helicopters were busy in Quang Tri yesterday evacuating American civilian personnel and ferry-

ing them to the relative safety of Da Nang further down the coast.

Over 8,000 S Vietnamese reinforcements were rushed to the border near Saigon yesterday after three government bases had fallen to N Vietnamese tanks and infantry. The government troops were reported falling back down Highway 22 towards the capital.

US planes were again hampered by low cloud and were unable to fly in support of the retreating government forces. 'We also have the problem of knowing where S Vietnamese units are at this stage,' an Air Force officer said.

Though they were unable to fly 'close support' missions, US planes yesterday began what was described as 'a giant bombing campaign' against southbound units from N Vietnam.

Saigon units have stopped reporting their casualties and the command was unable, or unwilling, to estimate how many men it had lost in the precipitate retreat. Saigon president Nguyen Van Thieu left for the Da Nang base yesterday to oversee the retreat, after excusing himself from a session of the puppet parliament.

American ambassador Ellsworth Bunker rushed back to the S Vietnamese capital, cutting short a holiday in Nepal, after receiving news of the invasion.

US advisers with the Saigon forces are openly sceptical about their puppets' chances of stemming the advance. At best, one said, the S Vietnamese performance could be described as 'inconclusive'.

The N Vietnamese have opened up two other fronts: near Tay Ninh, 70 miles from Saigon and in the Central Highlands, threatening the city of Pleiku. Their offensive is proving far more effective and advancing much more rapidly than the Saigon government and its US advisers had expected.

The US command said yesterday its artillery and air power in the northern provinces of S Vietnam is being used in 'additional precautionary operations' to protect the withdrawal of American troops. For 'operational security reasons' the spokesman could not elaborate on this statement.

However, it would appear to indicate that the US command is reluctant to become embroiled in the costly military disaster which now faces the Saigon forces.

The N Vietnamese offensive is showing the complete bankruptcy of Nixon's 'Vietnamization' policy, aimed at replacing the US soldiers with Vietnamese.

It proves what the N has always maintained: that without US aid and particularly air support, the Saigon regime is powerless to withstand the combined blows of the NLF and the N Vietnamese army.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

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'.

DARTFORD: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m. Sogat House, Essex Rd. 'The Right to Work'.

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

SHEFFIELD: Thursday April 6, 7.30 p.m. New White Lion, The Wicker, Sheffield. 'Engineers' pay claim and the Industrial Relations Act: Halt the retreat'.

NOTTINGHAM: Thursday April 6, 7.30 p.m. Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St. Report - back from Wembley Pool.

TWIST TO CEYLON DETAINEE'S LAW?

CEYLON'S civil rights movement has protested about rumoured government legislation designed to deal with 14,000 people detained without trial since last year's uprising.

There was only the slenderest evidence against half the detainees and only 100 could be charged with treason with any hope of being convicted.

Now public clamour for their release has led Mrs Bandaranaike's three-party coalition to the point where either justice must be seen to be done or the prison camp gates thrown open.

Ceylon's civil rights movement fears the new Criminal Justice Commissions Bill may allow so-called confessions by police to be used as evidence.

Since police brutality tops the list of grievances against the regime, the validity of such 'confessions' would be open to more than a little doubt.

Afraid to release the detainees and faced with a resurgence of armed guerrilla activity in the

countryside as well as a wave of strikes in the towns the Bill will almost certainly mark a further lurch towards dictatorship.

The Ceylonese economy is in steep decline and social service cutbacks, rocketing prices and scarcities of all kinds of consumer goods have unleashed a mounting wave of popular unrest.

The coalition, which includes the Communist Party (Moscow) and the renegade Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, has met it by clamping down on elections, imposing a rigid press censorship, banning strikes in 'essential sectors', putting constraints on trade unions and opening wide the door to arbitrary arrests, harassment and brutality by the police.

CP LEAKS FIVE QUESTIONS

THE French Communist Party has published details of the questions which will be put to voters in the Common Market referendum due to be held on April 23.

Their paper 'L'Humanité' apparently obtained copies of the referendum paper from the government printing office.

President Pompidou will ask voters to approve five policy points:

1. The Common agricultural policy should be maintained in all its principles: i.e. it should continue with its tariff walls intact, despite the objections of Britain, Germany and the US.

2. The European economic and monetary union of the Ten should find a common policy and speak with a single voice at international economic and monetary gatherings.

3. Political co-operation within the community should be

pursued with a view to giving Europe a larger role in world affairs.

4. The Ten should develop towards a confederation, though with the 'individual personality' of the constituent powers preserved.

5. France is ready to play the role in such a Europe 'for which her geographic position, her past, the labour of her people, the prestige of her culture, has destined her'.

It is abundantly clear from this document that the electorate is being asked to endorse trade-war policies of the French monopolies in the Common Market against US and Japanese capitalism.

The Communist Party has called for a 'No' vote, while the other main working-class organization, the Socialist Party, favours abstention in the referendum.

WHAT WE THINK

A REWARD FOR TREACHERY

THE LABOUR bureaucrats are always quick to reward their friends and expel their enemies. When the Young Socialists attempted to resist the betrayals of Wilson in 1964 and fight for a new socialist leadership in the Labour Party, they were bureaucratically expelled, their federations wound up and their press proscribed.

Even in the League of Youth in the 1950s the LP leaders fought tooth and nail to stifle the enthusiasm of youth and prevent youth representation on the NEC. The Labour leaders were afraid of youth because the post-war generation was very much under the influence of the Trotskyist movement.

Once the peril of Trotskyism had been bureaucratically, but provisionally, 'solved' the Labour leaders gave a great sigh of political relief and began to look round for a new type of Labour youth, a youth with all bark and no bite whose loyalty to social democracy was unquestioned and whose hatred and fear of Trotskyism was equal to its bureaucratic leaders.

The NEC did not have to look far—although they did have to stoop some—to find the kind of political animal called the 'Militant' group which answered to every requirement of the Labour traitors.

This group of 'running dogs' for social democracy has left its masters in no doubt about its loyalty to the reactionary, witch-hunting, Trotsky-baiting policy of Transport House.

In the campaign to prevent the Right-to-Work march from Glasgow to London this group unhesitatingly formed a united front with the Tories and the right-wing Labourites to try and deprive YS marchers from getting accommodation in many provincial towns.

Leading this campaign in the NE coast and in Carlisle—the only town to keep the YS marchers out—was a certain Peter Doyle, NE representative on LPYS National Committee. Not satisfied with witch-hunting the YS, this reformist even tried to organize a diversionary LPYS march from Sunderland to Jarrow on the day that the YS marchers reached Sunderland.

And who should be addressing this gathering of smug, well-dressed, middle-class reformists? Why none other than Doyle's political comrade in arms and one-time publicity man for the Greek junta—Gordon Bagier, Labour MP for Sunderland S.

That, however, is not the end of this sordid story. It is not enough to witch-hunt Trotskyists and maintain an equivocal attitude to the extreme right-wing today. Love Wilson, Love Jenkins is the motto of the Labour Party now.

So when the demand was made for the expulsion of Roy Jenkins at the LPYS conference, the 'Militant' witch-hunters of the left predictably became the foremost defenders and apologists for the right. Said Jenkins' attorney in the LPYS—McMillan from Croydon: 'Ludicrous. The question is not of expelling the 69 Jenkinsites because you could only replace them with another 69 Wilsonites.'

Apart from Jenkins, Wilson, the 69 MPs and the 'Militant' group, there is nobody who would subscribe to this fraudulent evasion of responsibility. This argument—if you can call it that—only reveals how these fake lefts use militant phrases to cover up the most blatant prostration before the right wing.

Having set out to discredit the Trotskyist movement by trying to reform social democracy through the tactic of 'deep-entry', these revisionists have now become the chief apologists and willing hostages of the betrayals of social democracy and the implicit defenders of the Common Market.

We say that the struggle to expel Jenkins is inseparable from the campaign to expose Wilson and secure a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. To say that this cannot be done is to malign the working class and condemn it to eternal right-wing domination and eventually—fascism.

Is it any wonder then that Doyle has been allowed to sit on the National Executive together with his friend Wilson—and the friend of his friend—Roy Jenkins?

THE RENTS FIGHT AT CHALKHILL ESTATE

When the Tory 'Fair Rents' Bill becomes law, millions of council and private tenants will be faced with having to pay enormously increased rents each week.

There is one group of tenants, however, who have been living with the effects of such 'fair' rents for a long time.

On the Chalkhill Estate in Wembley there are today nearly 2,000 dwellings costing between £7.41 a week for a bedsitter, ranging up to £15.12 for a five-bedroomed flat or maisonette. Heating is, in most cases, extra.

It was supposed to be quite an architectural feat in its time but, as usual, the men who designed the estate neither lived in it themselves, nor consulted the people who have to do so.

The flats are stark, simple buildings in white concrete. 'Like a lot of identical egg-boxes with the sides punctured by rows of windows like TV screens,' one tenant described them.

Maisonettes line the sides of the estate in serried ranks.

There is plenty of greenery, which turns muddy in winter, on which the children are prohibited from playing ball games. Residents complain that there are not enough proper playing spaces, so the children do play on the grass, which then gets churned up, and the mud gets carried all over the paths.

Chalkhill Estate has been a centre of controversy since its conception in 1964.

As part of the reorganization of the Greater London Council, Tory Wembley was about to be merged with Labour Willesden to make up the new Borough of Brent.

With large areas of crowded slum property in its Borough, the Labour Council in Willesden saw a way of trying to solve its chronic housing problem by moving into middle-class, under-occupied Wembley.

It began to make offers to householders around Chalkhill and Barnhill Roads to sell their houses and large gardens. The property would eventually be handed over to Brent Council after its inception for the building of council homes.

Fearing a general lowering of property values if council tenants moved in, and scenting a good price to be had, several householders agreed to sell.

They were not disappointed. The Labour Council paid well. For one group of eight houses alone they paid out £84,800.

Local Tories were furious. They were not objecting to development of the area in principle, they said, but they had a responsibility to the people already living there to ensure the 'right' sort of tenants moved in. Luxury flats should be built by private developers.

'The Council has a standard of integrity which it is intended should be upheld,' one Tory councillor put it.

Labour councillors accused the Tories of wanting apartheid in housing—trying to exclude council tenants from Wembley.

Ald Reginald Fresson, later to become a Labour MP, pointed out that 30,000 people in Willesden were in urgent need of rehousing.

'The choice,' he said, 'is between selfishness and greed or the public good and urgent housing need.'

How many people were in need of rehousing in Wembley was not known. The housing list there had been closed for ten years and the Tory Council had carried out virtually no council building.

Councillor Swannell, another Labour councillor, said:

'We say these areas should be developed for the people, and not for the small section which can afford to pay £12 to £15 a week rent.'

Fine words. But the reality turned out to be somewhat

different. The people got the homes—and the £12 to £15 rents.

Labour won the first elections in the new Borough of Brent—and announced that private developers would be consulted about building luxury council flats in the area. Subsidies for these flats would be considered.

Amid demonstrations by Wembley householders objecting to council building in their area, compulsory purchase orders were applied for the remaining houses.

In March 1965 the then Labour Minister of Housing and Local Government, Richard Crossman, refused permission for a grant which would enable the Council to buy the property from a private developer, because, he said, the resulting homes would be too expensive for council tenants.

Either the rents would be too high, or local ratepayers would have to pay too high a subsidy.

It was estimated that the average family would need an income of at least £35 a week to live on the new estate.

Two months later Crossman agreed to the deal on condition that the new homes would be leased to a housing association.

By December, however, the Council had decided that even a housing association would not be able to afford all the property.

It announced that 104 of the homes would be offered to the GLC to nominate tenants from anywhere in the Greater London area, some homes would be offered to the Willesden Housing Association, and the remainder would go to families on Brent's waiting list who indicated they would be prepared to pay more than the normal council rent.

There were hundreds of desperate families on the waiting list prepared to pay almost any rents asked.

But by the time the first part of the estate was ready for occupation in 1970, the Tories had gained control of Brent.

Ignoring the waiting list altogether, they openly advertised the flats and maisonettes in the national press for anyone who wanted to apply.

Applications poured in from all over London.

People who had given up hope of ever being rehoused in their own boroughs, eagerly turned to Chalkhill hoping that, by making other sacrifices, they would be able to afford the rents.

And then the dream of a decent home began to turn into a nightmare for many families.

The recession began to bite. Unemployment and short-time working began to hit at workers all over the country. For those on Chalkhill Estate it was a disaster.

Rent arrears began to build up. The evictions began.

In January 1971 Harrow magistrates approved Brent Council's first application for a possession order.

The victims were the Gabriel family who had come to England from the W Indies only a few years previously.

DAMP

Mr and Mrs Gabriel and their five children, aged two to 15, initially had to make their home in two damp basement rooms.

The chance of a flat on the Chalkhill Estate seemed like the answer to a prayer. Although the rent was £13 11s 2d a week, they were sure they could manage if Mr Gabriel worked long hours overtime.

Then his firm stopped all overtime working. The family got behind with the rent, and the Council took them to court.

Mr Gabriel begged for cheaper accommodation. He said he would pay as much as £9 a week.

Coldly the Council refused. He had had his chance. It offered to take away not only his home, but his family as well. If he was evicted without having found anywhere else to live, the Council said it would take his children into care.

But such brutal measures did not stop the rent arrears continuing to mount. In just over a year since the first families moved in, nearly £10,000 was outstanding in unpaid rents and ten families had been evicted.

In the Borough Council elections of May 1971, Labour was returned. Chalkhill residents breathed a sigh of relief as the new Council announced an immediate 'freeze' on the five evictions in the pipeline and the further 70 under notice to quit.

It was also announced that only tenants from the 9,000-strong Brent waiting list would be rehoused there.

Chairman of the Housing Committee James Goudie said: 'Our concern for families who have been on the waiting list some time is demonstrated by our decision to look first at rehousing all residents who have been on the waiting list for over 21 years. There are many people who have been on the waiting list longer than that, some for more than 30 years.'

Just 38 homeless families were installed during the next year.

'Rent rebates were now to be available for all the dwellings, instead of only the 350 flats affected before.'

Things seemed to be looking up. Or were they?

Allan Blatt, secretary of the Chalkhill Tenants' Association, explains the reasons why the rent rebate scheme did not help.

'Our Association has never been happy about rebates,' he told me, 'because they play a very little part in helping council tenants, and then only those on the very lowest income level. In many cases both husband and wife have to go to work and that immediately cuts out the rebate. If the wife is not working you might get a rebate, but when you move into a flat costing £12 to £14 a week, a rebate of £1 to £2 doesn't help much.'

In spite of Labour's statements, the enormous rents burden continued to be too much for many families who had moved in with such high hopes.

Rent arrears are currently standing at nearly £23,000. The Tories on the Council are blaming 'lazy, shiftless tenants', and calling for more evictions.

The controlling Labour group puts the blame squarely on rising unemployment, falling wages and overtime stoppages—but it still authorized the eviction of 19 families in 1971 alone, most of them for non-payment of rent.

Apart from the evictions, Chalkhill has a higher rate of tenants moving than any other estate in London.

In the six months before November 1971, 150 families moved out—and the trend continues. Some of them, unable to pay back rents owed, just did a 'moonlight flit' and have never been heard of again.

EMPTY

It has been estimated that about 100 flats are standing empty at any one time between lettings, and the Council is handling about 25 new lettings a week.

Tenants are only too eager to explain the reasons. 'Many people find it very difficult to make ends meet,' Neville Parris told me.

Mr Parris moved into a three-bedroomed flat with his wife and three children after they had been given notice to quit by their previous landlord. He pays £12.26 a week.

'I reckon that I've paid nearly £1,000 since I came here. They must have paid for this estate several times over by now.'

Another tenant asked not to be named since he is a couple of weeks behind with the rent and fears reprisals.

'We had no choice about coming here,' he said. 'My wife and I and our two children were living in just two rooms, having to share the kitchen, bathroom



Tenants lobby parliament to protest the Tory Rent Bill

and toilet, and paying £7 a week for it. We reckoned that it was better to pay £10 for our own flat here.

'My wife works. She has to. We couldn't manage otherwise. But I know of three families who had to move out. One woman came here with her children and thought she could manage. But then, when she found she was paying £10 a week rent, plus electricity, plus HP on the furniture, she just couldn't make ends meet.'

He went on to recall the rent strike in which he had participated in 1971.

'All the flats on this floor were very damp,' he said. 'When you touched the wall you could feel it was wet. Fungus started growing on the paper. We had to have the electric fire up against the wall all day to try and dry it out.'

'When we complained, they said it was just condensation and we should open the windows.'

'Well, we took a decision at the tenants' association not to pay all the rent. We paid part and withheld the rest, paying it into the tenants' association instead, for them to hold for us.'

'There was a lot of publicity. There were programmes on TV about us and articles in the papers.'

'Eventually the Council had to give in. They sent workmen round who sprayed something over the outside walls and that seemed to stop the damp coming through.'

'Of course, the wallpaper was still stained. We asked for it to be replaced and got a letter saying they would pay a portion of the cost and we would have to pay the rest.'

'When I read it I was so disgusted I never bothered to reply and just did it myself. They charge all this rent and then when damage is caused, we are supposed to help pay to put it right.'

There are many other complaints—warped doors that won't shut properly, peeling wallpaper, smelly refuse disposal units, noise.

Young people in particular get fed up. Said 16-year-old Zena Rual: 'There's nothing to do here. You can only go into Wembley and go bowling, but that's expensive.'

There have been complaints about 'hooliganism', fights, milk bottles being broken. The Council has warned that families might be evicted if their children misbehave.

Stephen Smith (18) put his finger on the problem.

'The kids have got nothing to do round here, so they go out and cause trouble. They're just bored.'

There have been several allegations of police harassment of youth on the estate at night. So many young people have been involved that the tenants' association made a complaint to Wembley police station. They were told to go through the 'proper channels'.

The association is now collect-

ing a dossier of such allegations and intends taking legal advice.

I was told that is one of the reasons very few young people are seen hanging round the estate at night. They do not want trouble, so they either stay indoors and watch TV, or go right out of the area. The tenants' association have started a youth club, open twice a week, in the hope of giving the youth something to do.

At its January meeting, the Chalkhill Tenants' Association passed a resolution asking the Council for an immediate 25 per cent rent reduction. They have not received a reply.

Many of the tenants are very worried about the proposed Tory 'Fair Rents' legislation. Tory councillors have said that rents on the estate are so high they will not be affected and some may even be reduced.

Tenants' leaders dispute this. 'That is absolute nonsense,' says Allan Blatt. 'It is quite contrary to all the evidence we have.'

'We are pressing the councillors to give a lead and not to implement the new legislation if it becomes law. That is what they were elected for. Words are not enough. It is not for a Labour Council to carry out Tory policy.'

Mr Blatt went on: 'I am not prepared to accept this legislation as final, any more than I think the Common Market is inevitable.'

'The trade unions must play their part in this fight. You can't be a trade unionist during the day and forget about it at night. Many council tenants don't know what to do about it. The unions must organize tenants, private and council, and give them a lead.'

Asked whether he thought such a fight involved action to force the Tory government to resign, Mr Blatt agreed.

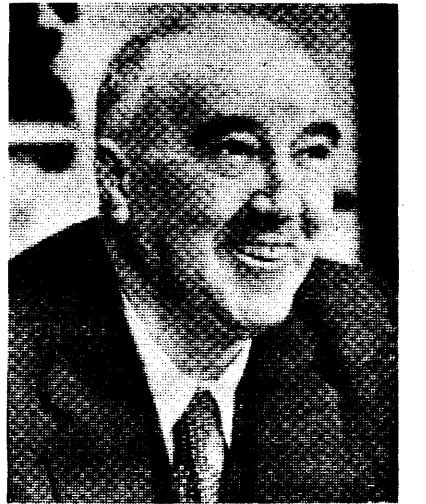
'But it's not enough to bring the government down if the next Labour government is just going to carry on with the same policies. It has to be a Labour government that is committed to defend workers' rights.'

Chalkhill Estate is a terrible warning of what is to come if the Tory 'Fair Rents' legislation is carried through.

The Labour Council in Brent, by carrying on with Tory housing policy there, has placed a huge burden of misery and worry on the shoulders of the Chalkhill tenants. Unless Labour councils are committed to refuse to implement the new legislation, it will be the same in other areas.

The trade union legislation must be forced to organize tenants, along with all other workers, in a struggle to force the Tory government to resign and to return a Labour government which will nationalize the land, the building and building supplies industries and the banks, without compensation and under workers' control.

That is the only way to carry out an immediate crash housing programme and build decent homes for working-class families at rents they can afford.



Top: Lansbury, museum piece. Above: Pollitt. Below: Stafford Cripps.



TROTSKY ON THE LABOUR PARTY

Part 2

If Soviets were formed during the war the soldiers would elect Labour Party people to them, not us. Workers would still say that we handicapped Labour. But if we gave critical support and by that means helped the Labour Party to power, at the same time telling the workers that the Labour Party would function as a capitalist government, and would direct a capitalist war—then, when war came, workers would see that we predicted rightly, at the same time that we marched with them. We would be elected to the Soviets and the Soviets would not betray.

As a general principle, a revolutionary party has the right to boycott parliament only when it has the capacity to overthrow it, that is, when it can replace parliamentary action by general strike and insurrection, by direct struggle for power.

In Britain the masses have yet no confidence in the ILP. The ILP is therefore too weak to break the parliamentary machine and must continue to use it.

As for a partial boycott, such as the ILP sought to operate, it was unreal. At this stage of British politics it would be interpreted by the working class as a certain contempt for them; this is particularly true in Britain where parliamentary traditions are still so strong.

Moreover, the London Division's policy of giving critical support only to anti-sanctionists would imply a fundamental distinction between the social-patriots like Morrison and Ponsonby or—with your permission—even Cripps.

Actually, their differences are merely propagandistic. Cripps is actually only a second-class supporter of the bourgeoisie. He has said, in

effect: 'Pay no attention to my ideas; our differences are only small'.

This is the attitude of a dilettante, not a revolutionist. A thousand times better an open enemy like Morrison.

Lansbury himself is a sincere but extravagant and irresponsible old man; he should be in a museum not parliament.

The other pacifists are more duplicit—more shifty; like Norman Angell, who demands more sanctions now, they will easily turn into social patriots as war develops. Then they could say to the workers: 'You know us. We were anti-sanctionists. Even the ILP supported our struggle. Therefore you can have confidence in us now when we say that this war is a just war'.

No, the ILP should have applied the same policy of critical support to the whole of the Labour Party, only varying our arguments to meet the slightly varied propaganda of pacifist and social-patriot. Otherwise, illusions are provoked that pacifism has more power to resist than social patriotism.

This is not true; their differences are not fundamental. Even among the Tories there are differences on sanctions and war policies. The distinction between Amery and Lansbury is simply that Amery is

more of a realist. Both are anti-sanctionist; but for the working class, Lansbury with his illusions and sincerity is more dangerous.

Most dangerous of all, however, is the Stalinist policy. The parties of the Communist International try to appeal especially to the more revolutionary workers by denouncing the League of Nations (a denunciation that is an apology) by asking for 'workers' sanctions' and then nevertheless saying: 'We must use the League when it is for sanctions'.

They seek to hitch the revolutionary workers to the shafts so that they can draw the cart of the League.

Just as the General Council in 1926 accepted the General Strike but behind the curtains concluded a deal with the clergy and pacifist radicals and in this way used bourgeois opinion and influence to 'discipline' the workers and sabotage their strike, so the Stalinists seek to discipline the workers by confining the boycott within the limits of the League of Nations.

The truth is that if the workers begin their own sanctions against Italy, their action inevitably strikes at their own capitalists, and the League would be compelled to drop all sanctions. It proposes them now just because the workers'

voices are muted in every country.

Workers' action can begin only by absolute opposition to the national bourgeoisie and its international combinations. Support of the League and support of workers' actions are fire and water; they cannot be united.

Because of this, the ILP should have more sharply differentiated itself from the CP at the elections than it did. It should have critically supported the Labour Party against Pollitt and Gallacher.

It should have been declared openly that the CP has all the deficiencies of the Labour Party without any of its advantages. It should have, above all, shown in practice what true critical support means.

By accompanying support with the sharpest and widest criticism, by patiently explaining that such support is only for the purpose of exposing the treachery of the Labour Party leadership, the ILP would have completely exposed, also, the spurious 'critical' support of the Stalinists themselves, a support which was actually wholehearted and uncritical and based on an agreement in principle with the Labour Party leadership.

This interview has been reprinted from Workers Press, June 15, 1970.

THE TWISTS AND TURNS OF SEÑOR CARRILLO

BY OUR SPANISH CORRESPONDENT

The opportunist twists of the Spanish Communist Party leadership are revealed in a report by its October-November, 1971, delegation to China and statement on US President Nixon's visit to Mao.

China's clean streets and the idyllic existence in the communes and factories are praised. The report tells of cosy chats, where no questions of principle upset the flavour of the best chowmein:

'The Chinese comrades, after listening for a week, made no judgement on our policy. Similarly, they asked us not to pass any on theirs.'

However, the talks did contain a re-evaluation of the relationship between the two parties.

At the time of the Cultural Revolution, the Spanish CP—under the leadership of secretary Santiago Carrillo—launched vitriolic attacks on the Red Guards and Mao Tse-tung.

On February 17, 1967, Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria), as Party President, sent the most servile of letters to her Moscow mentors:

'It was difficult to understand that unheard-of unleashing of nationalist and anti-communist xenophobia . . . the monstrous deformation of Marxism-Leninism which Mao's group is trying to impose.'

In March 1967, 'Mundo Obrero', the Spanish CP paper, published a description of the Cultural Revolution as 'anti-working-class, anti-Party and Bonapartist', a danger to the struggle of the Vietnamese people and an insult to the Soviet Union.

However, the worsening crisis of Stalinism and imperialism has led to a deterioration in the Carrillo-Kremlin friendship. The Spanish CP, trying to preserve its image as the Party of liberalism and democracy, had to condemn the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. It was also increasingly embarrassed by the increased exchanges between Madrid and Moscow and the capitals of E Europe.

Moscow now champions the rival Spanish CP, set up by ultra-Stalinist Enrique Lister, who is engaged in a campaign 'revealing' Santiago's crimes against democracy.

Already in September 1970 a Plenum of the Spanish CP's Central Committee decided to suspend judgements on the Cultural Revolution until the Party had some 'direct knowledge of the Revolution'.

The direct knowledge gained in Peking has led to the Spanish Stalinist's about-face.

They have now realized that Maoism is a perfected expression of Stalinism.

What then of the Cultural Revolution? Carrillo still has to explain this development which he and his Party had so bitterly attacked.

He opts for the radical-sounding theory that political revolutions within a socialist regime may be necessary to change political and social superstructures that are hangovers from capitalism.

Although his wording deliberately attempts to imitate Leon Trotsky's analysis of the need for a political revolution to remove the bureaucratic caste

which governs the degenerate workers' state, he is only serving up the crassest form of Stalinist reformism and gradualism with a few left words about 'political revolution'.

There is nothing in common between Trotsky and Carrillo.

After the defeat of the German working-class in the early 1930s Trotsky concluded that the Soviet bureaucracy was now the most conscious instrument of counter-revolution within the working-class, a parasitic caste which endangered the property relations established by the October Revolution.



This caste had to be destroyed by the construction of a Marxist leadership within capitalist states and the degenerate workers' state. For Trotsky, any talk of progressive developments within the then counter-revolutionary bureaucracy was to admit complicity in the counter revolution:

'The first condition for successes upon the international arena is the liberation of the international proletariat vanguard from the demoralizing influence of Soviet Bonapartism, i.e. from the venal bureaucracy of the so-called Comintern.'

'The struggle for the salvation of the USSR as a socialist state coincides completely with the struggle for the Fourth International.' ('The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism'. Available from New Park Publications.)

Carrillo's revised version of the Cultural Revolution reveals the reality of Mao's leadership of the Red Guard movement the siphoning of the revolutionary content of the revolt of Chinese youth against Stalinism into a safe channel, leaving intact the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and its peaceful co-existence policies.

The Spanish delegation found everywhere the old Party cadres who had not been 'axed'. They had made public confessions and had regained their confidence in them. It was a question of 'curing the illness to save the patient'.

The enthusiastic champions of the Cultural Revolution were not so fortunate: 'The bad image of the Revolution was the work of the ultra-leftist counter-revolutionaries and these excesses have been duly dealt with.'

The Carrillo concept of the self-reform of the bureaucracy, to save the ailing patient Stalinism, extends from China to the movement in Poland:



Spanish CP Secretary, Santiago Carrillo (above) once launched vitriolic attacks on Mao. Following Nixon's Peking visit, Carrillo now applauds the Chinese regime as being of 'the most reasonable kind'

' . . . what happened on the Baltic coast of Poland where there was a real workers' uprising [December 1970], which the present leaders of the Polish Unified Workers' Party recognized as just . . . some of the leaders of this uprising have now become part of the Party leadership.'

Carrillo's 'political revolution' is the movement of the 'liberal wing' of the bureaucracy which moves to the left under pressure from the masses in order to prevent the development of the real political revolution and to re-establish the more orthodox form of peaceful co-existence . . . including actions such as the breaking of the Asturian miners' strike by the Polish leaders praised here by Carrillo, and the Nixon-Mao talks.

The Spanish CP statement on the Nixon-Mao meeting shows that these talks only confirmed that the Maoist government was of the most reasonable kind: 'The proclamation of the principle of peaceful co-existence in this document [the communiqué issued on the talks] has the greatest significance, considering that a common criticism of the Chinese comrades in the ideological polemic was that they had abandoned the policy of peaceful co-existence.'

While Franco's fascist police shoot shipyard-workers in El Ferrol and the Maoist René Pierre Overney is shot by the Renault police in France, Carrillo and Mao establish relations with rapturous praise for peaceful co-existence!



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)

Form and content: the revolutionary struggle of the Bolivian proletariat, the policies of the POR and the desire to break up the International Committee

The sliding towards ideology and the putting forward of pronounced idealist positions, cannot be explained by an abrupt ideological loss of balance by the SLL leadership.

The mists of so-called Marxist 'philosophy' invade the political landscape of the SLL at a very precise moment in relation to precise political problems.

The most dangerous oscillations of the SLL leadership are in relation to the central question of the reconstruction of the Fourth International. They declare their disagreement with the decisions of the 1966 conference that they nevertheless accepted. The Fourth International does not need to be 'reconstructed': it is timeless, immobile, incarnated in the International Committee.

In other words, the SLL leadership confuses the continuity of the Fourth International, the defence of its programme, assured by the activity of the IC and its organizations, faced with the attempt to liquidate the Fourth International with the existence of political conditions, relations between Trotskyist organizations and the class, conditions of selection of an international leadership leading to the formation of a centralized international leadership.

leaders, a capitulation whose origins must be identified in order to conduct an effective battle against revisionism.

There is no need to construct the Fourth International, it is enough to build the revolutionary party in each country. This is in fact the construction of the Fourth International in each country. The correct affirmation that the fight to build revolutionary parties in each country is an international task thus winds up as a hollow formula to the extent that the international dimension, that is the concrete tasks of reconstructing the Fourth International practically no longer exists.

This is not simply an academic position. It has led the SLL leadership to first ignore and then to practically oppose all the initiatives taken towards reconstructing the Fourth International. No Trotskyist organization can be built outside of the fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International. The wrong orientation of the SLL on this, to the extent that it was carried out, could not help but have an effect on all its activities. The greater and greater place given to ideology corresponds to the more and more narrow limits of the impasse that the SLL leadership has got itself into.

From this point of view, Essen marked an important stage. The oscillations of the SLL leadership were expressed by its refusal to participate in the Essen meeting, then by the fact that it was drawn into it without mobilizing its organization. They were thus at this meeting under false pretences and the 'ideological' offensive expressed its political hostility to this step forward in the reconstruction of the Fourth International which places the SLL and all the organizations of the IC before its responsibilities.

If we do not begin from the political contradictions of the SLL leadership and from its refusal to work them out in a discussion within its ranks, we cannot understand the shocking bad faith and the criminal lightness in its approach to the problems of Bolivia and the policies of the POR. It is not a question of moral errors but of the results of an orientation which is taking the SLL in the direction of abandoning the programme of the Fourth International.

In all seriousness, the SLL leadership thus explains that the unity of the IC, leads them to reject this serious discussion, to repeat the most vulgar slanders of the enemies of



There is the same relationship between the real political developments within the IC and the affirmations of the SLL as there is between a positive and negative photograph. The terms must be reversed to find the truth.

It is the leadership of the SLL and its New York mouthpiece who seized on the problems of the Bolivian revolution not as a means of political clarification but as a pretext to present the other sections of the IC with the accomplished fact of a brutal public offensive against the POR. It is the SLL who is running away from a full discussion in the name of a public break over the question of Bolivia and which avoids at the same time any discussion on Bolivia.

But form does not go without content. The chosen pretext is at the same time a question of capital importance since it directly concerns the proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary process in Bolivia marked the highest political point reached by the upsurge of the working class on the whole Latin American continent and it was characterized by the role played by a Trotskyist party, section of the IC.

This deserves a serious discussion, a rigorous assessment of the POR policies, an assimilation of the lessons of the struggle. In this sense, it is legitimate to discuss the policies of the POR at every point. The OCI, for its part did not wait for events to happen: within the IC, between organizations which base their activity on the same programme, it conducted a discussion with the POR ('La Verite', No. 550, October 1970).

What is criminal, is that the deliberate desire of the Workers League and the SLL to use the victory of the fascist coup against the unity of the IC, leads them to repeat this serious discussion, to repeat the most vulgar slanders of the enemies of

Trotskyism and the proletarian revolution against the POR without even trying to inform themselves of the facts.

The coup d'etat took place on August 20. On August 30 while communications were cut off, Tim Wohlforth publishes an article which brands the POR as having main responsibility in the workers' movement for the fascist coup. In this article, which the SLL hastens to make official by publishing it in Workers Press and where there is not the slightest reference to solidarity in struggle against the class enemy or the least allusion to the role of American imperialism, Wohlforth goes even further: he compares the position of the POR to the LSSP of Ceylon. Here is an amalgam worthy of the Stalinists: even if Wohlforth's attack against the POR were considered to be correct, what relationship is there between the renegades of the LSSP which rules with a bourgeois government and covered up a bloody repression, and the fighters of the POR who stood with their class before the counter-revolution?

The desire to treat the Bolivian question without regard to the real positions of the POR as a 'war machine' against the unity of the IC is manifested once again in the October 24 text.

'The POR and Lora repeated the policies of Fiume in Spain in 1935-1938 and did not act in a fundamentally different manner. The relationship with Torres and the COB parallel those that the POUM held with the republican government and the CNT. The support that the OCI gives the POR reveals today the meaning of its political bloc with POUM.'

This little paragraph is full of mistruths and is a good example of amalgams. We could write pages just on this subject alone. We will simply make two remarks, the first essential point which 'reveals' the political

trickery of this pseudo-exposition: one of the characteristic traits of the POUM policies was the entry into the Catalogne government (bourgeois government). What characterized the policies of the POR was the refusal to collaborate with the Torres government, the preservation of the political independence of the proletariat.

The second remark which shows with what indifference the SLL leadership treats historical problems of the workers' movement: the CNT and COB parallel. The CNT was in the hands of a political faction. The anarchists, the POUM militants were expelled and Trotsky criticized them precisely for adapting to this situation by forming their own union organizations. The COB, university centre, included all the tendencies of the Bolivian workers' movement and the POR militants, while not being its leadership played a considerable role in it, including at the conference level. Where is the parallel?

But better yet, in his interview in 'Informations Ouvrieres' Comrade Lora explained: 'The ultra-leftists and Pabloites forget the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky; they elaborate their 'documents' with extreme simple mindedness and put Torres and Ovando-Banzer on the same level. These people refuse to understand the various shades of bourgeois nationalism in a backward country. Because they are outside of the class struggle, they do not understand that there is a difference between the bourgeois democratic methods of the Torres government and the method of the fascists: the difference that exists between going to prison legally or being liquidated with a bullet in the back of the neck. 'Revolutionary tactics must begin with this difference. It is not a question of supporting Torres but of crushing fascism



in order to impose the workers' government.'

This passage is commented on in the October 24 text in the following way: 'Revolutionary strategy does not begin with the difference between the left wing and the right wing of the army, but from the perspective of overthrowing the whole bourgeois order.'

Where Lora spoke of tactics, the editors of the October 24 text have substituted the term, strategy. Furthermore, the SLL introduces an almost absolute distinction between strategy and tactics. When it is a question of the workers' United Front (we will return to this) strategy and tactics are presented as totally separate categories which lead parallel existences in a metaphysical heaven. On the other hand when it is a question of attacking the POR, strategy and tactics become interchangeable terms.

Moreover, when we read that criticism of the POR's policies were founded on the 'necessity to build the Fourth International on the basis of principle and total honesty' it seems to be an accidental comic note in an otherwise sinister text.

But once again, we must come to the essence. The October 24 text proclaiming Wohlforth's article to be 'our declaration' has no more than that to say about the Popular Assembly.

This is however the most important question on which the OCI first took a position and gave an opinion on the programme of the POR.

Therefore this is the question which must be discussed first. But from reading the October 24 text we learn simply that the OCI talks about a 'whole process' concetized in 'something' like the Popular Assembly.

that is the organ which materialized the struggle of the Bolivian proletariat to build its own power and which opened the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Bolivia'.

Yes or no, was the Popular Front, originating in the united reply of the Bolivian masses and their organizations to the October 1970 coup d'etat, an organism of the proletariat's hegemony, from the base to the top?

Yes or no, did the Popular Assembly become, through the intervention of the POR, an organ of dual power which concretely opened the way to a workers' government? In this sense, did it or not deserve the epithet that its enemies gave to it, the first Latin American soviet?

Yes or no, was the correct strategy to begin with this reality given by the mass struggle itself, with this soviet organ to pose the question of power by linking the mobilization of the masses around the Popular Assembly as their expression to the fight inside the Assembly to open concretely the way to power with the slogan: 'All Power to the Popular Assembly'.

Could this struggle be conducted independently of the Bolivian vanguard, of the revolutionary maturity of the masses themselves, independently from all the revolutionary developments in Latin America?

The OCI gave an answer. The anti-Trotskyist centre of Mandel & Co in confusion have given theirs. What is the answer of the SLL and of the groups which signed the October 24 declaration with them?

This is a discussion which cannot be avoided by any organizational measure for it is a discussion that is at the heart of the problems raised by the present stage of the class struggle. The period of 'imminent revolution'—and thus also of labour bureaucracy and the

period of class confrontations raises the question of power: how can the masses concretely approach and understand the question of power?

This is the question of institutions of dual power, of a workers' United Front, governmental slogans, concrete questions of course as the October 24 text points out but this concrete would only be a dead abstraction if it was not the expression of a 'generality', that is that the period that we live in is marked by the movement of the international working class towards its own power.

This is not an abstraction to us of which the revolutionary party should be a passive expression. This manner of understanding problems shows very well the deep lack of dialectic. On the contrary, it is concrete reality which constitutes the decisive part of the revolutionary party and the fight to build it nationally and internationally.

Some attacks on the OCI

There is an implacable logic to political conflicts. The SLL's evolution can only lead it to attack the OCI at its heart: the very method of the construction of the revolutionary party, the question of the workers' United Front, the means and expression of mobilization of the masses, a fundamental part of the construction of the party.

But politics do not exist in a vacuum. If one attacks the policies of the OCI it is necessary to propose an alternative. And here the SLL must use the weapons of the Pabloites. Thus the attacks against the OCI lead to this conclusion:

... the position of the OCI on the united class front becomes a complete liquidation of the party and subordinates it to the labour bureaucracy and the

Stalinist and Social Democratic parties.'

To reach this conclusion, the SLL leadership must purely and simply invent, in vague terms, a 'spontaneist position' of the OCI, must multiply attacks so exaggerated that they become insignificant, so little have they followed the OCI position, and which would make the collaboration of the OCI and the SLL in the IC incomprehensible.

For our part, we seek political clarity, not just to make an impression which can only fool those who want to be: the SLL does not suddenly veer from white to black. We will simply point out the contradictions of the leadership and show the orientation that it has developed, which if continued, would lead to the abandonment of the programme of the Fourth International and to the break up of the SLL.

We wish to take up just two attacks. Firstly, the October 24 document dares to state that at the beginning of 1968 Comrade Charles Berg took an openly abstentionist position on Vietnam. This clearly means that he gave equal weight to imperialism and the revolutionary war of the Vietnamese people, in other words, that he took an openly counter-revolutionary position. This is false and outrageous. Even the Stalinists have not dared to go this far: so far only the well-known Weber of the Communist League has spoken of the 'defeatist' position of the OCI.

At no time, under any circumstances, has any militant, any OCI publication been equivocal on this topic. On the other hand, unlike others (like Comrade Banda who saw in Ho Chi Minh's party, the party who assassinated the Indo-Chinese Trotskyists, the reincarnation of the Bolshevik Party), we have never confused unconditional support with political support to

Left: Torres. Above: Bolivian miners armed with sticks of dynamite engage in street fighting in La Paz.

its petty-bourgeois and Stalinist leaders. If we emphasize this miserable accusation it is because Comrade Berg, due to the development of a concentrated attack by the bourgeoisie, the Pabloites and the Stalinists. The fact that the SLL leadership joins these attacks at this time should be noted.

There is a secondary attack which deserves comment. The SLL is so anxious to find motives for its split that it must go back in time. This is their right. They vehemently denounce the policies of the French Trotskyist organization in the Algerian revolution. They say that the Pabloites supported a faction of the petty-bourgeois nationalists and the French Trotskyists supported another faction. This is a bit brief and would only be convincing if the SLL criticized themselves. In fact, if there was no difference between the FLN and the MNA why did they support as they explain, the MNA? It is true, as we are told, that this support was 'critical' which undoubtedly solves everything.

In any case the policy of the Trotskyist organization was false because it abandoned 'the fight to select a Trotskyist vanguard'. This is nothing new. This quote is from the pamphlet 'Some Lessons of Our History' published in May 1970.

We only hope—especially since the SLL finds it useful to accuse the POR and Lora of being a pillar of Pabloism in Latin America, which is false, while forgetting that the SLL and its general secretary were initially the hatchmen of Pabloism in Western Europe—that the SLL will be willing to learn a few lessons from its own history in order to construct a vanguard in England and in the world. CONTINUED TOMORROW

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

PART 2

The whole perspective of the leadership of the civil rights movement — a middle-class leadership supported by middle-class 'socialists' of the 'state capitalist' and Stalinist varieties — was that British capitalism had within it the possibility of granting democratic reforms and allowing a further peaceful development of capitalism in Northern Ireland.

But for the Catholic worker who marched behind their banners in Belfast or Derry, it was a step towards something quite different: it was the only way he could see, at that stage, of using his growing strength to challenge the employers and the government.

Above all it is necessary to understand, not only that the middle-class leaders inevitably betray this movement from below, but something else.

The political crisis which opened up with O'Neill's resignation and the split in the Unionist Party brought in its train a series of objective struggles in which the class issues will inevitably come to the fore, and in which great opportunities arise for the development of united working-class actions and the development of a Marxist leadership in Britain as well as in Ireland.

If we approach the question from another angle, this becomes clear. What is the real content of the slogan 'one man, one job' or '... one vote' or '... one house'? What is the content of the demand for ending discrimination in education?

For the working class, the 'jobs' question is a matter of more jobs. But capitalism has entered a phase internationally — and even more certainly within declining British capitalism — where jobs must get scarcer and not more plentiful.

Thus, if the Northern Ireland and British government 'promise' to implement the reforms demanded by the civil rights movement, what can this mean?

Unemployment in Northern Ireland is at this time seven and a half per cent, or three times the rate in Britain.

The ruling class is patently incapable of controlling the social contradictions and establishing 'law and order'.

Hence the 'normal' problems of reducing the labour force in capitalism as a whole are much worse in Northern Ireland. These promises, like all the promises of Tories and all the promises of Wilson and the reformists, are a lie and a fraud.

Northern Ireland's problems, even more obviously than

those of Britain, require socialist solutions.

Bitter struggles, in which the workers of Belfast and Derry are unable to resolve even the smallest day-to-day questions without armed clashes with the forces of the state, will force this lesson upon these workers in a very short time.

To fight for these policies against all diversions is the task of Marxists in this situation.

It was because of the middle-class orientation of the initial leadership of the civil rights movement that the Catholic workers found themselves apparently facing the prospect of wholesale death and destruction by August of this year.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials (consisting largely of extremist right-wing elements, some of them followers of the Protestant Reverend Ian Paisley) used their government status and their arms to carry out brutal attacks on the Catholic workers' quarters. Whole streets were burned down and several deaths occurred.

Against these odds the unprepared workers fought bravely, but the independent fighting capacity of the working class had never been organized, of course, by the civil rights leaders, even of the so-called 'left wing'.

The 'state capitalists' of the 'International Socialism' group, and others like McCann, who constitute this 'left wing', then found themselves unable to oppose the intervention of British troops.

Their supporters say: 'Without the troops there would have been a pogrom (i.e. a violent attack and killing of Catholics)'.

They forget, first, that this 'pogrom' is now about to be organized by the troops and the Royal Ulster Constabulary and B-Specials who are part of the same state machine; and, second, that their own politics of liquidation into civil rights, instead of independent mobilization of the strength of the working class, created the conditions for Wilson's troops to intervene.

Now the Cameron Report on the events between October 1968 and April 1969, together with the witch-hunt of the capitalist press, led by the 'Daily Mail', is turned on McCann, Toman, Devlin and Farrell, of the student 'People's Democracy' section of the Civil Rights movement.

No effort must be spared in the labour movement of Britain and Ireland to defend them and all the Irish militants against whom the attack is directed.



Bitter struggles in which the workers of Derry and Belfast are unable to resolve even the smallest day-to-day questions without armed clashes with the forces of the state.

The Labour government must be told to keep its hands off any of the workers and civil rights members whom the Unionists want to make scapegoats for their own historical bankruptcy.

But the lessons must be learned.

These 'left wingers', among them revisionist supporters of groups like the 'state capitalists', considered that the further development of capitalism in Ireland gave the opportunity for a reform movement (civil rights).

In this way the Catholic section of the working class would begin to develop consciousness, so it was thought.

Instead, the revolutionary nature of the problems facing the Irish workers, Catholic and Protestant, was the essence of the question, and required a socialist, revolutionary, not a reformist programme and preparation; a working-class organization, not a liquidation into the middle-class organization (civil rights) with a reformist programme.

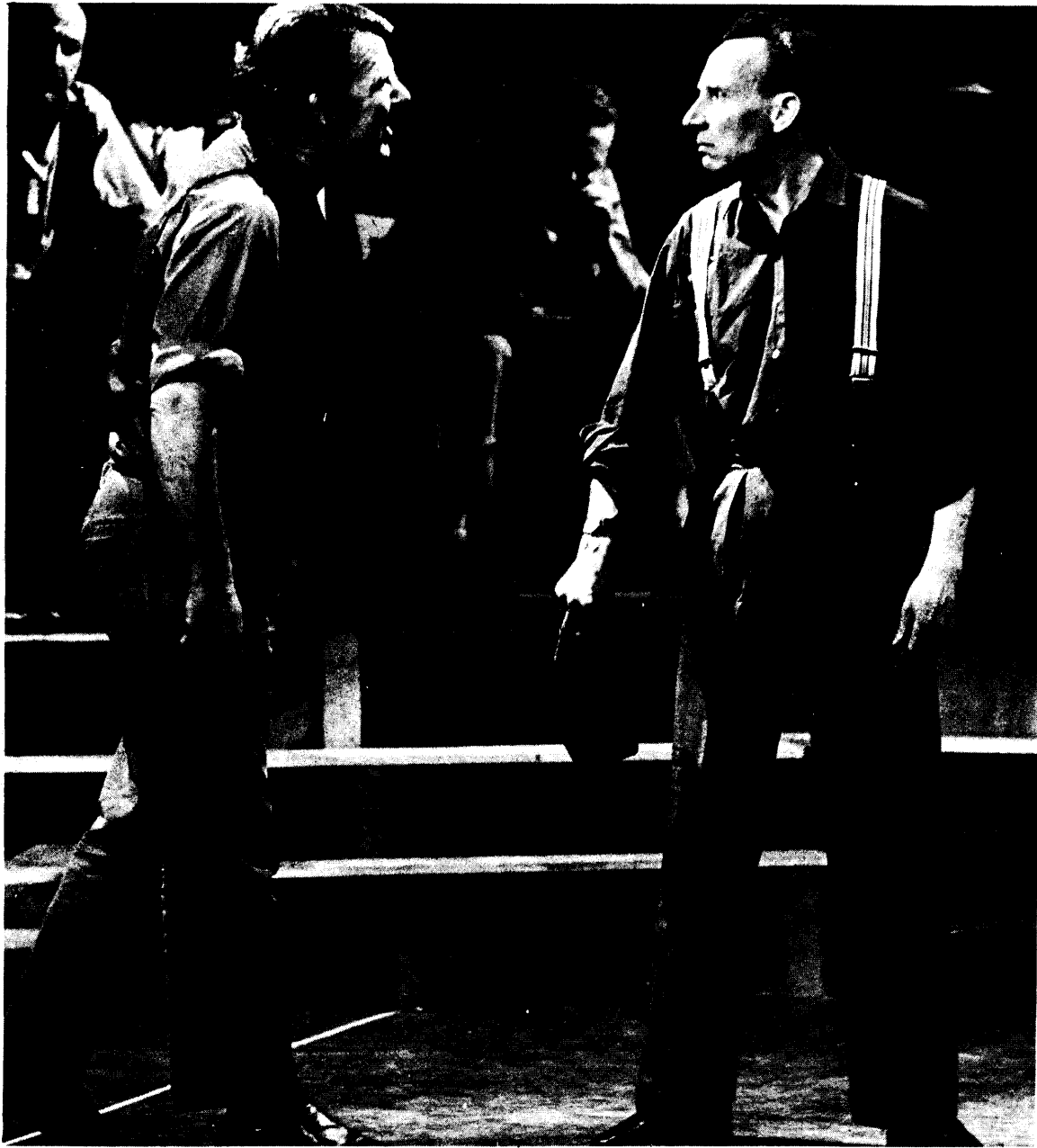
The situation was and is building up to a revolutionary one.

Therefore, as soon as the workers show even a small example of their strength and combativity, counter-revolutionary reprisals are prepared by the Unionists.

Unable to prepare for revolution, the 'lefts', because of their revolutionary words, and because they are useful as a scapegoat, fall victim in the witch-hunt to these reprisals.

The working-class movement will defend them, because the attack on them is essentially the ruling class's first preparatory blow in tightening the grip of repression in Ireland.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



A scene from 'Waiting for Lefty' now showing at the Unity Theatre

In the wake of Heath's temporary retreat before the miners, the Communist Party, harried from within and without for its craven reformist policies, launches yet another protest campaign against the iniquities of Toryism; and so it comes as no surprise to see Jack Sutherland, theatre critic of the 'Morning Star' writing wistfully of this play, that it evokes 'a strong sense of nostalgia' for the late 1930s.

It was written in 1935 about the heroic, but defeated, 1934 New York taxi drivers' strike.

1934 was also the year of the immensely more significant Mineapolis Teamsters strike in which the Trotskyists played an important part. It was outstandingly victorious and set a precedent for the two-style CIO trade union organization. But to have written about this would have meant stepping over the limits of 'Popular Front' politics.

Odets then—like the 'Morning Star' and its Stalinist supporters of 'Unity' now—supported that poisonous collaboration of Stalinists, reformists and Liberals and strove to contain and betray the international working class.

'Lefty' was not critical of 'Popular Frontism', but an ideological expression of it.

The play is set in a union branch meeting. They are calling for strike action to further a wage demand, against the wishes of the right-wing union boss who is backed up by a gunman.

Whilst they are waiting for 'Lefty'—their newly-elected militant spokesman—to arrive and lead the struggle, the meeting fades into a series of short sketches which depict the hardships which have driven the individual drivers to support strike action.

One driver returns home to find all the furniture has been reclaimed because he defaulted on the repayments and that his wife is going out with a former boyfriend because he wouldn't fight back; a former research worker who was sacked for refusing to make poison gas is now determined to fight in the ranks of the working class; a young Jewish doctor is discriminated against by anti-Semites in his profession and becomes a driver whilst dreaming of practising medicine in the Soviet Union (Stalin's special plan for Jewish doctors was as yet in the future).

By resolving the dimensions of working class struggle, into an

THEATRE REVIEW

LEFTY IS DEAD

BY A GUEST REVIEWER

'Waiting for Lefty', by Clifford Odets. Unity Theatre, directed by Michael Kaye.

issue of spontaneity—whether this group of workers does or does not overrule their right-wing leader and decide for strike action—Odets was able to avoid being ensnared openly in the Stalinist support for Roosevelt's New Deal.

In fact only the union boss refers to it obliquely. The other side to this is the reduction of revolutionary theory to a useful support for minimum economic demands. As Agate puts it at the end of the play '... if we're reds because we wanna strike, then we take over their salute too!'

An unemployed actor is given a copy of the Communist Manifesto to read, and another driver recalls someone calling him 'Comrade' as they picked him up out of the gutter, but the issue never becomes more than whether to strike or not.

Finally, when a voice calls out that Lefty has been found murdered (Chicago gangsters were actually used to break this strike) the drivers decide to call for a strike, or as the 'Unity' programme notes quaintly put it in vintage Popular Frontese, they decide to act 'against anti-life forces!'

The absence of a US Labour Party exposed the real nature of 'Popular Frontism'—the open alliance with the ruling class. The small but crucially important CP was able to play a significant part in diverting the energies and resources of literally millions of working and middle-class people from the construction of a mass Labour Party to supporting Roosevelt's New Deal.

The fate of the artistic sections was symptomatic. Thousands of artists and writers were employed in 'creative projects' by the WPA (Workers Progress Administration) and in 1935 (the same year 'Lefty' was written) a Federal Theatre was set up which employed 10,000 at its peak and operated in 40 states, before falling victim to the anti-communists in Congress in 1939.

The overall purpose of this was class consciousness. At this time the US working class was in the throes of its gigantic struggles for trade union organization, primarily in the newer, mass-construction industries.

These artistic fellow-travellers were subsequently used during the war to refurbish the image of US imperialism, and when the Cold War started they were subjected to the vicious witch-hunts and hysteria of Senator McCarthy and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Under the guise of proving they were all part of a gigantic 'red' conspiracy the committee sought to slough off these radical, pre-war appendages as the ruling class needed Hollywood in particular to work in a more explicit anti-communist manner.

'Lefty' was consistently performed in the US and UK before the war, and some even proclaimed it 'the voice of the 1930s'. How come it has only been revived a couple of times subsequently by Unity?

The reason for the distance between us and this conception of political drama, besides the over-emphasized production with its rather incongruous 'alienated' trappings, is to be found in the real class struggle where the Stalinist grip on the masses is either slipping or has already broken.

Despite their superficial militancy, which arises from the fact that the Stalinists were able to mobilize considerable sections of workers behind their slogans, 'Lefty' is about defeat and betrayal and has little relevance today, except in a negative sense, for those who are engaged in the construction of the mass revolutionary party.

Whilst the 'English Revolution' is an integral part of the Right-to-Work campaign which unites a generation of working-class youth with their older trade union brothers in the struggle to force the Tories to resign, this production of 'Lefty' expresses little more than a momentary glance backwards by the Stalinists as 'Unity' temporarily surfaces from its near total submersion in the murky flows of civic entertainment in the London Borough of Camden.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

DEBT

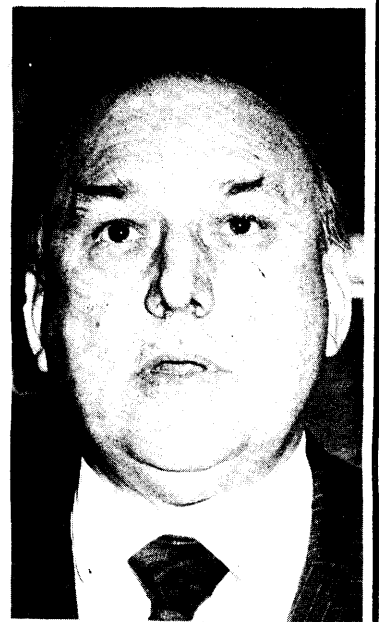
How about this for solving the US balance of payments deficit?

Robert Hagopian, a professor at Salem State College, Massachusetts, USA, recently discovered that the Republic of Armenia still owed the United States \$11,959,917.49 on its World War I debt.

Hagopian, a first-generation Armenian of American descent, realized that the Republic of Armenia hasn't existed since 1921, but wanted to do something for his forebears' credit rating. Accordingly, he sent the US Treasury a check for \$17.49 to be applied toward Armenia's debt. Explained Hagopian over the weekend: 'I sent the check just to tidy up the figures and break the monotony for the fellow who must have to figure out the annual interest on the loan.'

Now if every first generation Armenian sent the US Treasury a cheque...

CHAMPION



Former NCB chief: Lord Robens

Headline of the week: 'Lord Robens, champion of the miners, tells his story.' —'Birmingham Post'.

SERVICE

News item in Liverpool 'Daily Post'.

'Two firms and their managing director and chairman were fined a total of £6,100 with £2,500 costs at Wells Street Court yesterday for evading Rhodesian sanctions.

The fines were against the Vapermatic Company (£3,000), the Vapermatic Company (Exports) (£100) and Arthur Eaton Lea (£3,000), with costs against Vapermatic Company £1,250 and Lea £1,250.

The firms, based at Budleigh Salterton, in Devon, but with a registered office in London, manufacture agricultural and tractor equipment.

Sir Joseph Moloney, prosecuting, said over the total period of illicit trading with Southern Rhodesia, beginning in 1966 and continuing until 1970, the total value of the goods involved was about £48,000.

Mr James Comyn, defending, said Lea, who was 60 a few days ago, had done sterling service in industry for this country.'

IT FIGURES

What daily newspaper in Britain carried last week's unemployment figures on page 10? Yes, there were the figures of more than 1 million for the third successive month buried in a three-column article on page 10 of the 'Yorkshire Post'. And you know what party the 'Post' has supported in the last 100 elections?

OLD DAYS

Whatever happened to the principal executives of Vehicle and General, the collapsed motor insurance firm?

Mr Kershaw's latest project is called 'Status', a credit card outfit. All financial commentators should follow the fortunes of this operations.

The other two haven't sacrificed the splendour of the old days; they're living in modern apartments and driving flashy limousines.

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SOVIET TRADE DRIVE IN MIDDLE EAST

Soviet trade with the Middle East countries has been growing in recent years with the biggest increase concentrated on Egypt. Soviet exports are paralleled by a growth in imports but overall there is a considerable trade surplus.

Middle East countries thus have a problem of financing their trade deficit with the Soviet Union, either by obtaining credits or by their earnings in other markets.

For the big oil-exporting countries this is not much of a problem. It bears most heavily on Egypt which has become dependent upon Soviet imports.

It is not known to what extent supplies of military equipment to Egypt are included in the Soviet figures. It is certain that Egypt has received a vast amount of military equipment, much of which has been provided on some kind of loan basis.

The Soviet Union may also be interested in the Middle East as a source of oil supplies.

It is true that until now comparatively little oil has been purchased by the Soviet Union, which has made a virtue of its self-sufficiency in fuel supplies. But some Soviet oilfields are now reaching the end of their useful life and this may mean an increased need for imported oil.

It is possible that more oil for use in the western part of the Soviet Union will be supplied from the Gulf states, while Siberian oil, which may be developed in co-operation with Japanese business interests, will be exported to the Pacific area.

Soviet trade with the Middle East is held back at present by two main factors, apart from political considerations. First, Soviet consumer goods exports are still uncompetitive in the Middle East markets with Japanese and W European products. Secondly, Middle East countries do not supply many products which the Soviet Union requires.

It is advantageous for Middle East countries, including the oil producers, to increase their sales to the Soviet Union because this will increase their bargaining power in the capitalist world markets.

Although Soviet trade and aid in the area is to some extent influenced by political considerations, particularly in support for Egypt, the bureaucracy is not deterred from trading with a country which has a reactionary regime or represses the Communist Party.



Egyptian Prime Minister Sadat: trade deficit problems

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COMRADE ZHUKOV FEARS FOR CAPITAL

'There are signs of a grave crisis in capitalist countries today', said Yuri Zhukov in a Moscow radio broadcast in English.

'At the centre of economic troubles lies the USA which has to pay a heavy price for its policy of imperialist adventures. The dollar crisis caused a general financial upheaval in the capitalist world. The entire economic system of the capitalist world is ebbing deeply shaken.'

What were the conclusions from this piece of analysis? That the conditions were maturing for the overthrow of capitalism or something of that sort?

Not at all: According to Zhukov, 'the more farsighted businessmen in the capitalist world have to revise their attitude to the socialist world...'

Zhukov took some satisfaction in the growing need of capitalist firms to trade with the Soviet Union and E Europe. Normal economic relations were being established by W European countries and Japan. Perhaps the USA would follow their example.

The main interest for the bureaucracy in the world economic crisis lies in developing trade with capitalist countries and persuading them to drop their discriminatory trade practices — which precisely in such a period tend to become more severe.

TV

BBC 1

9.45 The Herbs. 10.00 The white horses. 10.25 Deputy dawg. 10.30 Swim. 10.55-11.00 Magic roundabout. 12.55 Fo a fe. 1.30 Along the river. 1.45-1.53 News and weather 155 Out of school. 3.25 Lloyd's of London. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Magic roundabout. 4.45 Clangers. 4.55 Vision on. 5.20 News round. 5.25 Motor mouse. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.45 TELEVISION TOP OF THE FORM. Slough v E Grinstead.
7.05 TOMORROW'S WORLD. From Australia.
7.30 FILM: 'THE OTHER MAN'. Roy Thinnes, Joan Hackett, Arthur Hill, Tammy Grimes. Kathy has everything a wife could wish for.
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.
9.20 THE BRITISH EMPIRE: ECHOES OF BRITANNIA'S RULE. 'The Setting of the Sun'.
10.15 FILM 72.
10.45 24 HOURS.
11.20 THE QUIET WATERS.
11.50 Weather.
11.52 MEDICINE TODAY. 'Fungal Infections of the Skin'.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 1.15-1.40 Medicine today.
7.30 NEWSROOM and Weather.
8.00 ONE PAIR OF EYES. 'Poets in a Barren Age'.
8.50 WHEELBASE.
9.20 PLAY: 'EDWARD II'. Prospect Theatre Company's production of Christopher Marlowe's work.
11.25 NEWS ON 2 and weather.
11.30 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Kevin Ayers, Claire Hamill.

ITV

11.06-12.05 Out of school. 1.30 Outlook. 2.25 Motor racing. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Matinee. 3.45 Danger man. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Junior showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.
6.00 CARTOON TIME.
6.05 ARNIE. 'To Buy or Not to Buy'.
6.35 CROSSROADS.
7.00 DES. Des O'Connor.
7.30 FILM: 'EAST OF SUMATRA'. Jeff Chandler. Adventure on a Pacific island.
9.00 A PLACE IN THE SUN. 'At the Villa Pandora'.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 DOCUMENTARY: 'A FAR BETTER PLACE'. St Kilda.
11.30 DRIVE-IN.
12.00 SCHOOLGIRL MOTHERS.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Simon Locke. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Doctor in the House'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.55 Gazette. 12.00 News, weather.
WESTWARD: As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.55 News, weather. 11.59 Faith for life.
SOUTHERN: 11.05-12.05 London. 2.35 Tea break. 3.00 Out of town. 3.20 Goldilocks and the three bears. 3.30 Odd couple. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Pingwings. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'Passport to China'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.40 Farm progress. 12.10 Weather. Inheritors.
HARTLEY: 11.05-12.05 London. 2.40 Arthur. 2.55 Phoenix five. 3.20 Broken gesture. 3.50 Junkin. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.18 Report. 6.35 Film: 'The Return of Frank James'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 12.00 Weather.
HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report.
HTV Wales as above except: 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd.
HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 10.30 Dan sylw. 11.15-11.30 O'r wasg.
ANGLIA: 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Bygones. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 News. 4.15 Mr Piper. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Old Man Who Cried Wolf'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London.
ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Simon Locke. 4.40 Storytime. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Gun-smoke'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Who knows?
ULSTER: 11.05-12.05 London. 2.05 Film: 'Forever My Love'. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Cartoon. 6.15 Daws explores. 6.35 London. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Odd couple. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 White line.
YORKSHIRE: 11.05-12.05 London. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Master chefs. 3.15 Dangerman. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'Denver and Rio Grande'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Great painters. 12.00 Weather.
GPANADA: 11.05-12.05 London. 2.30 Randall and Hopkirk. 3.25 Messengers. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newday. Put it in writing. 6.25 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 Film: 'The Purple Mask'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Monty Nash.
TYNE TEES: 11.05-12.05 London. 2.30 Play with a purpose. 3.00 Master chefs. 3.15 Dangerman. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Sean the leprechaun. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'Denver and Rio Grande'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Snooker. 12.15 News. 12.30 Epilogue.
SCOTTISH: 11.05-12.05 London. 3.30 Foo foo. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'The Purple Mask'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Drive-in.
GRAMPIAN: 11.06-12.15 London. 3.41 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Beloved enemy. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Royal clansmen. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'California Holiday'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Drive-in. 12.00 Epilogue.

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FIGHT AGAINST TORIES' RENT BILL

BY PHILIP WADE

GREENWICH, S London, tenants demonstrated 1,000 strong outside the town hall last week to make sure the Labour group voted against the Tories' 'fair rents' Bill.

Now tenants are signing pledges of support to the local Labour group, which has voted 44-9 not to implement the Bill if it becomes law.

Many feel, however, that the struggle cannot end there.

The Tories are intent on destroying all workers' basic rights. The only way these attacks can be answered is with a policy of forcing the Tories to resign.

Michael Potter, a committee member of the Barnfield Tenants' Association in Plumstead, was one of the 600 tenants on the estate who went to Greenwich town hall when the Bill was debated.

'The point is that if this Bill goes through, I won't be able to pay,' said Michael. He has been unemployed since last October when he lost his driving licence.

He gets £9.5 dole money for his wife and young daughter.

'I asked them for some money to buy shoes for the girl. But the Social Security told me she didn't need them.'

Michael lives on one of the oldest estates in the area. It has few amenities—there are no lifts for tenants living on the fourth floor.

Many of the flats have damp walls. One consequence is that children are forced to sleep in their parents' bedroom if it is the only one free from damp.

'All the council suggested to these people was they put an electric fire on in the room and leave the windows open all the year round,' Michael claimed.

'What I'd like to see is all council tenants say no to the rent increases. The aim of the Bill is to force the working class right down and line the pockets of the Tories.'

'Those who can't afford to pay will have to apply for a means test, but that's like going into prison—they want to know everything.'

'This is the first time I've been out of work since I left school and it hurts my pride something rotten having to go down the labour exchange to beg things for my family.'

'But I hope the working class won't let those Oliver Twist days come back—we have to fight it all the way.'

'All the working class has to get together and say to the Tories: "We've had enough—it's our turn now, so get out."



Michael Potter on the balcony of his flat with his wife Carol and daughter Lisa.

Tenants keep a check on Labour opposition

'All these petitions and so on are not getting anywhere. The TUC definitely has to organize workers' action, because it's not just a tenants' question—it will hit everyone hard, young and old.'

'I think one of the problems is that many of the union leaders are turncoats and don't give a lead.'

'What opened my eyes about these men was when the Young Socialists' Right - to - Work marchers came to Woolwich and were turned away first off.'

'The purpose of workers' action has to be to get this government out and put back a government with leaders who will run the country as the working class want it run.'

'Labour must give children back their school milk, look after

the pensioners, give everyone a chance of decent housing and put everyone back in a job.'

'If we can't do this I'm sure we'll all end up as slaves. Somebody's got to do something—we've waited long enough.'

'I'm certainly not going to let my wife and child starve,' said Michael.

Pensioner Mrs Goddard (72), who has a small bungalow on the estate, told me of how rent rises have already affected her.

'My rent has just gone from £2.54 to £2.63 because they put more on the rates. When I first came here in 1955 the rent was only 19s 3d.'

'The pension increase will be 75p, I'm told. But some of it's gone already. I feel bitter because they're making us wait for our increase right round until

October.

'It'll help, but I don't think we'll be any better off. And we won't be able to afford any more rent increases,' said Mrs Goddard, whose pension is £6 a week, supplemented by £2.10 from Social Security.

'Once you've paid your rent, there's not much left to live on. To be able to live as I should I'd need another £2 a week.'

'Only two or three months ago I had to give up butter. And as for a bit of meat... well.'

'With these rent increases and everything else, it'll be leading back to the old days when my husband used to queue up for 1s towards the rent and a bread ticket.'

'The sooner these Tories are out the better. They never were for the working class.'

Grim Tory game with jobless

TORY proposals to encourage workers to move all over Britain in pursuit of work come into effect on April 5.

The plans are a blueprint for wider Tory plans within the Common Market.

If the Heath government gets its way, workers will be dragged into a grim game of musical chairs not only around Britain but also around parts of Europe, being exploited and degraded by a new era of Euro-capitalism.

Unable to provide the right to work in communities throughout the country, the Tories are proposing to smash them up, while men search for work wherever they can find it.

The new 'resettlement' plan is to be operated by Employment Secretary, Robert Carr, author of the anti-union Industrial Relations Act.

A rehousing grant of £400 and £600 is to be introduced and lodging allowances will go up.

For the first time people without dependants who move away from home may be paid a weekly allowance of £2 a week for up to one year.

The new increases will also make available to workers with dependants a lodging allowance increase of about £2 a week until they move their home.

Another increase will be to meet expenses incurred in the sale or purchase of a house because of a move. Where a sale or a purchase is involved, legal and other expenses will be reimbursed up to £145. Where both are involved, the amount will be £240.

The income limit above which people cannot benefit under the scheme will be raised to £2,650.

Ban on Hull stewards a threat to unity

HULL SHOP stewards were not represented at the meeting of the National Docks Shop Stewards' Liaison Committee in Manchester which decided a few weeks ago to prepare for a national strike if 53 London dockers were returned to the unattached pool.

Six Hull stewards travelled to Manchester. Their spokesman asked if any Hull steward would be admitted regardless of whether he was in the Blue (National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union) or the White (Transport and General Workers' Union). The Liaison Committee decided—mainly at the instigation of T&GWU stewards from Manchester and Liverpool—that Blue Union men would not be allowed into the meeting.

The Hull men then decided, on principle, that none of them would attend the meeting—though, in fact, all six were T&GWU members.

The strongest opponents of collaboration with the Blue Union have been Communist Party members.

For years, the CP has striven to prevent national docks unity because of their fear of the

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

influence of revolutionary politics in the northern ports. Also, of course, the Stalinists have sought to cuddle close to the T&GWU bureaucrats by opposing the Blue by every means—including strike-breaking—since it first appeared in the northern ports in 1954.

Hull, with 300 men regularly on the unattached register out of a dock labour force of 2,800, has the largest redundancy problem in the N.

Yet a decision on 'national' action was taken with the Hull representatives excluded!

The National Docks Shop Stewards' Liaison Committee has issued a 'Dockers' Charter', the main points of which are:

- Preserve the National Dock Labour Scheme.
- A clear definition of dockers' work inside the ports.
- Containerization work to be done by dockers (except in special circumstances acceptable to the dockers).
- No men to be sent to the unattached pool.
- Nationalization of the docks.

Many Hull dockers are openly saying that the Charter is fine, but not realistic as long as the Tories are in office and as long as national unity of dockers is not achieved.

There is also some bitterness in the port that Liverpool

dockers' leaders called off the blacking of Pilkington glass, after the Hull men had repeatedly refused to handle such a cargo during the dispute at the St Helens, Lancs, firm.

In addition, there is some feeling that the leaders in the other ports left Hull to fight alone on the issue of non-registered ports.

It is experiences such as these which have pushed the Hull men into the reformist blind alley of attempting to form their own company on the docks.

Some men—pointing out, correctly, that local one-day stoppages would be useless against redundancies—even regard this as a form of 'workers' control'.

The anti-Marxist 'Institute for Workers' Control' clearly bears responsibility for confusing dockers by presenting workers' control as an attainable reform within capitalism instead of a revolutionary demand directed against capitalism.

The employers are more far-sighted and welcome the 'company' as a means of diverting the dockers from a real fight to defend their rights.

Hull port employers have offered to place equipment, including cranes, at its disposal! Despite this, the refusal of the CP Stalinists to unite all

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for industry, will visit Lisbon, capital of Portugal, tomorrow and Thursday for talks with Portuguese minister and the Anglo-Portuguese Co-operation Committee inaugural meeting.

NUT chiefs refuse to discuss T&G fine

TEACHERS' leaders yesterday buried their heads in the Blackpool sands.

The National Union of Teachers' executive successfully opposed a resolution before annual conference to back the Transport and General Workers' Union confrontation with the Industrial Relations Court.

Opposing suspension of standing orders to discuss the motion, executive member Alf Wilshire claimed that the matter was not urgent nor in the union's best interest to discuss.

General secretary Edward Britton claimed teachers would stand no chance whatever of winning salary claims through industrial action.

He said the union's executive were political realists but added: 'We can't shut down power stations, but the union may soon have no alternative but to sweat it out in industrial action.'

The teachers' case was the same as the miners' their wages had fallen relative to other sections over the years.

Britton poured scorn on the 'violence brigade' whose sensationalism assisted government in cutting education expenditure.

POLICE yesterday raided a Scarborough hotel where three Spanish delegates to the Labour Party Young Socialists annual conference are staying. The Spanish social-democrats claimed police examined passports and other documents.

TWO BROADMOOR patients yesterday ended a 70-hour roof-top protest over conditions at the Crowthorpe, Berkshire, hospital.

CND SUPPORTERS rallied 3,000 strong at Aldermaston yesterday the last of the march from London. Commented CND secretary Dick Nettleton: 'After a lapse of four years, it was impossible to predict how many would actually join us. But there were enough to show CND is not dead.'

PORTSMOUTH'S Brickwood's Brewery a subsidiary of Whitbread has locked out 400 workers since last Friday following a management threat to sack all workers not prepared to accept present working arrangements, including overtime working. The men have been on a work-to-rule and overtime ban since March 24 in support of a 20-per-cent wage increase.

A LEAFLET circulating in CAV's, Acton, N London, factory claims that if the engineering pay claim is not fought for, workers will be forced into a 12-month wage freeze tied to a productivity deal for the third year running.

BEA PILE-UP STARTS

PASSENGERS flying BEA yesterday were expecting flight delays on their return journey as the pilots' work-to-rule began to bite.

Action by the airline's 1,400 pilots—demanding parity with BOAC pilots—is now in its fourth day. Up to Monday most flights got away with a minimum of delay.

But a British Airline Pilots' Association (BALPA) spokesman said yesterday:

'A backlog of delays will have built up and pilots will be re-

fusing to take over flights while they are off duty.'

The work-to-rule means pilots are refusing to fly aircraft with any minor defects and are insisting on everything being perfect before take-off.

BALPA-BEA talks broke down last Wednesday when management failed to come up with any more cash.

BALPA have demanded £9,100 a year for 300 senior captains.

BEA's reply to this £24-a-week, 16.9-per-cent claim, was an offer of another £17 a week. This

would cut the gap between BEA and BOAC pilots from 12 per cent to 8 per cent.

Kenneth Wilkinson, BEA managing director, said:

'That amount . . . is not only unreasonable but, in our present conditions, we cannot afford to meet it.'

BALPA's executive meets today to review the situation. 'It could well be that a second phase of action, bringing in more rules which will lead to longer delays, will be introduced,' said a union spokesman.

Threat to Mersey dock pay & jobs

JOB, WAGES and working conditions must all come under increased attack this year if Mersey docks is to recoup its massive capital expenditure on new cargo-handling facilities.

This is the warning between the lines of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Co's report, just out.

In a five-page statement on the new company's £1.8m profit for 1971, resigning chairman John Cuckney makes four main points:

- There must be a reduction in the 80,000 man-days lost in industrial disputes last year.
- Trade, which apart from oil imports showed little improvement in 1971, must be attracted by 'a major marketing effort'.
- With a total debt of over £100m at December 31, 1971, the company badly needs a new capital structure if it is to attract other than government funds.
- Speed-up and big cuts in costs are needed if the company is to be more competitive. Since an £11m wage-bill is by far the largest item in the company's £17.5m operating expenditure, it is clear where the main burden of these cuts is to fall.

The company came into being on August 1, 1971, following a £3m loss the previous year by the old Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.

Profits for 1971 enabled the company to pay out interest which had been withheld between the inaugural date and December 31. This reduced the profit to £1.5m.

Major item in improving the results was a two-stage, 45-per-cent increase in port charges which came into effect towards the end of 1970 and early 1971, but cargo handling continued to make a loss.

Cuckney lists the port's capital projects particularly the recently-opened Seaforth container and bulk-cargo dock and warns:

'Most of the cost has been incurred, but it is not yet fully

pendent valuation of its entire land resources. Cuckney warns, however, that at present the market is not favourable for disposing of large amounts of land.

Tory changes in the method of local-authority rating for docks land are going to double the company's present rating liability of £350,000 a year, and within a few years the bill will have reached £1m and beyond.

All these factors increase the urgency for the company to slash its costs.

With a loss of container revenue caused by the US docks' strike, Cuckney singles out increases in labour costs as the cause of its failure to make a profit out of cargo handling.

And he repeats a warning that the company can not afford to continue loss-making activities unless there is a good prospect of their being transformed into 'substantial profit-earners'.

This must be done, he says, if the company's capital debt is to be cut and new capital attracted.

RIGID restrictions imposed by legal authorities remote from real issues, will not solve the problems of dockland, says Transport and General Workers' Union secretary Jack Jones.

Writing in the mass-circulation 'News of the World' on Sunday he referred to the 'vanishing jobs' problem which had been underlined by the £5,000 fine imposed on the T&GWU by the National Industrial Relations Court.

Since 1965 the number of registered dockers has shrunk from 65,000 to 41,000, Jones pointed out. Meanwhile tonnages have shot up enormously.

He concludes: 'The law will create hostility when what is needed is confidence and understanding of a real human problem'.

revenue earning and it is difficult accurately to forecast the timing of the build-up or revenue. Trading results for 1972 will inevitably, therefore, be much less satisfactory than those recorded for 1971.

On present information 'it will prove difficult to achieve a profit for the year.'

The report illustrates the port's continued reliance on oil imports. These showed an increase of 33 per cent over the 1970 figure, but observers point out that these could well be reduced in the future if North Sea offshore developments start up.

A meat berth at Seaforth is already in operation, and in the next few months the dock—described by Cuckney as 'the most modern port complex in Europe'—four container berths, a grain terminal and a forest-products berth come into commission.

The MD&HCo chairman comments: 'On the successful operation of Seaforth the profitable future of the company largely depends.'

By August 1972, the S section of Liverpool's seven miles of docks are due for closure and the land will become available for redevelopment.

Meanwhile the company has also had the results of an inde-

EEC will kill Eire firms—warning

ENTRY into the Common Market would kill more than 50 per cent of Irish firms, estimates the Irish Labour Party leader.

Brendan Corish, speaking at a Labour Party meeting in Co Wexford, said that Eire urgently needed to protect many sectors of her industry for an extended period, otherwise redundancy would go on multiplying and unemployment would increase to disaster dimensions.

'Ireland has not yet developed its industrial sector so as to provide full employment,' he said.

'Some sections of industry will survive free trade, but more than half our industrial sector will not be able to meet increased import competition. And', he added, 'the consequences for an already bad unemployment situation do not bear contemplation.'

The economy, he said, was reeling under the impact of free trade with just one country in the projected 10-member EEC—Britain.

It had meant more and more redundancies as British goods replaced Irish products on the home market.

Bingham's wife in psychiatric hospital

MRS Maureen Bingham, wife of navy spy David Bingham, is in a Portsmouth psychiatric hospital on bail to appear in court on April 11 accused under section 7 of the Official Secrets Act of trying to persuade another person to commit an offence.

Her husband was jailed for 21 years last month for selling secrets to the Russians. Her four adopted children are in care.

Housing tops LP agenda

THE massive working-class opposition to the hated Tory 'fair rents' Bill is bringing forward demands for the Labour Party to organize the tenants' fight.

Out of 28 resolutions down for Saturday's annual meeting of the Labour Party southern regional council no less than 13 are on housing, compared with eight on industry and seven on the social services.

● See pp 3 & 11 for tenants' stories.

LATE NEWS WEATHER

CATHOLICS from Anderson-town, Belfast, turned out 2,000 strong yesterday at the Milltown Cemetery funeral of Mrs Martha Crawford, killed in crossfire last Thursday. Patrick Crawford and nine of his children headed the mourners. The tenth child was a year old on Saturday. Commented Mrs Elizabeth Mulholland, mother of five: 'We don't want people killed like this, Catholic or Protestant. We are supporting civil rights, but we want our country united.'

IT WILL be cloudy with rain over SE and E England and N and NE Scotland at first, but brighter showery weather in other districts will spread to these areas during the morning.

The showers will become heavy and prolonged at times in the W and N, but more scattered in the E and SE.

There will be clear or sunny intervals in all districts.

Temperatures will remain near normal in the S, but it will become rather mild in the N.

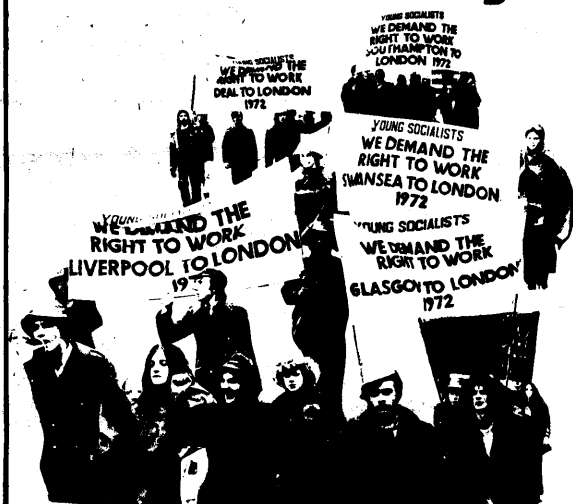
Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Some rain at times in most places. Sunny periods. Temperatures normal.

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 Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

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



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Please send me details/tickets of the Scarborough Conference.

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