

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY APRIL 19, 1972 ● No 743 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## Trade unions and the Tory government

# THE HOUR OF DECISION

EVER SINCE the Tory government came to power in June 1970 its main objective has been to destroy the power of the trade unions.

Not a minute has been wasted in an almost indecent haste to provoke a head-on conflict. In doing this the Tories have been obliged to disrupt the class compromise relations through which they have ruled almost since the Chartists petition to parliament in 1848.

The showdown with the railwaymen has long since passed beyond the stage of normal wage negotiation.

For well over a week the Cabinet has been engaged in mobilizing the administrative and repressive force of the capitalist state to bring the rail unions—and through them the entire working class—to its knees.

This is a political confrontation from which there can only be one victor. Every ounce of the industrial and political strength of the working class must be mobilized behind the railwaymen at once.

Any attempts at bluff would be disastrous. The Tories mean business because they have no choice.

Such is the objective development of class forces in Britain as the result of the international economic crisis that even if a temporary settlement were arrived at, it could only at best postpone the all-out conflict for a short time.

This is the irresistible logic of the class struggle in the crisis-ridden conditions of today. Relations between the classes are no longer governed by the subjective desires of men, but by the objective intensity of the class struggle itself.

The arrogance of the Tory government and the determination of the working class to fight can only be understood within this context.

Trade unions in Britain are inseparable from the working class. All their hard-won democratic rights, wage standards and working conditions are the result of over 200 years of increasing campaigns behind the banner of trade unionism.

Trade unions are in fact the working class.

For the Tory government to embark on a course of destroying them through the Industrial Relations Act is to undertake the virtual destruction of all the basic rights of the working class.

There are revisionist and Stalinist idiots who deny the existence of the economic crisis. But how can they explain the

enormity of a crisis which drives the Tory government forward on such a life-and-death conflict?

All the main props of so-called capitalist democratic government are being ripped asunder. The reformist illusions which in the past served to confuse the working class by obscuring the real issues have been transformed into their opposite.

Every trade unionist can now see that the Tories are taking away our basic rights.

The entire history of the working class is punctuated with incidents in which they have fought back with the greatest determination when these basic rights are threatened.

But that is, by itself, entirely

BY G. HEALY

inadequate. If the Tories have destroyed the forms of government based upon class compromise, they can only proceed to think in terms of the most ruthless political dictatorship.

A defeat for the railwaymen would have the most serious implications in this respect.

The miners, if they were given the leadership, could have brought down the Tory government. But their leaders, Daly and Gormley, are reformists who believe in class compromise. So they settled for wages.

Here lies the danger once again. The TUC and the railmen's leaders are also reformists and cannot be politically trusted to lead the kind of political fight

which has now become imperative.

Only the class determination of millions of trade unionists guided by a leadership steeped in the revolutionary principles of Marxism can accomplish such a task.

The Tories have provoked the fight. Now is the time to create the industrial and political conditions to make the Heath government resign.

A General Election is vital. The alternative to Heath is not a reformist Labour government such as Wilson led between 1964-1970.

It is a Labour government pledged to socialist policies which have as their cornerstone the expropriation of the capitalist class through nationalization without compensation of all the basic industries.

### Widgery reports

THE WIDGERY report into the army killings of 13 people in Londonderry on January 30 this year will be published tomorrow and on sale at Her Majesty's Stationary offices. See tomorrow's WORKERS PRESS for our own reconstruction of the killings compiled on the spot. We were unable to publish this account after the Tory government gave the Widgery tribunal the status of a High Court and invoked the laws of contempt.

### BALLOT THREAT OVER RAILMEN

THE TUC's 'inner cabinet' was still locked in closed session late yesterday deciding whether to stage a confrontation with the Tory government on the rail crisis.

Earlier the government warned the rail unions that unless they halted the work-to-rule and held a ballot on the latest offer, the Industrial Relations Act would be invoked.

This would mean the enforcement of a 60-day 'cooling off' period in which a court-controlled ballot would be held.

When the leaders of the three rail unions went to the TUC late yesterday they were 'grim-faced', according to reporters.

None of them would make any comment. A government spokesman said arrangements had been made to hold a night session of the National Industrial Relations Court if necessary.

8.30 a.m.

Yesterday's flurry of activity began at 8.30 a.m. when rail union leaders arrived at the Department of Employment to see Mr Maurice Macmillan.

The meeting broke up after 20 minutes.

Macmillan told the union leaders to suspend their work-to-rule and ballot their members.

Percy Coldrick of the Transport and Salaried Staffs Association said the ballot plea would be considered.

But he was 'very much intrigued at the government now requesting the trade unions to go to ballot, in view of their own reluctance to go to a ballot on the Common Market'.

10 a.m.

At 10 a.m. the Scottish TUC unanimously passed an emergency resolution declaring solidarity with the rail unions. The resolution called on all affiliated organizations to pledge support for any action taken by the railwaymen in pursuit of their claim.

● SEE PAGE 12

## Sheffield engineers to act?



Some of the men involved in the Davy United sit-in

FROM PHILIP WADE

SHEFFIELD engineers are out to join those in the greater Manchester area and move into battle against local employers on their pay claim.

Stewards in leading factories had talks with management yesterday. They knew beforehand that the Employers' Association was offering a meagre £1.50 rise, tied to productivity deals.

Procedure is now considered to be exhausted and in the next few days mass meetings will be arranged at each factory.

They are expected to decide on the various forms of action including a ban on piece work and overtime and strikes to back up their claim.

Already 900 workers at Davy United are sitting in. They took the action after management had made no substantial offer.

Stewards came back from talks to find the men already sitting-in in anticipation of a break down.

The employers' reply is essentially the same as that made at the time of breakdown in national negotiations.

The document, which has fallen into the hands of the union, takes the usual hard line on hours and holidays.

● SEE PAGE 12

### POLL NOW! ENGINEERS

GENERAL ELECTION now yesterday became the policy of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers engineers' section.

The National Committee of the 1.2 million-strong section accepted without dissent a resolution calling for TUC and Labour Party unity around a programme of action which could lead to the election of a Labour government.



# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY APRIL 19, 1972 ● No 743 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## Trade unions and the Tory government

# THE HOUR OF DECISION

EVER SINCE the Tory government came to power in June 1970 its main objective has been to destroy the power of the trade unions.

Not a minute has been wasted in an almost indecent haste to provoke a head-on conflict. In doing this the Tories have been obliged to disrupt the class compromise relations through which they have ruled almost since the Chartists petition to parliament in 1848.

The showdown with the railwaymen has long since passed beyond the stage of normal wage negotiation.

For well over a week the Cabinet has been engaged in mobilizing the administrative and repressive force of the capitalist state to bring the rail unions—and through them the entire working class—to its knees.

This is a political confrontation from which there can only be one victor. Every ounce of the industrial and political strength of the working class must be mobilized behind the railwaymen at once.

Any attempts at bluff would be disastrous. The Tories mean business because they have no choice.

Such is the objective development of class forces in Britain as the result of the international economic crisis that even if a temporary settlement were arrived at, it could only at best postpone the all-out conflict for a short time.

This is the irresistible logic of the class struggle in the crisis-ridden conditions of today. Relations between the classes are no longer governed by the subjective desires of men, but by the objective intensity of the class struggle itself.

The arrogance of the Tory government and the determination of the working class to fight can only be understood within this context.

Trade unions in Britain are inseparable from the working class. All their hard-won democratic rights, wage standards and working conditions are the result of over 200 years of increasing campaigns behind the banner of trade unionism.

Trade unions are in fact the working class.

For the Tory government to embark on a course of destroying them through the Industrial Relations Act is to undertake the virtual destruction of all the basic rights of the working class.

There are revisionist and Stalinist idiots who deny the existence of the economic crisis. But how can they explain the

BY G. HEALY

enormity of a crisis which drives the Tory government forward on such a life-and-death conflict?

All the main props of so-called capitalist democratic government are being ripped asunder. The reformist illusions which in the past served to confuse the working class by obscuring the real issues have been transformed into their opposite.

Every trade unionist can now see that the Tories are taking away our basic rights.

The entire history of the working class is punctuated with incidents in which they have fought back with the greatest determination when these basic rights are threatened.

But that is, by itself, entirely

inadequate. If the Tories have destroyed the forms of government based upon class compromise, they can only proceed to think in terms of the most ruthless political dictatorship.

A defeat for the railwaymen would have the most serious implications in this respect.

The miners, if they were given the leadership, could have brought down the Tory government. But their leaders, Daly and Gormley, are reformists who believe in class compromise. So they settled for wages.

Here lies the danger once again. The TUC and the railmen's leaders are also reformists and cannot be politically trusted to lead the kind of political fight

which has now become imperative.

Only the class determination of millions of trade unionists guided by a leadership steeped in the revolutionary principles of Marxism can accomplish such a task.

The Tories have provoked the fight. Now is the time to create the industrial and political conditions to make the Heath government resign.

A General Election is vital. The alternative to Heath is not a reformist Labour government such as Wilson led between 1964-1970.

It is a Labour government pledged to socialist policies which have as their cornerstone the expropriation of the capitalist class through nationalization without compensation of all the basic industries.

### Widgery reports

THE WIDGERY report into the army killings of 13 people in Londonderry on January 30 this year will be published tomorrow and on sale at Her Majesty's Stationary offices. See tomorrow's WORKERS PRESS for our own reconstruction of the killings compiled on the spot. We were unable to publish this account after the Tory government gave the Widgery tribunal the status of a High Court and invoked the laws of contempt.

### BALLOT THREAT OVER RAILMEN

THE TUC's 'inner cabinet' was still locked in closed session late yesterday deciding whether to stage a confrontation with the Tory government on the rail crisis.

Earlier the government warned the rail unions that unless they halted the work-to-rule and held a ballot on the latest offer, the Industrial Relations Act would be invoked.

This would mean the enforcement of a 60-day 'cooling off' period in which a court-controlled ballot would be held.

When the leaders of the three rail unions went to the TUC late yesterday they were 'grim-faced', according to reporters.

None of them would make any comment. A government spokesman said arrangements had been made to hold a night session of the National Industrial Relations Court if necessary.

8.30 a.m.

Yesterday's flurry of activity began at 8.30 a.m. when rail union leaders arrived at the Department of Employment to see Mr Maurice Macmillan.

The meeting broke up after 20 minutes.

Macmillan told the union leaders to suspend their work-to-rule and ballot their members.

Percy Coldrick of the Transport and Salaried Staffs Association said the ballot plea would be considered.

But he was 'very much intrigued at the government now requesting the trade unions to go to ballot, in view of their own reluctance to go to a ballot on the Common Market'.

10 a.m.

At 10 a.m. the Scottish TUC unanimously passed an emergency resolution declaring solidarity with the rail unions. The resolution called on all affiliated organizations to pledge support for any action taken by the railwaymen in pursuit of their claim.

● SEE PAGE 12

### POLL NOW! ENGINEERS

GENERAL ELECTION now yesterday became the policy of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers engineers' section.

The National Committee of the 1.2 million-strong section accepted without dissent a resolution calling for TUC and Labour Party unity around a programme of action which could lead to the election of a Labour government.

## Sheffield engineers to act?



Some of the men involved in the Davy United sit-in

FROM PHILIP WADE

SHEFFIELD engineers are out to join those in the greater Manchester area and move into battle against local employers on their pay claim.

Stewards in leading factories had talks with management yesterday. They knew beforehand that the Employers' Association was offering a meagre £1.50 rise, tied to productivity deals.

Procedure is now considered to be exhausted and in the next few days mass meetings will be arranged at each factory.

They are expected to decide on the various forms of action including a ban on piece work and overtime and strikes to back up their claim.

Already 900 workers at Davy United are sitting in. They took the action after management had made no substantial offer.

Stewards came back from talks to find the men already sitting-in in anticipation of a break down.

The employers' reply is essentially the same as that made at the time of breakdown in national negotiations.

The document, which has fallen into the hands of the union, takes the usual hard line on hours and holidays.

● SEE PAGE 12

AROUND THE WORLD

# US air strikes are switched to South

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

AMERICAN Air Force and Navy fighter-bombers flew the greatest number of strikes in S Vietnam yesterday since records of their missions were first collected in 1969.

The intensity of the air strikes over the N was correspondingly reduced—a move which was represented in Washington as a conciliatory gesture. But there was no indication that the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong has ceased.

The US command reported that 524 tactical air strikes were made over S Vietnam during the 24-hour period ending at dawn yesterday.

The largest number were made in the military region around Saigon where puppet forces are besieged in the provincial capital of An Loc.

They came as US and S Vietnamese commanders in the area anticipated a fresh round of attacks against the city and over a wide area N of Saigon.

Puppet troops supported by massive air bombardment are still holding part of the town, most of which is now in the hands of the liberation forces.

Gen Nguyen Van Minh told reporters at Lai Khe, headquarters of the Saigon military region, that a new offensive by N Vietnamese troops working in small groups was anticipated.

He claimed that the N Vietnamese troops had been broken up into small groups by the air bombardment.

But Reuters' correspondent on the spot pointed out that it has been just such small groups—amounting probably to only about 1,200 men—which have tied down a relief column of more than 10,000 government troops and 40 tanks on Highway 13, 11 miles S of An Loc for more than a week.

William Rogers, American secretary of state, has tried to justify the renewed bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong as 'essential' for the defence of the Saigon regime.

He boasted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the US was going to see that 'this major invasion is not successful'.

If US troops were withdrawn immediately and the Vietnamese left to fight it out, it would probably result in 'a bloodbath', he said.

If US troops and airmen were withdrawn suddenly it would have a profound effect on allied countries like the Philippines and Japan, he said.

'It would be a mistake of major proportions.'

He came under sharp attack from a number of senators, including William Fulbright.

A new feature of the war is the N Vietnamese success in the Gulf of Tonkin. Five US warships were set on fire over the past two days.

Communist forces yesterday launched a series of concerted attacks on key positions in E Cambodia and smashed through an abortive Cambodian operation to surround the ancient Angkor temples in the NW.

The military command reported that national Highway 1 between Phnom Penh and Saigon was in serious danger after 15 attacks during the day in the provinces bordering S Vietnam.

There was heavy fighting around Kompong Trabek, 50 miles SE of Phnom Penh, where N Vietnamese battalions are closing in on government troops holding the road.

'The Highway has not yet been physically cut but the situation might have changed by now,' Command spokesman Capt Chang Song said.



Fighter-bombers over Vietnam

## Cash crisis for plane firm

BANKERS for the United States Grumman aircraft corporation have said they cannot continue financing the company after the end of this month unless contract differences with the US Navy over the F-14 fighter plane are resolved.

Company vice-chairman E.C. Towl told a Senate Armed Services Subcommittee in Washington on Monday that the company's main bank, Bankers Trust Company of New York, told Grumman it would not be possible to put

together a new banking group until uncertainties surrounding the contract dispute had been resolved.

Towl told the committee, which is investigating the company's ability to produce the F-14 under the disputed contract, that Grumman would face a very serious credit problem after April 30.

He said Grumman would need another \$540m from the Navy to complete the 313 fighters which the service says it urgently requires.

Even then, Towl said, the company would lose \$23m on the programme. Grumman's credit problems are part of a growing crisis in the technologically advanced US aero-space industry.

Boeing has embarked on a series of big cut-backs, sacking thousands of workers at its major factories.

Lockheed, builders of the TriStar, were narrowly saved from bankruptcy by an injection of \$250m from the government.

## DUMPING: JAPAN HOLDS BACK GOODS

JAPAN will cut back a variety of exports to W Europe because of mounting criticism that Japanese goods are flooding the markets there, Minister of International Trade and Industry, Kakuei Tanaka said yesterday.

Tanaka told reporters that exports of desk-top electronic calculators, black-and-white television sets, tape recorders and other items would be subjected to quota or price restrictions under a projected series of self-imposed restraints.

Japan is taking these measures to combat the threat of tariffs and restrictions erected by the Common Market and other European countries who claim to be victims of 'dumping' by Japanese manufacturers.

Since August 15 last year Japanese exporters have been virtually shut out of their main US market.

They are forced to try and undercut European manufacturers in their own markets. The Netherlands, home of the giant Phillips electronics combine, has already threatened to invoke a safeguard clause in trade agreements to stem imports of Japanese goods.

The increase in Japanese exports to Europe tells its own story of trade-war competition.

Exports of electronic calculators in the last 12 months showed an increase of 27.5 per cent to Britain and 26.6 per cent to the Common Market bloc, Tokyo officials say.

Black-and-white tele-

visions exported to Britain during the same period increased by a massive 308.1 per cent, while those to the EEC increased by 14.8 per cent.

Exports of tape-recorders to Britain rose by 151.5 per cent and to the EEC by 35.2 per cent, the officials added.

Heavily oriented towards exports, Japan is extremely badly hit by the world recession and the trade war.

As a result of the slump, imports of raw materials to Japan are being drastically slashed.

Bougainville Copper Inc has just agreed to a 10-per-cent reduction in its contract tonnage of New Guinean copper ore to Japan.

The seven-member Japanese copper-smelting consortium had wanted the contract tonnage cut by 20 per cent.

Now they are to take delivery of the full contract tonnage, but will process 10 per cent of the ore for Bougainville to resell outside Japan.

In 1970 the consortium concluded a 15-year contract to import a total of 1,025,000 metric tons of copper concentrates from Bougainville Copper Inc in Papua-New Guinea, an affiliate of the Rio Tinto-Zinc metal giant.

## Tito's money moves lead to £17m fraud

YUGOSLAV authorities have uncovered a colossal financial operation in which four Zagreb managers milked their company of more than 244 million dinars.

This is equivalent to £17m at current exchange rates. Two of the four men involved, including Lazo Vracarik, director of the Zagreb Metalium enterprise, have fled the country. Two others are under arrest.

The theft underlines the corruption of sections of the bureaucracy and the uncontrolled character of banking operations as the Tito leadership does away with the state monopoly of foreign trade.

The State Secretariat for Public Security has established that Vracarik and

his colleagues, together with other Metalium officials, founded a number of firms in W Germany and Liechtenstein.

The Metalium factory imported raw materials from these German and Liechtenstein firms and re-exported the finished goods to them.

The arrested bureaucrats are said to have used their official position in Metalium to convey money out of the country into their personal accounts in foreign banks.

They were helped by the recent relaxation of terms for foreigners borrowing in Yugoslavia and were able to get large loans on the basis of fictitious documents. The German and Liechtenstein firms now owe the Yugoslav banks a total of 244 million dinars.

## Uruguay: Army's licence to kill

URUGUAYAN security forces pressed ahead with their 'internal war' against Tupamaro urban guerrillas and working-class organizations yesterday after 20 people died in four days of violence.

Acting under emergency powers voted by parliament on Saturday, President Juan Maria Bordaberry's six-week-old government has banned the news media from reporting police and army operations without official sanction.

But an armed forces communiqué confirmed that seven civilians were killed on Monday in a gun battle outside a Communist Party branch headquarters.

The Tupamaros have carried out a campaign of terrorist actions against the government, including kidnappings, and assassinations of high officials.

Under the excuse of stamping

out 'subversion', Bordaberry is attacking the basic organizations of Uruguay's working class. His parliament has licensed the soldiers to kill indiscriminately in order to break up the Communist Party and other groups labelled 'subversive'.

Naturally, no action is being taken against extreme right-wing terrorists who are believed

responsible for a series of bomb explosions and other acts of violence in the capital.

Defence Minister General Enrique Magnani held talks with the president and political leaders on Monday. He announced afterwards that the army operations were continuing. 'Positions are becoming more and more radical,' he said.

## Fiat chief kidnappers arrested

ARGENTINE authorities announced yesterday that eight members of the urban guerrilla cell which kidnapped Italian industrialist Oberdan Sallustro—found shot dead a week ago—had been arrested. One is a woman.

Also detained were 18 people alleged to have been accomplices

in the operation, and six others were still being sought by the authorities, a statement from the office of President Lanusse said.

The People's Revolutionary Army—a Pabloite revisionist group which has turned away from the working class towards individual acts of terror—claimed responsibility for the Sallustro kidnapping.

## Poles in shipbuilding talks with Spain

CO-OPERATION between the shipping and shipbuilding industries of fascist Spain and Stalinist Poland is likely to be increased as a result of talks currently underway in Warsaw.

A delegation from the Spanish Instituto Nacional de Industria arrived in the Polish capital recently and met Ryszard Karski, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade last week.

The two sides examined prospects for further development of economic co-operation and the

Spaniards later met the Deputy Minister of Shipping, Stefan Perkowicz, for talks on co-operation in the domain of shipping and shipbuilding.

The Polish Stalinists became notorious for their strike-breaking exports of coal during two big strikes in Spain's Asturias coalfield.

The latest talks follow a series of strikes in Spanish shipyards which culminated in the shooting of two workers by police at El Ferrol, on Spain's north-west coast.

## Rumania joins in too . . .

RUMANIA is also increasing its commercial ties with the Spanish fascists. Agerpress, the Bucharest news agency, announced earlier this week that government officials had signed two conventions to regulate the trade in livestock and plants between the two countries.

## MPs plead for jail amnesty in Ulster

NEARLY 50 Labour MPs have signed a Commons motion urging N Ireland Secretary William Whitelaw to grant an amnesty for MPs and all those sentenced for taking part in 'illegal' marches in the province.

The motion also asks Whitelaw to revoke the ban on marches.

If an amnesty is granted, it means that the two Westminster MPs—Frank McManus and Bernadette Devlin—sentenced at Eniskillen on Monday to six months' imprisonment would not be jailed after all.

A leading article in Tuesday's 'Guardian' entitled 'Bad time for martyrdoms' also calls on Whitelaw to 'suspend' the sentence on Miss Devlin.

'His new regime depends on all sorts of ways of letting by-gones be by-gones and on a resolute turning of the blind eye,' it states.

## Worthless jobs motion

A GROUP of Labour MPs are proposing utterly worthless policies to get the right to work for thousands of school-leavers.

About 150 Labour back-benchers have signed a Commons motion 'urging the government to take emergency action'.

Sponsored by Ray Carter, MP for Birmingham Northfield, it demands special government action 'to deal with employment problems that will confront 532,000 children when they leave school this summer'.

This 'special pleading' is obscene. It refuses to recognize that the Tory government is directly responsible for creating the massive unemployment levels. The motion makes no call for the ending of the government.

The Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marchers need no education about the bankruptcy of the Labour reformists.

On March 13, the day after the Empire Pool rally, Wembley, the marchers went to the House of Commons and saw their MPs unmasked—unable to give direct answers on the Tory government or the 69 right-wingers who voted with the Tories on the Common Market.

## 'Tribune' MPs' bomb protest

TWENTY members of the 'Tribune' group of Labour MPs will stage an hour's vigil outside the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square today in protest against the bombing offensive in N Vietnam.

At midday they will hand in a protest letter addressed to President Nixon.

## AUEW National Committee—Eastbourne

# Shift this Tory gang say

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN EASTBOURNE

**AFTER** a hasty mid-morning departure by union president Hugh Scanlon, the fight against the Tories yesterday took the centre of the stage at the engineers' National Committee meeting at Eastbourne.

# engineers' delegates

Scanlon drove back to London for an emergency meeting of the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee. And today he flies to W Germany for the funeral of metal union leader Otto Brenner.

As a consequence, the next question of the union's wages policy will not be discussed until Friday at the earliest, since delegates were anxious that the AUEW president should attend the full debate.

Failure to attend the TUC meeting on the railwaymen's work-to-rule could be 'completely misunderstood and misrepresented perhaps', Scanlon told the National Committee.

No doubt he had in mind accusations levelled at him after a similar incident at the start of the miners' strike.

On that occasion, he missed a F&GPC meeting to fight for the abandonment of the national pay claim at a recalled National Committee.

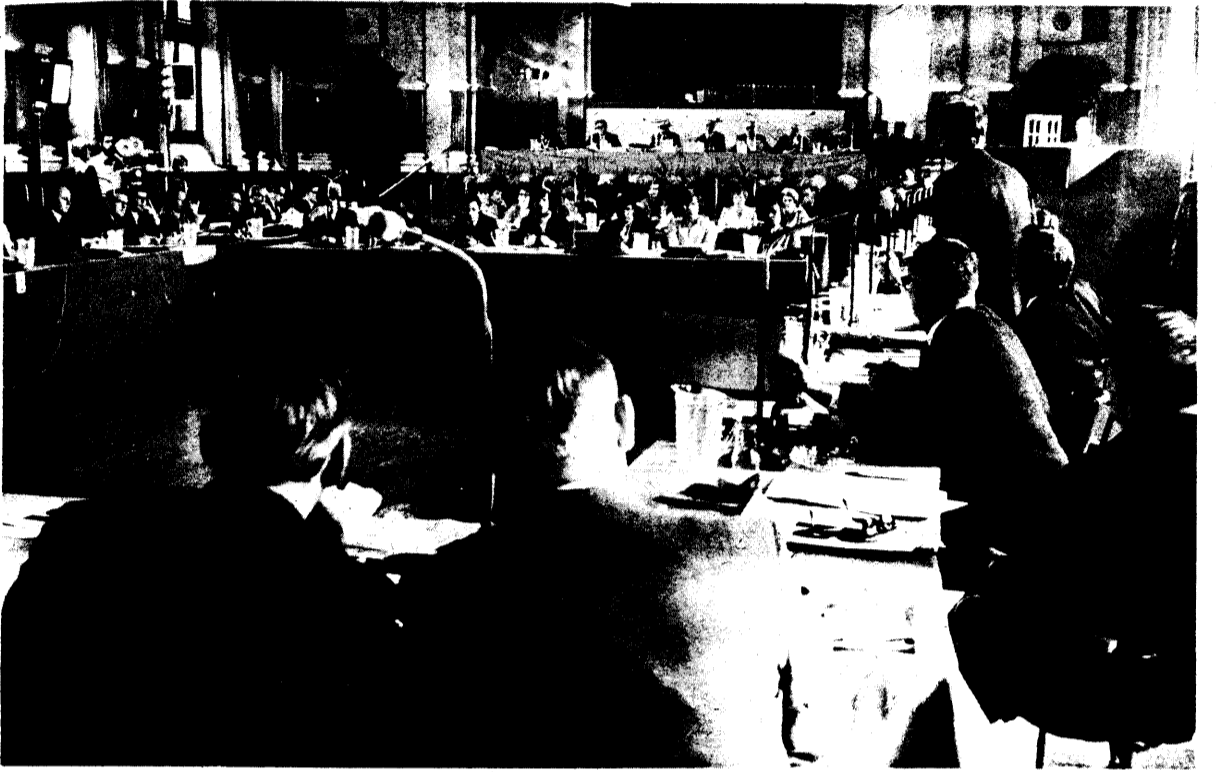
Yesterday morning, the National Committee carried without opposition a call from the AUEW Manchester district for the TUC and for the Labour Party to 'unite in a programme of activity that can bring fresh elections now and the return of a Labour government pledged to a socialist and progressive programme'.

The 52 delegates also condemned the Tory government's creation of unemployment, demanded a propaganda campaign designed to return Labour and instructed the union executive to ensure that such a government was committed to Clause 4 of the party constitution.

But nowhere in either resolution or speeches on the issue did the committee say how the Tory government was to be removed.

No left-wing delegate succeeded in completely separating himself from the statement of Jim Brearley, a Leeds right winger, that the only way to get a Labour government was 'on the knocker'.

Len Miseldine, from SE London, said that the committee would support a government dedicated to socialist policies, not one that simply followed on



The National Committee in session

from what the Tories were doing.

'From the grass roots of the trade union movement to the grass roots of the Labour Party, there must be an understanding of the kind of policies we want to see carried out', he said. 'Don't elect people whose sole objectives will be the preservation of the capitalist structure.'

The practice of voting in MPs with 'elastic consciences', he said, had contributed to the political apathy of the workshop floor.

Manchester delegate Bill Anten, whose Hawker Siddeley, Woodford, plant is currently occupied by its 2,000 workers, said that there should be a unity of the working class and the TUC and the Labour Party. He insisted:

'The downfall of this present government must be brought about first before we get to grips with the programme that the Labour leadership must implement.'

The unemployed were no longer looking for the old solutions of demonstrations and marches, said NE coast delegate Les Allen.

The present actions by workers in a number of industries showed that they were determined to end unemployment once and for all.

At Sharston Engineering, warned a second Manchester delegate Stan Cole, the employers had shown their determination to use the Industrial Relations Act.

An enthusiastic campaign was needed to shift 'this Tory gang', he said. But trade unionists did not want to see them shifted by people like Roy Jenkins MP who had ensured the continued existence of the Tory Party with their votes on the Common Market.

'We must fight and organize to get the Labour government committed to socialist principles', he said.

Right wing AUEW general secretary Jim Conway later hit back at this attack with a claim that it was a 'tragedy' that Jenkins, Dick Taverne MP and others had been driven out of their jobs.

He asked where the labour movement would find men of this calibre again.

## UCS chief quits: '£35m not enough'

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

**PROSPECTS** for shipbuilding on Upper Clyde blackened yesterday with the resignation of Govan Shipbuilders' most experienced executive, Kenneth Douglas. His decision to pull out of the company, which is expected to begin trading soon, is bound to be interpreted as a no confidence vote in its future.

Douglas was the old managing director of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and was considered to be one of the few men who had genuinely improved the bankrupt consortium's survival prospects.

He and another ex-UCS executive have rented a 25,000 sq ft factory in E Kilbride where they hope to produce high-class kitchen furniture.

Of his sudden departure Douglas said: 'I have done the balancing act for too long. I'm getting out while I'm still active.'

Douglas says the £35m that the government have promised to Govan Shipbuilders will be insufficient to keep the company afloat.

Over £17m of this money will go to make up losses on the six orders the new company hopes to inherit from the UCS liquidation. Four of these are to be built at the UCS Govan yard and two at the Scotstoun yard—these are two bulk carriers for the Harrison line just released by the liquidator. They are expected to incur a £2m loss.

This will give Govan Shipbuilders, who will take over two of the old UCS yards and the steel fabrication unit at Lint-house, just under a year's work.

Beyond this there are no firm prospects for orders. The market for the 26,000 ton bulk carrier range which is Govan's staple ship is almost non-existent and news of Douglas's resignation will be a further blow to the company's credibility.

## NUJ: Nasty Act, but let's stay registered

**PRESIDENT** of the National Union of Journalists, Mr Douglas Rees yesterday condemned the government's Industrial Relations Act.

Speaking at the union's annual delegate conference in Tenby, Pembrokeshire, Rees said: 'As a piece of trade union law, it was one of the most pernicious items of legislation to be pushed through by any government in this country.'

He added that the majority of the NUI executive had greatly regretted the referendum decision to register the union under the Act.

But he warned branches who wanted to overthrow the decision at the conference that many members were concerned that de-

registration would 'debase this conference as being a non-representative voice in the union'.

### Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists Meeting

#### DUNDEE

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

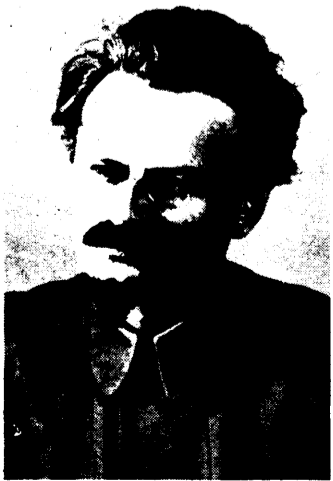
AUEW Hall, 26 Southward Rd. Sunday April 23, 8 p.m.

#### Speakers:

G. Healy, SLL national secretary

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

## BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology

Paperback, 62½p

**MAX SHACHTMAN:**

Behind The Moscow Trial

Paperback 75p

**ROBERT BLACK:**

Stalinism In Britain

Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2

**LEON TROTSKY:**

Death Agony of Capitalism

(The Transitional Programme)

Pamphlet 5p

**Class Nature of the Soviet State**

Pamphlet 20p

**In Defence of the October**

Revolution Pamphlet 15p

**The Theory and Practice of**

Revisionism Pamphlet 15p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:

**NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS**

186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.



# BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

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

## DAVID LAKE

Lincoln

There are only one or two points I would like to make about the Draft Manifesto. I mention them only because I am in firm agreement with the Manifesto as a whole.

There can be no doubt that the Tory government must be regarded as 'illegal' in the sense indicated in section 1 (p. 2). But what is implied by the term 'conspiracy' in that section?

If it only means the political schemes and elitist manoeuvres of the ruling minority in the interests of big business, the monopolies and the banks, then all well and good.

The Tory government is the rule of big business in the interest of capital, exploiting its present political strength (as compared with the political backwardness of Labour and trade union leadership of the labouring majority) to get rid of its relative economic weakness (as compared with the growing economic strength of the unions).

There is absolutely no doubt that Britain today is as ripe for the rule of this immense majority as the Labour and trade union leadership appears determined to prevent it.

Heath, riding on the backs of this traitorous leadership, relies heavily on its old-fashioned sentimentalism and loyalty to the struggle to defend the minority interests of British capital.

So Common Market entry is certainly the scheme of a ruling minority in the interests of capital, part of an overall struggle by business to strengthen its position at the expense of the labouring majority, the working class.

But does this term 'conspiracy' describe it? To me it has rather moralistic overtones — like the liberal humanist calling top management 'evil' for putting profit before people—and possibly individualistic, personalist overtones too—as if a precious little clique of secret plotters were behind the massive, social, political and economic activity of which EEC entry is only a part.

It's a small point—and perhaps so refined as to be irrelevant . . . if it were not for the fact that International Socialists talk of plots and conspiracies a lot—as do the forces of right-wing reaction, both speaking from within the individualistic/moralist assumptions of bourgeois ideology.

I have a somewhat similar doubt about the term 'parasite' in Section 4 (page 3). It draws attention to the fact that capital, the wealth of the privileged ruling few, is unpaid labour extracted from the labouring majority and that this majority, the working class, is the real source of this wealth.

But doesn't the word parasite carry with it other connotations? Does it allow for the fact that the rule of the 'parasite' minority in the interests of capital, both at the time of the English and Industrial revolutions, was the



The lessons of May 1968 in France are too important to be forgotten.

most progressive power in the land?

Moral indignation about parasites is beside the point, if it is implied here at all. It is simply that the present level of development of our productive forces in Europe—our industries, technology and science and those who work at these things — is now such that this rule of the 'parasite' minority in the interests of big business, the banks and the monopolies—in short, capital—is no longer workable.

It is no longer a progressive but a counter-progressive power in the land, not because it is parasitical and therefore wrong, but because it cannot cope with the social and economic reality which the developing productive forces have created.

It is possible I am reading far

too much into such terms—it all depends upon how they are commonly understood. That I do not know, as yet.

I am in complete agreement with the transitional strategy of (a) overthrow of Tories, (b) return of Labour government with socialist policies, i.e. nationalization of industry, land and banking without compensation and under workers' control.

But there are many questions of detail here. For example—if we are correct to suppose that the present Labour and trade union leadership is one of the principal safety catches preventing the explosive interruption of direct political initiative, making the factories, the streets, the block of flats, the universities and the like into living centres of political energy and decision—

then throw off this leadership. And with European capital as unstable as it is, you have this explosion on your hands almost immediately.

Well that's fine as long as a revolutionary party is well enough organized to co-ordinate and sustain the mass movement as it breaks out. Are we ready?

I somewhat doubt it. In other words, what may appear to be relatively easy-going, to some 'reformist' demand, which might lead to a fairly long, stable period of social democracy before developing into the complete, unlimited dictatorship of the immense majority and the withering away of the state, is in fact a revolutionary demand, with very urgent consequences indeed.

The spectre of revolution is real enough, but so is the spec-

tre of counter-revolution. The international workers' movement can ill afford the repeat of yet another abortive revolution; the lessons of May 1968 in France are too important to be forgotten.

The revolutionary party, strong in organization and revolutionary strategy, is not expendable.

The Socialist Labour League critique of the Communist Party, the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group appears to me to be well-founded, but I need to 'live' and 'experience' this critique to be sure of it—coming as I do from the middle-class, pseudo-Marxist humanism of a Hegelianized Marx, Lukacs, Bloch, Kojève, Goldman and company.

So I need the training outlined in Section 6 (p. 4).

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

National Conference

Including the Charter of Basic Rights

**DRAFT MANIFESTO**

# THE DANZIG TROTSKYISTS



A page from the history of the Fourth International. By Tom Kemp.

Shortly before the trial in Moscow of Piatakov, Radek and others falsely alleged to be 'Trotskyists', a group of genuine Trotskyists belonging to the 'Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands' (IKD) was put on trial in Danzig.

Danzig was then a 'Free City' under the League of Nations. Although it was ruled by the local Nazis, certain poli-

tical freedoms of a limited kind still existed in 1936. These did not extend to the Trotskyist movement or to the Communist Party which had, therefore, to operate illegally.

On the other hand, the trial resulted in prison sentences of two or three years; the same offences in Germany at this time would have qualified for the concentration camp or the hangman's noose.

Trotsky wrote about the trial of the Danzig Trotskyists in April 1937 when he had been forced to leave Europe for Mexico. He did so on the basis of information supplied by a member of the Danzig group, Siegfried Kissin, who had visited him in Norway the previous year.

Mr Kissin, who dropped out of the Trotskyist movement a few years later, lives in Britain and has supplied some reminiscences about his experience in the Trotskyist movement before World War II.

He joined the Danzig branch of the IKD early in 1934 when it was still smarting from a crisis caused by the defection of the Sobolevich brothers. They had been Stalinist agents working inside the party.

The German group had been

re-constituted in exile after the coming to power of Hitler in January 1933. Its leadership, the 'Auslands-Komitee', was set up in Paris with about eight members and issued a paper called 'Unser Wort'.

Kissin happened to know a member of the 'Auslands-Komitee' who came from the same town, Danzig, and it was through him that he was put in touch with the Danzig branch. As he tells the story: 'I had not previously belonged to any political organization, but I had been in touch with the Moscow Communists. Eventually, having read Trotsky's pamphlets on Germany and seeing that his analysis was correct and that his predictions had come true, I found that I was sufficiently in agreement with his line to apply for membership of the IKD.'

'There was a group of about ten and within a few months we were able to bring out a duplicated paper called "Der Funke" in co-operation with some left-wing members of the Social Democratic Party which until 1936 was still legal in Danzig.'

At this time Kissin, who had been trained as a lawyer, was working for the Social

Democratic trade union giving information and advice to workers on legal questions.

'When this paper had been in existence for several months I was dismissed because it was known that I played a big part in it and the SD leaders felt that I was imperilling the legal existence of the union.'

'Shortly after that the Nazi police arrested some members of the SD group which worked with us on "Der Funke". I succeeded in getting out of Danzig and went to Prague with my wife, who had also joined the Trotskyist movement. This was in May 1935, and we stayed until December.'

'At that time the Nazis in Danzig declared a general amnesty and the following month I returned to the city.'

'I resumed contact with my old comrades, some of whom had spent a few months in jail but had been released under the amnesty. We started up our activities again in a very cautious manner. After all, I was known to the police. I kept my political activities very strictly separated from my personal life. Precautions were taken to ensure that I was not followed in the street

when I went to a political meeting.'

'Until April or May 1935', Kissin continues, 'I was the only intellectual in the group and I was also the writer of most of the articles for the paper. Then a member of the SAP [the centrist Socialist Workers' Party] returned to Danzig where his parents lived after studying in Switzerland. He and I were more or less the editors when he started issuing a new paper, purely Trotskyist, called "Spartacus" and we issued leaflets, some of which were also signed "Spartacus", to establish the link.'

From this there appears to have arisen a certain confusion, because the name of the organization was still IKD.

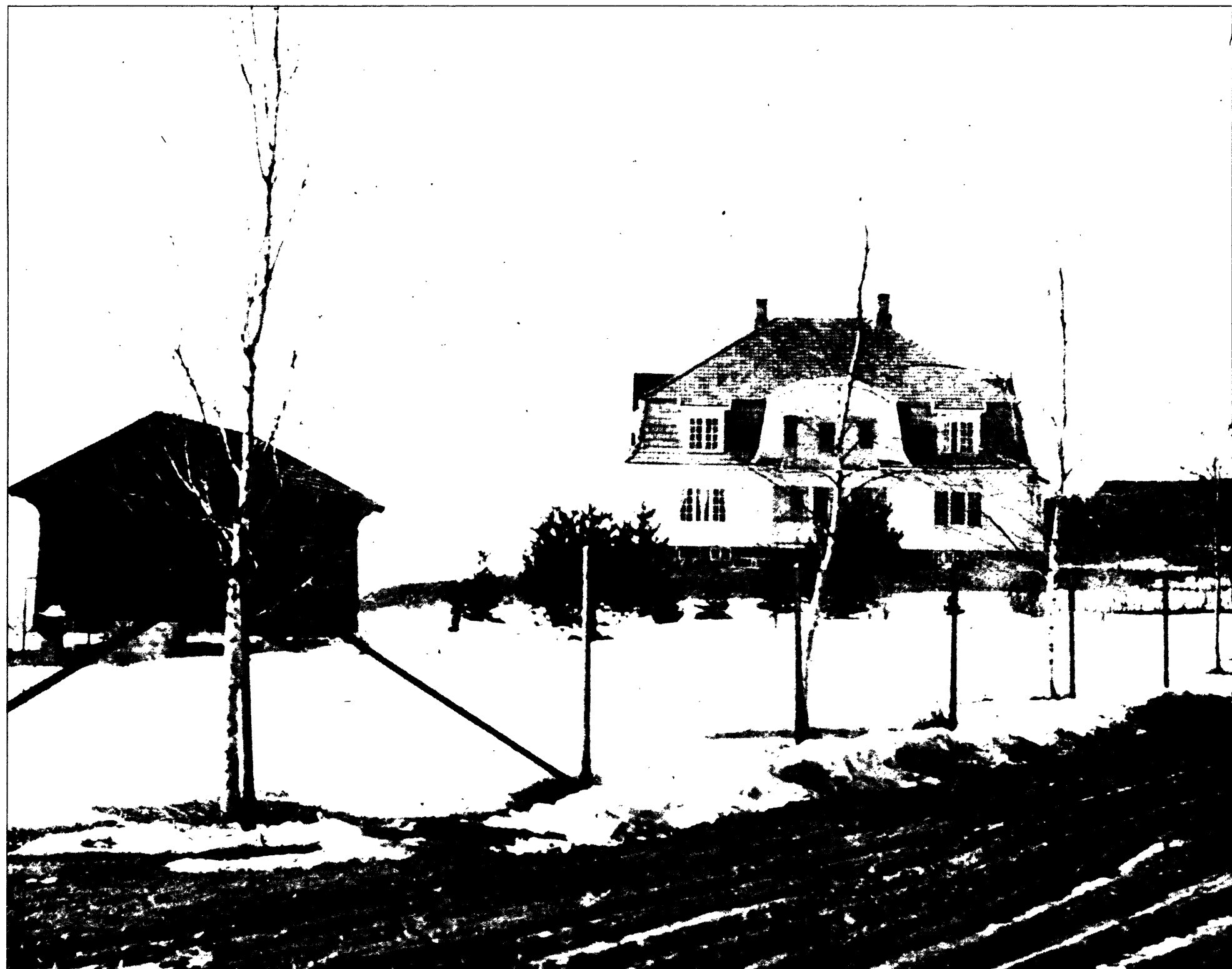
It is necessary here to fill in some background on the SAP members, Dr Franz Jakubowsky, who shortly afterwards left the SAP and joined the IKD (Trotskyists).

He was to be the principal accused in the Danzig trial to which Trotsky referred. He was at that time 25 years old and while at Basle University had written a thesis called 'Ideological Superstructures in the Materialist Conception of History'. It was unusual at this



Top: Trotsky en route from Copenhagen to Prinkipo via Paris in 1932. Above: Karl Radek.





time for anyone to take a deep interest in Marxist philosophy in bourgeois universities anywhere in Europe.

In fact Jakubowsky's thesis is a remarkable piece of work considering when it was written and it foreshadows the interest in the younger Marx which was later to become fashionable and respectable in European intellectual circles.

It was, however, written very much under the influence of Karl Korsch, the German 'left' Communist, and Georg Lukacs, and before he joined the Trotskyist movement.

It takes issue with Lenin on the question of the development of working-class consciousness in the direction of spontaneity. At the same time, Jakubowsky calls for the formation of the revolutionary party from what he calls 'the most advanced elements in the proletariat'.

The 'last sections of his book are not free from a certain confusion, excusable perhaps in someone who had had little contact with the working-class movement and was writing in the rarefied atmosphere of a Swiss university. (This is my appraisal and is not the one which Mr Kissin would accept—T.K.)

By the time that Jakubowsky had returned to Danzig and joined the IKD it had undergone some changes. A split had taken place in 1934 over the 'French turn'—the entry tactic adopted by the French section on the advice of Trotsky by which its members joined the Socialist Party.

A conference of the German section was held in Switzerland over the Christmas of 1934. This is how Kissin remembers it:

'The conference of Xmas 1934 was really the only German Trotskyist conference ever held during the Third Reich. We were never told the exact location of the conference. We

met in Zurich, then early each morning (for three or four days running) all took a local train to Dietikon (a place some ten miles NW of Zurich) and then walked through the woods for about an hour to a sculptor's studio where the conference took place.

'I don't remember the exact number of delegates from inside Germany, but it cannot have been much more than half a dozen. Apart from myself (from Danzig) there were two delegates from Berlin (one pro-entry, one anti-entry); one woman from Gelsenkirchen; a man from Dresden and another from Magdeburg. There may have been one or two others. There was also an emigré from Reichenberg (the Czech town of Liberec), three members of the Auslands-Komitee including Johre, a Swiss comrade, Walter Nelz, who had done the spadework for the conference, an Austrian fraternal delegate and Jan Frankel, one of Trotsky's secretaries.

'It should be added that the five members of the Auslands-Komitee who opposed entry were not invited to the conference.

'In the event the main issue of entry was scarcely debated at all. Delegates reported on the activities of their groups and there were reports and discussions on the German and international situation.

'In a report on the German political scene, Johre launched his famous "Kirchenbewegung" theory, saying that the only effective political opposition to the Nazi regime emanated from the Protestant Church (Niemöller et al) as the representative of the petty bourgeoisie, and that revolutionaries should support the Church movement to the extent of joining congregations and carrying on activity within them. (This provoked the final rupture between the IKD and the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group,

but was supported, if half-heartedly to Trotsky.)

'When the resolution supporting entry was put to the vote, it was carried almost unanimously, my vote being the only one cast against. Even the Berlin anti-entry delegate voted for it. The position of his group was peculiar. They had decided in the months preceding the conference that getting out of isolation was a good thing for Trotskyist groups but that it was preferable to join 'centrist' parties like the SAP rather than the Social-Democratic ones. In fact the anti-entry Berlin group had already joined the SAP, while concealing the fact that they had kept their own IKD group intact.

'The Dietikon conference elected a new executive, consisting of the three members of the Auslands-Komitee plus some of the delegates from inside Germany (who of course went back). In 1935-1936 nearly all members of the German groups were arrested by the Gestapo. When I finally left Danzig in July 1936 the Danzig group was probably the only IKD group still active.'

Kissin then explains what happened to the Danzig group in 1936.

The position of Danzig changed as a result of the Abyssinian war which revealed the impotence of the League of Nations and thus encouraged the local Nazis to pull off the moderate mask which they had put on for the benefit of the League of Nations' High Commissioner.

Police activity was stepped up against the illegal groups and it was agreed that his presence there was an embarrassment and that he risked being arrested. After his departure it was not long before the Social Democratic Party was dissolved. The bourgeois parties survived until 1937 or 1938.

'I went to Denmark and then to Norway', Kissin continues. 'Trotsky's secretary at that time was Erwin Wolf, a member of the German Executive with whom I was in touch. It was he who first suggested that I should go to Norway to see him and Trotsky.'

Trotsky at this time was living as a guest in the house of the Norwegian Labour MP Knudsen. At this time he knew nothing about the Danzig group to which the Nazi court claimed that had sent 'instructions'. As Trotsky put it in his article:

'Of the Danzig group I learned from Kissin only a few days prior to my internment and I engaged in no correspondence with it.

'But this does not essentially change anything in the matter. There is between us a bond of close ideological solidarity. As the publications of the Spartacus Bund (actually the IKD-Danzig branch) eloquently testify, its young leaders were perfectly able to find their way in political questions, without any of my "instructions".'

Kissin visited Trotsky on August 1, 1936. He told him about the Danzig organization. While in Norway, the Kissins received some unwelcome publicity:

'My wife and I were staying at Hønefoss, near Trotsky's home. The local paper published an article which was headlined—'Has Ringerike [the name of the district] become a centre of World Revolution?'

'It said that Trotsky was receiving more foreign visitors including a couple from Danzig. After seeing this article, Trotsky sent Löffler who was then acting as his secretary to see us to suggest that we go to the editor of the paper and explain that it was all a mistake, that we happened to know Erwin Wolf

personally and that as I was in Norway I had contacted him. I was supposed to say that I had just gone to see him at Knudsen's house for a friendly chat, then, finding Wolf was not there I had met Löffler on a purely social basis.

'I did not think much of the idea because it could easily have been established that I was not just a simple tourist, but had a political past and had already emigrated once before to avoid arrest.

'Trotsky went on holiday with Knudsen shortly afterwards and we went back to Oslo where we met another German Trotskyist, Walter Held, who was probably shot in the Soviet Union when he went there, en route for the USA, during the war. Neither he nor his Norwegian wife and child were heard of again. Erwin Wolf, who went to Spain during the civil war with the daughter of Knudsen, was arrested and killed by the Stalinists.'

From Norway, Kissin returned to Denmark where he stayed until the Spring of 1937, moving then to Paris, where he joined the secretariat of the German section, the IKD, and became involved in the petty disputes of the emigré groups and began to develop positions which took him out of the Trotskyist movement.

Meanwhile the Danzig Trotskyists had been arrested and put on trial, together with some members of the official Communist Party. At this trial Dr Jakubowski was the leading figure but, as Trotsky put it:

'In conclusion the presiding judge expressed his regret that the chief criminal, Dr Kissin happened to be in Copenhagen and not in the prisoner's dock. The Danzig government had the intelligence, of course, to refrain from demanding the extradition of Kissin.'



Top left: Knudsen's house where Trotsky stayed as a guest of the Norwegian Labour MP. Top right: Trotsky with his wife and secretary disembarking at Istanbul, December 17, 1932. Above: Trotsky in court in Norway with one of his secretaries.

Trotsky's article from Mexico was written from information and newspaper reports sent to him by Kissin. As he pointed out, the IKD stood for the defence of the Soviet Union and in August 1936 negotiations were actually taking place between the Danzig CP and the IKD for a united front.

When the Moscow Trial was under way the Danzig CP (i.e. the Stalinists) then perfidiously alleged that the Trotskyists were agents of the Gestapo. Trotsky submitted the material on the Danzig Trotskyists to the Dewey Commission in America to show the falsity of the charge.

As the report put it: 'The literature of both the Trotskyists and the Hitlerites in Danzig shows the characteristic relationship between a revolutionary opposition and the Hitler regime.' In fact, by then the Danzig branch of the IKD was probably the only one able to carry on any kind of underground work.

Jakubowski and his co-accused were found guilty and he received a three-year prison sentence. His family was able to get him out of jail before the sentence was up and he emigrated to Denmark and eventually went to the United States.

In the course of this 'odyssey' he broke with the Trotskyist movement, like Kissin himself and changed his name to Fischer—his mother's maiden name.

In this way, no doubt, he signified his break with the past.

He died in Amsterdam in 1970, leaving as a memorial the thesis which he had written as a young man. It was republished without his knowledge or authority in Germany in 1968 and in a French translation by Etudes et Documents Internationales in Paris in 1971.

### NAZIS SEND WEAPONS TO SPANISH FASCISTS STOP ARMS FOR THE SPANISH COUNTER-REVOLUTION

**Dockers!** Class brothers! The German and Polish fascist governments have hypocritically declared themselves neutral in the Spanish civil war. In reality they are permanent arms suppliers for the Spanish fascists.

On September 17, the steamer 'Sylvia' loaded arms for Spain. Although they were ostensibly Polish, workers testify that the name 'Krupp' was on the cases. They must therefore be German arms and munitions for the Spanish counter-revolutionaries. There were further loads on October 15 and October 22-24 and again in the last few days.

With these weapons the Spanish workers will be shot down. International fascism is making feverish attempts to drown the Spanish revolution in blood. Under the cover of neutrality, all the capitalist countries are helping the Spanish fascists. But no bourgeois government is helping the Spanish working class in its heroic fight for freedom. Only the international solidarity of the proletariat can save it.

**Dockers!** Show solidarity with your Spanish class brothers. The defeat for the Spanish working class is a defeat for the world working class. The fight of the workers in Spain is your fight. No class-conscious worker must stab the Spanish revolution in the back.

In Antwerp dockers have gone on strike; in Gdingen your colleagues have prevented the loading of arms. The Danzig dockers have always stood in the front line of the class struggle; they must not stand back this time. Don't let your solidarity be bought by a 20 per cent wage rise. Only if you help the Spanish workers through your struggle will you be able to throw off the yoke of fascism in Danzig itself.

**Dockers!** Stop all further transport of weapons and munitions to the Spanish fascists. If only a few workers refuse to load arms their cards can be taken off them. Therefore everyone must refuse. Strike resolutely against any further loading of arms for Spain!

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISTS OF GERMANY—Danzig

Translation of a leaflet put out by the Danzig Trotskyists during the Spanish civil war. The Nazis sealed off the docks in an attempt to prevent it being distributed and catching those responsible for it.

# THE ARMS MAKERS AND THE THIRD REICH

The world economic depression of the 1930s, beginning with the Wall St crash in the autumn of 1929, struck German capitalism with special severity. It plunged it into a social and political crisis which culminated in the defeat of the highly-organized working-class movement and the coming to power of Hitler. This series of articles deals with the economic aspects of the victory of Nazism, and goes on to examine the connection between the Nazi regime and monopoly capitalism and will conclude with an analysis of Nazi Germany's war economy. Part 3 by Tom Kemp

Nazi economic policy was fully in line with the requirement of German capitalism. It smashed the trade unions, held down wages and living standards, opened up new opportunities for the middle class and, above all, enabled the big capitalist firms and banks to make vast profits.

As industrial production climbed up to and beyond its 1929 level and the profits came rolling in again, there is no doubt that German big business was grateful to its Fuehrer.

The role which armaments played in the Nazi economy before 1939 has caused some controversy. Sometimes the extent of the preparations for war are exaggerated and it is important to see what Hitler's programme was.

First, the armaments industry was at a low level in 1933 as a result of the at least nominal adherence to the Treaty of Versailles. This severely limited the armed forces which Germany was permitted to maintain.

Until about 1936 the first phase of rearmament consisted of establishing the basis of a mechanized army, an air force and a larger navy, including submarines. This required an expansion of heavy industry—highly approved by the Ruhr steel magnates—the development of machine-tool production and the widening of the raw material base by the establishment of substitute industries (oil from coal, synthetic rubber, man-made fibres).

War preparations do not consist only of producing munitions and weapons of war. They require a strong industrial base, a capacity for production and administrative machinery to gear production to war.

Once a certain level of armaments had been reached, there was no point in increasing the proportion of production which went directly on arms. In any case, Hitler's strategy assumed a series of lightning wars—blitzkriegs—waged against enemies singly, not a lengthy, total war against a coalition of powers such as actually occurred after 1939.

So it was sufficient to have a mobile striking force of well-trained and heavily-armed divisions with supporting aircraft. Once this had been achieved, there was a definite disadvantage in further arms spending.

Already in the 1930s, arms were going out of date rapidly, especially armoured fighting vehicles, aircraft and anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns. Beyond a certain point it would have been senseless for Germany to prepare for war by piling up weapons likely to become obsolete within a few years.

Nevertheless, the first phase of rearmament undoubtedly made a vital contribution to German

recovery which was well advanced by 1936 when a new stage of war preparation began. In the next four years the economy was ordered to be placed on a war footing.

Even so, the proportion of national product going on armaments was not much greater than that in Britain, which also began rearming in 1936-1937. British Intelligence consistently over-estimated German military strength and preparedness for war in these years.

The feeling that Hitler was taking excessive risks with inadequate fighting forces and a still vulnerable industrial base was responsible for opposition to his policy inside the General Staff. This appeared at the time of Munich and resulted in an army plot to overthrow him in 1939. This was led by a number of high officers including General Beck, Chief of Staff. Beck was executed for his part in the other ill-fated plot in July 1944.

It has to be stressed that there was a close connection between the nature of German economic preparations for war and Hitler's confidence that a lengthy war against a number of enemies could be avoided.

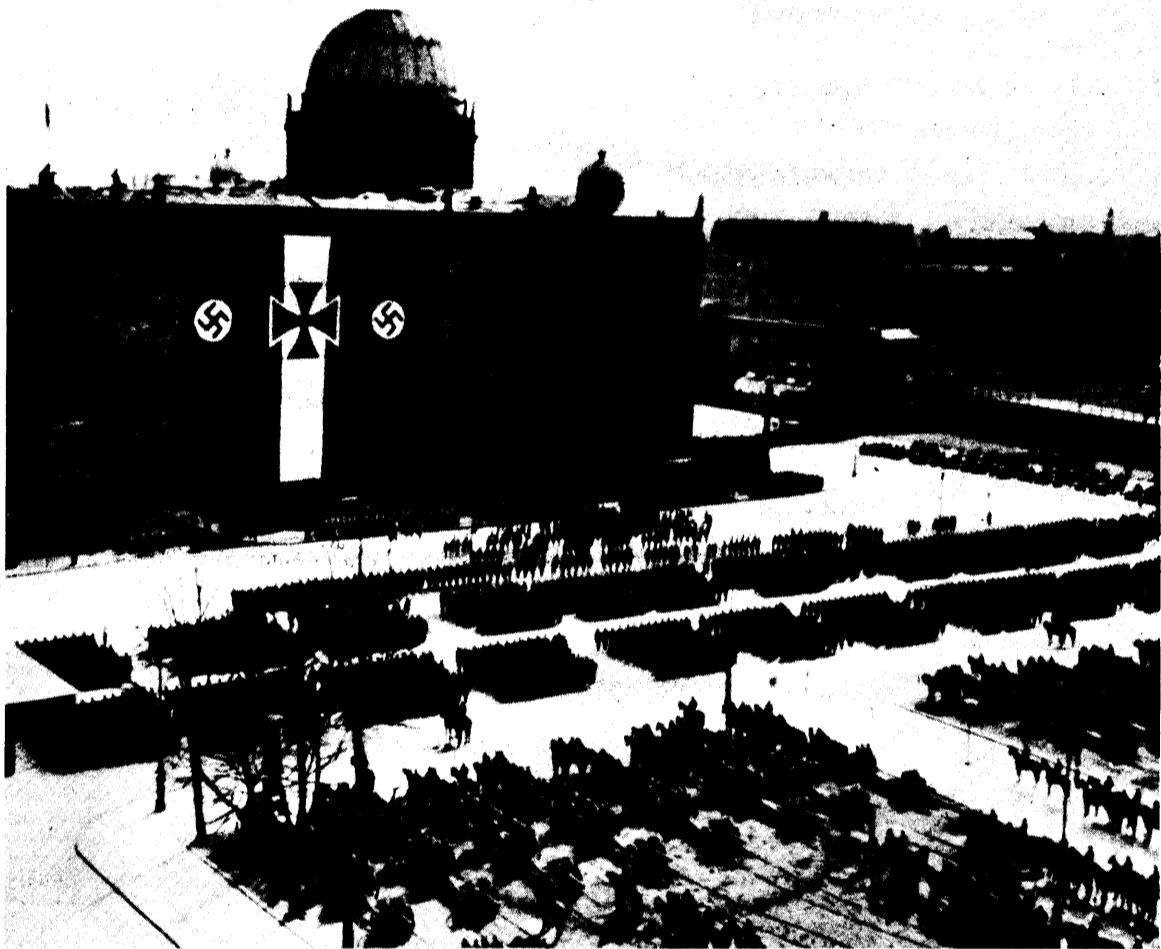
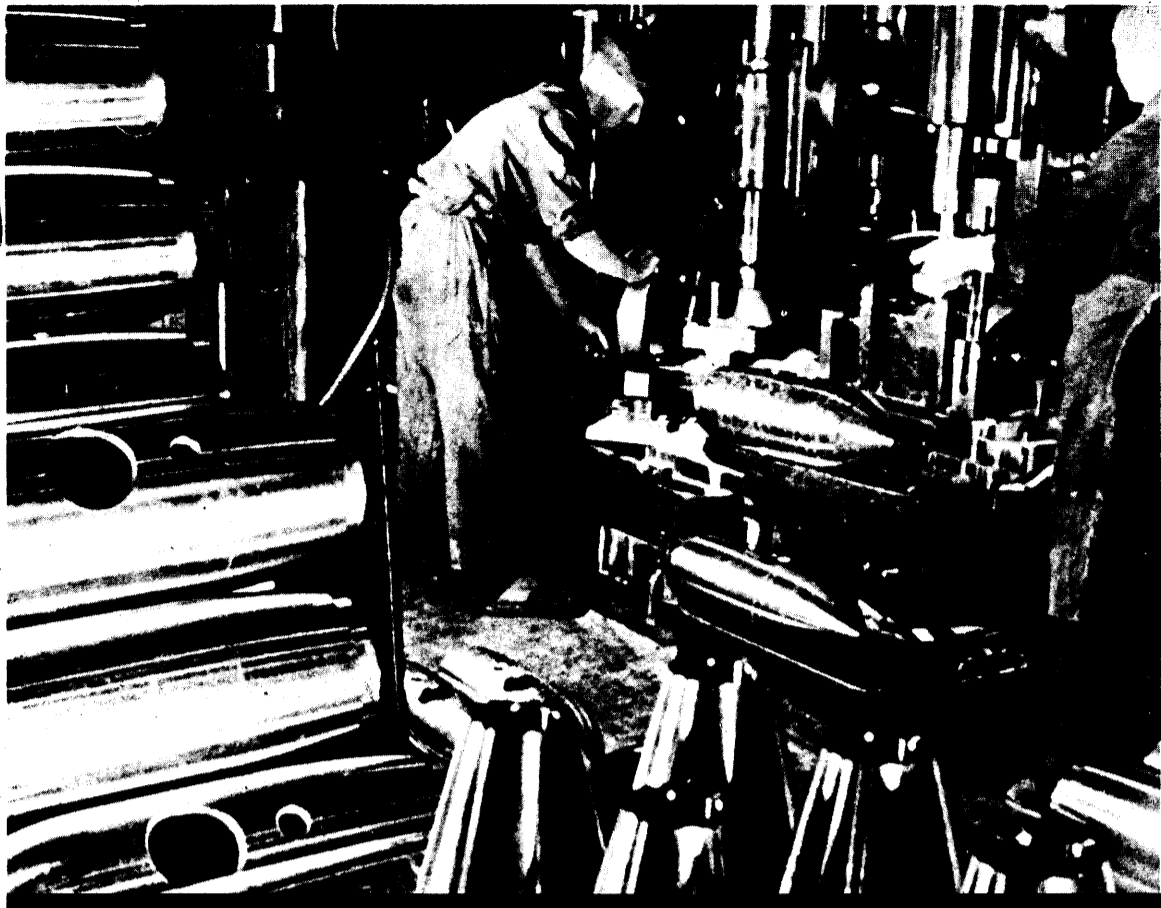
Germany did not prepare for the kind of war which took place. Had she done so, armament production before 1939 would have had to be on a much larger scale, or the war would have had to be postponed.

There is no doubt, of course, that the Nazi economy prepared for war and that its inevitability as 'the continuation of politics by other means' was fully accepted by the ruling class. There were differences about the kind of war and about the wisdom of Hitler's strategy. Most doubts were removed when it appeared to be brilliantly successful against Poland in 1939 and in the W in 1940.

Whatever the generals may have thought, Hitler's type of war preparation was approved by big business. It had the advantage of giving them an assured market for armaments by the state—contracts were on a cost-plus basis which meant big profits—while leaving the way clear for the expansion of civilian production as well.

In the years after 1933, government spending on public works and armaments gave a powerful upward thrust to the economy. Profits rose, investment went ahead and unemployment fell.

It would have been possible to increase the scale of armaments output considerably either by increasing total production or by reducing the proportion of total output going on civilian production. Neither of these were done; the primary reason seems to have been fear of inflation and the sound money policies upheld by Dr Schacht, Minister of Economics until August 1937 and the President of the Reichsbank until January 1939.



Top: armament manufacture in Germany, 1937. Above: a military parade in Berlin

Although Schacht was eventually dismissed, his influence in the 1930s was considerable. Indeed, throughout, the representatives of finance capital and heavy industry showed that they were the masters by opposing Hitler's more dangerous economic demands.

Of course, they were not able to directly influence political and military policy in the same way. This was part of the bargain struck between German capitalism and the Nazi leadership.

The very limitations imposed on the armaments sector before 1939 indicate the predominance of capitalist aims: to raise profits by opening up a new market internally and abroad while keeping costs and wages down.

Government expenditure had to be financed either by raising taxation or by increased borrowing. German capitalists opposed both. They did so with considerable success even after war had broken out. They wanted 'business as usual' while backing Hitler and supporting the war.

The financing of the armament boom required close collaboration between the regime and the banks—a co-operation which was not always smooth, but in which, after all, the bankers had the last word.

By 1937 production for the civilian market had reached or surpassed the boom levels of the late 1920s and unemployment had fallen below 1 million. Profits were more than double the 1933 level and the giant firms which dominated German industry had expanded and modernized their plants and put large sums to reserve. The counterpart of this was an enormous increase in the

national debt. The state got poorer, private business got richer: so much for the new, non-capitalist structure!

The main weakness of the German economy from the point of view of war preparations and maintaining expansion was its dependence on the world market. Germany was short of crucial raw materials for industry, including iron ore, rubber, petroleum, non-ferrous metals and textile fibres. Recovery and rearmament increased this dependence.

Imports had to be paid for: hence 'export or die' became the watchword. The question was how to export in a world market still afflicted by depression?

Nazi foreign economic policy, like its home policy, was designed to serve the interests of big business.

First it ensured that German industry had command of its own home market by a policy of protective tariffs and quotas on imports.

Secondly, encouragement was given by the state to exporters with the main aim of increasing business profits.

Thirdly, the national territory was extended by conquest, enabling German firms to move in and take over the assets of their rivals.

Nazi trade policy methods fully recognized the predominance of private business interests. Foreign trade was conducted by private firms and banks. Policy was designed to make this trade as profitable as possible and to give German capital an advantage in world market competition.

Because of the addiction of German finance capital to 'sound'

monetary policies, the mark was not devalued. Instead there was a rigorous exchange control intended to protect the mark and make the best use of scarce foreign currency.

This meant that German trade was conducted to a large extent through bilateral agreements to balance off imports and exports with individual countries and to strike hard bargains to the advantage of German firms.

This was done with great success in the Balkans.

Germany acquired vital raw materials while her trading partners were obliged to take German products whether they really wanted them or not. As this was a period of acute economic crisis, the alternative was not being able to sell their goods at all. By 1939 German economic domination of the Balkans had turned the countries in that area into virtual colonies of finance capital.

Despite the limited successes scored by Nazi Germany in the trade war, crucial weaknesses remained on the eve of World War II.

Dependence on imported raw materials had not diminished and war preparations had tended to increase it. The Nazi leadership and its critics in the General Staff were agreed that Germany could not carry on a long war.

Hitler gambled on short, sharp and successful wars.

His opponents in the army believed that Germany would become involved in a major war in which the raw material deficiencies would prove a fatal weakness.

CONTINUED TOMORROW





# THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS

TV REVIEW BY ANNA TATE

The song has it that 'there's no people like show people they smile when they are down'. And the mythology of undaunted courage, the show-must-go-on philosophy, the actor-must-transcend-reality ideology, served its devious purposes well. More especially in times of crisis.

The depression saw the emergence of Busby Berkeley musicals, with a cast of hundreds, a cost of millions. Cascades of beautiful ladies dancing their way through fountains and sweeping, in lavish gowns, down lavish, unending staircases, whirling gracefully in the bid to create a candy-floss world and divert attention from the human disaster outside the safe walls of cinematic illusion.

In the land of the image-makers the celluloid fantasy was king.

But the entire mythology came in for somewhat of a battering last week with a play written, and over-indulgently directed by Don Taylor—'Actor—I Said'.

And from another end of the spectrum—the Oscar Awards—it seemed that show people may smile when they are down, but they certainly cry when they're up — to wit Charlie Chaplin. Hollywood banished and vilified him for some three decades, only to resurrect him again with an honorary Oscar and with that ghastly brand of self-congratulatory emotionalism for which it is renowned.

A galaxy of stars sang Charlie's song—'Smile though your heart is aching, smile even though it's breaking'—with tears streaming down their cheeks in one of the most expensive weep-ins in history. It seems you can't keep a good trouper down—not for more than about 30 years that is.

And the striking paradox is the extent to which, in one of the most cut-throat of professions, one finds the most unctuous, incestuous, extravagant flattery. 'Oh! You are wonderful, sweet people!' cried Charlie.

And it's certainly true that actors in conversation will use the word 'darling' with a phenomenally higher frequency than any other sector of the population. It's not accidental, but seems to stem from a sickness one might term depiction disorientation, one of the highest

symptoms of the malady being a compulsion toward group identification.

The diverse political forms which depiction disorientation has taken over the last decade are agitprop, street theatre guerrilla theatre, theatre-in-the-round, the people's theatre and so on.

In his play, Don Taylor attempted to embrace all these contradictions, while remaining firmly entrenched within the framework of the BBC—that Corporation known, not by chance, as 'Auntie'.

Almost all the conflicts which arise when the consciences of liberal actors and actresses run into the irrelevance of much of their work, or the overriding relevance of being almost eternally out of work, were raised in what was, less of a play than an internal monologue, which Mr Taylor has obviously been carrying out with himself for some time.

Revolutionary reality unfortunately lurked only too far from this enactment of a crisis of dramatic conscience. One has heard of delirium tremens, but this was a veritable delirium liberalis. A sort of anguished cry of 'What am I doing in Coronation Street when I really should be playing Mayakovsky!'

For every painful recognition there was an equally painful evasion. The unemployment situation for 90 per cent of actors was summed up in an anguishing joke, which went something like this. . . . 'There was this actor you see, and he met this other actor, and the first actor said to the second actor—"How long is it since you last worked laddie", and the second actor he says, "About 11 years, laddie". "You ought to give it up, laddie" advises his friend. "Can't laddie, it's my living", comes the inevitable reply.'

A belly-laugh and a belly-ache . . . all in one quick repartee.

Guilt and self flagellation ending in despair and withdrawal or a desperate continuation of the profession was about all that Don Taylor could muster in the way of a solution. After ten years of selling his talent to predatory producers, the actor of Taylor's imagination opts out, gives the business up so that he can look the Third World in the eye.

One could not help thinking that the only thing he would look in the eye would be an

Above: the Marx brothers

irate bank manager, arriving, as he would, at a financial bankruptcy via the liberal route of a bankrupt political gesture of personal, heroic withdrawal. 'Revolution wouldn't touch the parts I've played with a barge-pole', he cried, as he disappeared forever from the spotlight.

Living as they do in a class society, actors and artists are caught in the contradictions of being enslaved within the market norms of the ruling culture. In personal terms the problem would seem to be a moral one—the struggle for truthfulness and art. But this problem cannot be abstracted from the entire political fabric of society.

As Trotsky put it in 'Culture and Socialism': 'Art is one of the ways in which man finds his bearings in the world; in this sense the heritage of art is not distinguished from the heritage of science and technique—and it is no less contradictory than they.'

By opting out or engaging in profound despair, liberal actors are merely manifesting an ignorance of the heritage of their art and turning their backs on the vital role they can play in the transformation of the bourgeois centre of artistic creation by the elimination of the bourgeoisie.

One will have to bear the psychic agony of appearing in one turgid telly serial after another, or one aberrated drama after another (if nothing more worthwhile is offered in this buyers' art market) while engaging elsewhere in the struggle for a political solution. To look for a Marxist dialectic in 'On the Buses' is to bang one's head against the concrete wall of class culture.

'There's no business like show business . . . is the fabrication of the myth-merchants. Business remains, intractably, business.

MEANWHILE, the Marx brothers film series continues on Friday evenings. They remain great fun. The Oscar Awards, with the accompanying eulogy of Hollywood brought to mind Groucho Marx's reply to a Hollywood club to which he declined membership saying:

'I don't care to belong to any social organization that will accept me as a member.'

This Friday their film will be 'Horse Feathers'—the adventures of Professor Quincey Adams Wagstaff.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## Tory spirit

The Tory Party continues to retain a completely secretive method of selecting election candidates, despite numerous reports by numerous committees.

This is perfectly illustrated in the fight for a prospective parliamentary candidate for a new seat in Staffordshire.

Contesting for the candidature are Mr Patrick Cormack, MP for Cannock, Mr Fergus Montgomery, MP for Brierley Hill, and Mr David Hunt, a

## 'Skint'

After pleading financial difficulties, a church inquiry was launched into the state of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York.

Some consternation when the priests discovered things weren't so bad after all. Total assets amounted to £250m.

## Together

We carried an item last week on the start of the Get Together campaign, a viciously anti-communist outfit aimed at encouraging strike-breaking, scabbing and class-collaboration on all fronts.

It has begun a £1m promotion campaign financed by some of the most reactionary employers in the country.

No real surprise, I suppose, to find one of their advertisements—a half-page—in this week's issue of 'Tribune'.



Bristol solicitor who is chairman of the local Young Conservatives.

Secrecy about the number of people invited to the selection meeting has already led to the resignation of Coun Alan Kennard as deputy chairman of the newly-formed association.

He complained to the press that the entire handling of the election was 'suspicious and worrying'.

A meeting of local Tories has been called in Wolverhampton Civic Hall on May 3 to make the final choice, but nobody knows who has been invited. The hall only holds 2,080 yet there are at least 2,000 card-carrying Tories in Cannock alone. Ominous signs of a packed meeting.

Mr William Homer, the association chairman, is attempting to keep everyone pacified.

He said he had been trying to keep the 'glare of publicity' away from the meeting to ensure that a 'truly competitive spirit' prevailed.

If it is anything like the competitive spirit preached by Edward Heath, we can expect the knives to be out.

## Cops

Remarkable incident in Portobello Rd, the market area of Notting Hill Gate, London, the other day.

There was a shoplifting incident in the Marks and Spencer store. Shout went up from a floor manager: 'Police, police. Someone get the police.'

Customers were absolutely astonished when through the door came a long haired hippy with beads round his neck:

'What's all this then,' he said. 'I'm Detective Constable (inaudible) . . .'

On the subject of the police, Derek Amooore, editor of BBC television news, recently had a visit from the boys of the Special Branch. (It was in connection with a film of the Bingham spy case). Were they knuckle-headed, short-back-and-sides types? Not a bit of it.

All wore shoulder-length hair, sported expensive modern suits, flashy wide ties and smoked aromatic French cigarettes.

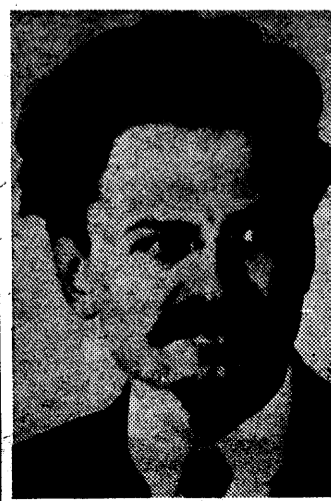
Methinks they've all been watching too much television. Roger Moore has gone to their heads. . . .

## Curious

'The film industry is a curious mixture of greed and incompetence.'

Bryan Forbes quoted in the 'Scotsman' on April 15.

# BOOKS

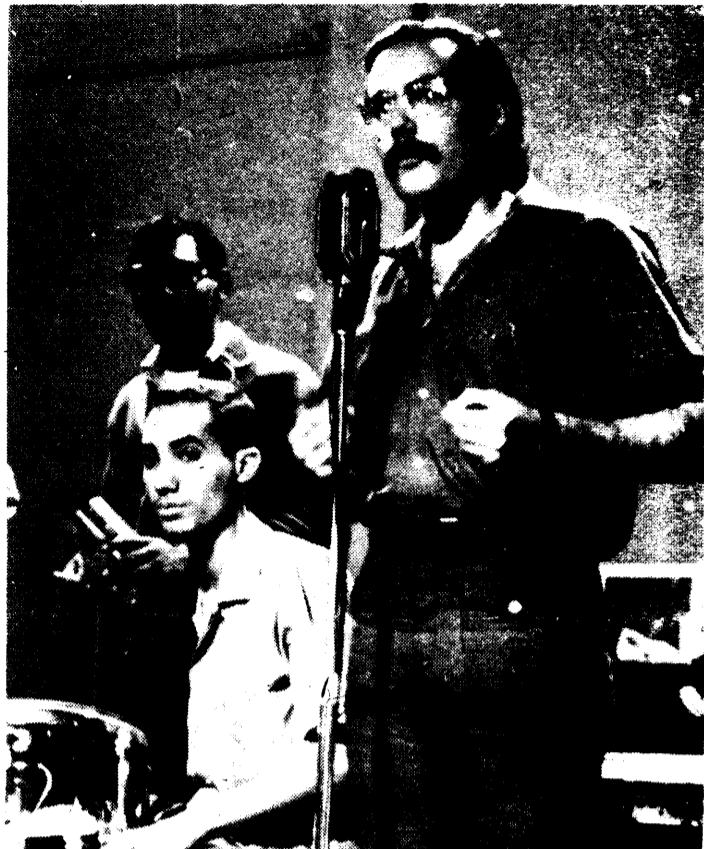


**LEON TROTSKY:**  
Germany 1931/1932  
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½  
**Where is Britain Going?**  
Paperback 37½p  
**Revolution Betrayed**  
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.50  
**Problems of the Chinese Revolution**  
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½  
**Permanent Revolution:**  
**Results and Prospects** 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

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



# Free Farinas: Political prisoner



THE International Committee of the Fourth International condemns the jailing of the Trotskyist militant Juan Farinas for his opposition to the war in Vietnam as an attack directed against the working class and the youth.

This attack is part of the Nixon Administration's campaign to destroy democratic rights and crush the trade unions.

Juan Farinas is jailed precisely at a time when the offensive of the N Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front brings US imperialism to the brink of defeat in SE Asia.

This jailing indicates the fear of US capitalism for the power of the working class and is aimed at preventing the development of revolutionary leadership.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on the international working class to campaign for the immediate release of Juan Farinas.

## Statement by the International Committee of the 4th International

# Ceylon: Fight to end coalition—For basic democratic rights

THE COALITION government which came to power in Ceylon in May 1970 was a crisis government.

The devaluation of the Ceylon rupee, just after sterling devaluation expressed the insoluble crisis looming in world imperialism which threatened the very basis of Ceylon's colonial economic setup.

The insurgent movement of the radicalized students and the rural youth in April-May 1971 was the first sign of the out-

burst of mass struggles against the bourgeois coalition.

This counter-revolutionary coalition government could retain power only through the treacherous policy of its Stalinist and renegade Trotskyist partners who barred the working-class movement's independent development by joining hands with Mrs Bandaranaike's capitalist party.

But these parasitic bureaucracies cannot curtail the development of the class struggle, which is unfolding today as a direct result of the new stage of economic crisis since August 15, 1971.

The Emergency Powers imposed on the workers and peasants and the ban imple-

mented on the Trotskyist publications of the section of the International Committee are the government's conscious attacks on the working class which is on the verge of massive struggles.

We demand the lifting of all emergency powers and the granting of democratic rights of free assembly and free publication, immediately.

We demand that the Stalinist Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party leaders break away from the coalition to fight for these basic democratic rights of the masses. It is only this way that a workers' and peasants' government can be fought for in Ceylon.

# Police probe students at Lancaster

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

DETECTIVES have been questioning Lancaster university students during the past week in connection with a report sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions about a sit-in at the end of last term.

Students occupied the university's administration building and computer centre for 24 hours in opposition to dismissal threats against left-wing lecturer Dr David Craig.

The police, called in after complaints by the university authori-

ties, have a list of nine students so far against whom charges may be made. The nine include the leader of the students' union, Mike Murray.

Detectives say they may be charged with 'conspiracy to commit a trespass'.

The only precedent for such a case is the 1946 squatters' movement.

Some of the nine students named in the police report have also received letters from the University authorities saying that they may also face university charges for the alleged obstruction of a person 'in the proper discharge of duties in or for the university...'

The letter informs the students concerned that the charge has been prepared 'but proceedings have been deferred pending clarification of the possibility of proceedings in a court of law'.

In a move aimed at countering strike action next term, the authorities have warned all 3,000 students their grants may be cut if they boycott lectures and seminars.

All students will have to sign a declaration that they will obey the university's charter and statutes before they can claim their grant cheques next term.

The Students Representative Council has asked its solicitor to look into the legality of this move, to see whether the university is not exceeding its rights in the matter.

The National Union of Students' Birmingham conference last week agreed to support the Lancaster students and has decided to 'black' the university. The NUS has also pledged legal backing.

The Lancaster Trades Council is expected to discuss recent events in the university at its next meeting. The Trades Council previously supported the students in their demand for an outside inquiry into the university's English Department.

Allegations of political victimization in this department sparked off the original conflict.

Barrow in Furness Trades Council also backed an inquiry.

The students will now be asking for more trade union backing in a struggle which is now seen to be of serious political significance.

## Bearings pirated

JAPANESE manufacturers in the ball and roller-bearing industry exporting to the United Kingdom are involved in the piracy of design and catalogue numbers.

This allegation was made in the Commons by Frank Tomney, Labour MP for Hammersmith. He said American experience of the import of ball bearings had resulted in the shutdown of their domestic production.

The same thing is likely to happen in Britain, he said.

He showed MPs a ball race stamped with the country of origin—Japan—and the manufacturer's name. It was also stamped with the same catalogue number as that of British manufacturers.

Tomney said: 'It is this kind of competition, which is resulting in problems affecting a vital part of the British engineering industry.'

If Tomney thinks that the traditional pirating by capitalists of patents and designs is the root cause of the crisis in the engineering industry, he should think again.

## Subscribe! workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

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

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:  
£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)  
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

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

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press

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

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

Amount enclosed £

## Councillors boycott Queen

LEITH, Scotland, councillors Sandy Ross (S Leith) and Ron Brown (central Leith) will boycott the Queen's garden party at Holyrood Palace in July. In a joint letter to Edinburgh Lord Provost James McKay, the councillors say:

'We feel, as socialists, that our attendance would indicate support for the monarchy and the status quo in the country.'

'Further, we deplore the use of public money—particularly at this time of high unemployment—in financing such grandiose events as garden parties.'

## Cameramen on incitement charge in Ulster

TWO freelance photographers have been charged in Belfast with inciting a crowd to riot. They were both allowed bail.

They gave the court an undertaking to hand in their passports and photographic equipment to police.

Kenneth Sims (42), of Heston, Middlesex, and Larry de Lane (29), of Vermont, United States, both pleaded not guilty and will appear again tomorrow.

I would like information about

## THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name .....

Address .....

### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**BANBURY:** Wednesday April 19, 8 pm. 'The White Hart'.

**CROYDON:** Thursday April 20, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon. Tory 'fair rents' Bill.

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

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

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

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

**N LONDON:** Thursday April 27, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane). The engineers' wage claim.

**SE LONDON:** Thursday April 27, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Rd (opp New Cross stn). Tory 'fair rents' Bill.

**E LONDON:** Tuesday May 2, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy St (nr Blackwall Tunnel). N Ireland.



# Tory press yells for railmen's blood

THIS is a summary of editorial comments from yesterday's capitalist press on the rail work-to-rule.

The comments show the full-throated cry of the Tory

agents in Fleet St as they fear the surge of militancy in the working class.

'The railmen don't deserve a penny more. The government must see they don't get it. They will have the fervent backing of the public.'

'Daily Mail'

'In a weekend speech the Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham, prophesied anarchy in the land. Lord Hailsham said that he was really "afraid for the future of our society as a nation and as a civilized, orderly body". If the choice is ANARCHY or SANITY, the Mirror opts for SANITY.'

'Daily Mirror'

'There must be no further offers to the railway workers. When they return to normal working hours the national interest requires that they should do so in the knowledge that their work-to-rule has done them no good whatever. This may seem a tall order; but the government, after its defeat at the hands of

the mineworkers, is badly in need of a clear-cut victory.'

'Daily Telegraph'

'The Sun does not believe the railmen are right. We do not believe that public opinion will back them. Digging in heels instead of negotiating is no way to run a railway. Or even a railway union.'

'The Sun'

'Sometimes the government will get hurt, as in the miners' strike. Sometimes the unions will suffer, as in the postmen's case. Always the public and the national economy will suffer. It is not a battle that anyone can win.'

'The Guardian'

## Rolls-Royce workless

MORE THAN a quarter of the skilled technicians and managers who lost their jobs in last year's Rolls-Royce crash are still out of work, a report said yesterday.

Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the Association of Scientific,

Technical and Managerial Staffs, who commissioned the study, said the situation was going to get worse.

'This disaster situation is going to be repeated and nothing seems to be getting done,' he said.

## Rents petition

A PETITION calling for radical housing policy reforms and the withdrawal of the government's Housing Finance Bill—signed by 21,630 tenants—was presented in the Commons yesterday.

Frank (Allaun Lab, Salford E) told MPs the petition demanded an immediate reduction of rents,

reduction of housing loan interest rates to 2½ per cent, increased housing subsidies and municipalization of all rented dwellings.

It also called for security of tenure for all tenants, including tenants of furnished accommodation,

# TV

### BBC 1

9.45 Pogles' wood. 10.00 Champion. 10.25 Parsley. 10.30 Canoe. 10.55 Magic roundabout. 11.00-11.15 Boomph with Becker. 12.25 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 1.00-1.25 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Camberwick green. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.55 Sky at night. 3.15 Good sailing. 3.45 Sights and sounds of Britain. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Laurel and Hardy. 5.15 John Craven's news round. 5.20 Before the event. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Blue Cat Blues. 7.00 SPY TRAP. Double Agent. 7.25 STAR TREK. The Apple. 8.15 LORD PETER WIMSEY: CLOUDS OF WITNESS. 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather. 9.20 SPORTSNIGHT. The Amateur Boxing Association Championships. 10.10 TALKBACK. 10.40 24 HOURS. 11.15 Weather.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-7.00 Open University. 7.30 NEWSROOM and weather. 8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED. 8.10 MAN ALIVE. Life on the Pension. 9.00 POT BLACK. BBC 2

### ITV

12.20 Grass roots. 1.15 Jobs in the house and garden. 1.45 Epsom spring meeting. 2.15 Houseparty. 2.30 Good afternoon! 2.55 Epsom racing. 3.45 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 Lift off. 5.20 Escape into night. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS. 7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 THE BOB MONKHOUSE COMEDY HOUR. Guests Moira Anderson, Clive Dunn, David Nixon. 9.00 CALLAN. I Never Wanted the Job. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL. 11.25 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING. 11.55 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. 12.10 THIS GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND?

9.20 Snooker competition. 9.20 FILM: 'MIDNIGHT'. Claudette Colbert, Don Ameche. A pretty young gold digger bluffs her way into Paris society. 10.50 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 10.55 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.



'Grandad' Clive Dunn, as he appeared at the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work Empire Pool rally on March 12. Tonight he guests on the Bob Monkhouse comedy hour (ITV, 8 p.m.)

CHANNEL: 1.45-3.50 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Good afternoon. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Towards the year 2000. 6.35 London. 11.55 Epilogue. 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: 2.05 Katie Stewart. 2.30 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. Song.

HARLECH: 1.00 Phoenix 5. 1.25 Out of town. 1.45 London. 3.20 Talking hands. 3.35 Enchanted

house. 3.50 Ugliest girl in town. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Odd couple. 7.00 London. 11.55 Mad movies. 12.25 Weather.

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

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 3.50 Hamdden. 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

ANGLIA: 1.45 London. 3.45 Yoga. 4.15 News. 4.18 Cartoons. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.45 London. 3.35 Stars. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Mrs Muir. 4.40 Grasshopper island. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London.

ULSTER: 1.45-3.50 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 What's on? 6.35 London.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 Rainbow country. 1.25 Pied piper. 1.30 Sean. 1.45 London. 2.15 Brenner autobahn. 2.30 London. 3.25 Sound of... 3.40 Simon Locke. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 11.55 Weather.

GRANADA: 1.45-3.20 London. 3.35 Yoga. 4.00 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. What's on? 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 12.40 Pied piper. 12.45 Mr Piper. 1.15 Time to remember. 1.45-2.15 London. 2.30 London. 3.25 Sound of... 3.40 Simon Locke. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 11.55 News. 12.10 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.45-3.25 London. 3.30 Pinky and Perky. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 Dear Mother, Love Albert. 7.00 London. 10.30 Conference report. 10.40 Sport. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Wrestling.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45-3.25 London. 3.39 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 10.30 Conference report. 10.40 Marcus Welby. 11.25 Wrestling. 11.55 Epilogue.

# JUST OFF THE PRESS - ORDER NOW

### TWO PAMPHLETS AND A MAGAZINE

'Fourth International' is the journal of international Marxism published by the International Committee of the Fourth International. 25p (post 3p)

'We Demand the Right to Work' is a fully documented and illustrated account of the five Young Socialist Right-to-Work marches throughout Britain. 15p. (Post 3p)

'The Social Security Swindle' by Bernard Franks. A useful handbook in the SLL pocket library series on state restrictions on social security. 5p. (Post 2p)

All three available from: New Park Publications, 186a, Clapham High St, London SW4 7UG.

## WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK



A YOUNG SOCIALISTS PAMPHLET

PRICE: FIFTEEN PENCE

## Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Volume 7 No. 3

Price 25 pence

Spring 1972

Editorial: Class War and the Mass Party

Draft International Perspectives of the Fourth International

Early-English Materialism

Lenin's Imperialism

Lukacs

Ulster

Bangla Desh



**TORIES ATTACK THE UNEMPLOYED**

The Social Security Swindle



# Two more contempt charges

**BRITAIN'S biggest union will face two more charges of contempt in the Industrial Relations Court tomorrow.**

This follows charges, heard by the court yesterday, that the Transport and General Workers' Union has continued to disobey court orders banning blacking lorries at Liverpool docks. The union already faces a £5,000 fine for ignoring an earlier court order over the blacking.

Yesterday's action was brought

## against T&G

to the court by Heatons Transport of St Helens and Craddock Brothers of Wolverhampton. These are two haulage firms whose lorry fleets are blacked by Merseyside dockers who object to unloading and loading containers

by non-registered dock labour at inland depots.

The union has already to pay a £5,000 fine imposed by the court three weeks ago for breach of an order granted to Heatons. Last Wednesday Heatons and a

third company, Bishop's Wharf of Warrington, obtained permanent orders stopping the blacking.

Notice was served on an official of the union shortly after 1 p.m. yesterday. Both complaints will be heard tomorrow.

When the union followed TUC advice and boycotted the court at the earlier hearing, Sir John Donaldson said that their absence 'aggravated the contempt'. He warned that there was no limitation on fines for contempt of court.

## RAILMEN

● FROM PAGE 1  
11 a.m.

At 11 a.m. an aircraft belonging to the Department of Trade and Industry arrived at Heathrow with three TUC leaders, Jack Jones, Alf Allen and George Smith, who have been in Dunoon attending the annual conference of the Scottish TUC.

**Noon**  
At noon Macmillan reported to Edward Heath at No 10 Downing St. Also present at the talks was Lord Privy Seal, Lord Jellicoe, who co-ordinated the state of emergency during the miners' strike, Peter Walker, Environment Minister, John Peyton, Transport Minister and Sir Geoffrey Howe, Solicitor General and Tory legal expert on the Industrial Relations Act.

**1 p.m.**  
On the BBC radio programme 'World at One' Victor Feather expressed concern that a 'political element' was being thrust into the dispute. This was something to be regretted, he said. He said the margin in the negotiations was so slight he hoped the work-to-rule could end 'very, very quickly'.

**2 p.m.**  
A 2 p.m. members of the 'inner cabinet', the Finance and General Purposes Committee, of the TUC arrived at Congress House for their emergency meeting.

**£1,250 APRIL FUND NEEDS £798.30**

**TWELVE DAYS to the end of April. We are well over halfway through this month and still some way to go to raising our target. We have no doubt that you, our readers, will do everything possible to change this situation.**

**Do not sit back. Each day the Tory government, strengthened by the Industrial Relations Act, prepares to take on more and more sections of the trade union movement.**

**Workers Press must be used to build a revolutionary leadership to fight back and defeat the Tories and their vicious plans. We therefore rely on you. Go into action today. Pull up the position for our April Fund. Collect as much as you can and post to:**

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

## Shooting as IRA leader buried

SHOOTING continued in the streets of Belfast yesterday during the burial ceremony of 25-year-old Official IRA leader Joe McCann, shot by the army on Saturday night.

Ten thousand people lined the streets as the coffin containing his body left Holy Trinity Church, Turf Lodge.

Army spokesmen said that in the 72 hours ending 8 a.m. on Tuesday morning about 1,200 rounds had been fired at troops.

Stating that 'gunmen' have been using crowds as cover, the army warned that 'dangers to people living in the area are obvious since the tactics adopted by the terrorists regrettably place many innocent lives at risk'.

In the Divis St flats complex yesterday morning police found the body of an 80-year-old pensioner who had died of gunshot wounds.

The army say they 'believe' the old man was a 'victim' of Monday night's battle between troops and local people. At one stage on Monday night the army claimed they had killed two 'gunmen' and wounded three others.

Yesterday, however, they said they had retrieved only one body and two injured men. The dead pensioner, they say, is not thought to have been a second gunman.

And an army spokesman at the Lisburn army headquarters said yesterday: 'We can say very little at this stage. The circumstances are rather vague.'

## EEF UNITY HIGHLIGHTS FAULTS IN PLANT-BY-PLANT BARGAINING

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

RESISTANCE to pay demands throughout the engineering industry was a 'necessity' if bankruptcy was to be avoided.

This is the message from Britain's most powerful group of bosses, the Engineering Employers Federation.

In their April bulletin the EEF urges its members to present a united front against workers who are demanding more pay and better conditions.

The bulletin congratulates engineering employers in Greater Manchester who are faced with 27 sit-in strikes over the claim launched in March 27 by 200,000 employees.

Their resistance 'has been notably impressive,' says the bulletin. 'It carries through an important trend that became discernible over a year ago: employers have been taking a far firmer line against militancy, for concessions to buy out trouble are, in the long run, simply not worth the price.'

The EEF challenges the unions' claim that important settlements on money, shorter hours and longer holidays have been made. Agreements that have been reached they describe as 'minimal and inconsequential'.

They end with this warning:

'There is a moral for the unions here. Employers' organizations, like some trade unions, are fairly old hands at the

**THE MANCHESTER engineering firm of Mather and Platt, one of the biggest in the NW has signed an agreement with workers on wages only.**

Stewards representing 2,000 workers who have been working-to-rule and banning overtime agreed to leave hours and conditions to be discussed at national level.

Manchester employers are hailing the deal as a victory for their strategy and say union officials were not needed to sign the deal.

The deal which severely exposes the limitations of the union's plant-bargaining tactics will probably not be ratified by the AUEW district committee.

But now employers are saying they will discuss wages with anyone on the same basis as soon as sanctions are lifted.

solidarity business. They are not likely to shed the strength of unity in the face of this new challenge.

'Resistance is a matter of necessity... it is all too clear that the alternative to standing firm is a new wage explosion with yet another twist to the inflationary spiral, more lost orders and more bankruptcies.'

The solidarity of the employers over the claim is clearly illustrated in these statements. They further expose the bankrupt policy of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers leadership who have refused to mobilize their own members nationally, yet have the nerve to criticize engineering workers throughout Britain for their 'lack of militancy'.

The strategy of plant-by-plant bargaining is now the main talking point at the AUEW National Committee, which is taking place at Eastbourne this week.

Meanwhile action over the claim has spread to the Leeds area. Five hundred workers began a sit-in at the printing machinery manufacturers of Hoe-Crabtree after management attempted to suspend fitters who were working-to-rule. Yesterday the dispute spread to two other plants. On Friday other engineering plants in the area are threatening to join in the action.

But once again the weakness of plant-by-plant action has been highlighted.

## Sheffield engineers

● FROM PAGE 1

'It is of the utmost importance that no concessions should be made in the length of the working week,' it says.

And 'undue pressure' by the union to seek concessions in this area should be reported to the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Despite the feeling of the rank and file for a real offensive against employers, leading Stalinists on the CP-dominated district committee will join and

prevent real district-wide action.

At a meeting of AUEW convenors on Monday night leading Stalinist and district secretary George Cabon made this clear.

He said afterwards that each factory would be backed by the district committee in whatever action it chose to take.

All along the line the Stalinists have opposed district-wide action.

At a recent district committee a motion for such a move was lost by the vote of another Communist Party member, Herbert Howarth, district president.

Another district committee member Eddie Keys, convenor at Davy United, told me the same story yesterday.

The district committee had no power to issue a directive on the question, he told me.

Nevertheless there was a real feeling of frustration at the convenors' meeting, one delegate said.

Several speakers made the point that the time had come for a united offensive against Sheffield employers.

The meeting itself was only arranged after pressure had been put on the district committee. It is clear that Sheffield Stalinists want to keep the developing struggle as fragmented as possible.

They want a situation where every factory is 'doing its own thing', one delegate said.

More than that they have not been insisting that the hours question be included in domestic claims.

Many stewards say, however, that the reduction in hours is perhaps the most important question.

All eyes were on last night's district committee where fresh moves for district-wide action were being proposed.

## LATE NEWS WEATHER

NEWS DESK  
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

LEFTWINGERS on the National Committee of the AUEW engineers' section yesterday climbed down on a move to withdraw union sponsorship from three MPs who voted with the Tories on the Common Market. The Committee agreed by 34 to 18 votes to refer the motion to the union's executive.

FRANK McMANUS the Irish Unity MP for Fermanagh and S Tyrone spent Monday night at Westminster after he was sentenced in his absence to six months' imprisonment at Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh, for taking part in an 'illegal' anti-internment march.

He used a bed in the Labour Whip's office which is kept for MPs who have been kept late at the Commons. It is understood that Miss Bernadette Devlin, who was sentenced with McManus, may also be on her way to Westminster.

BRITAIN'S workforce was smaller in September last year than in September 1970, the Department of Employment said yesterday.

The total at work last September was 24,886,000 (15,885,000 males and 9,001,000 females)—a drop of about 214,000 (176,000 males, 38,000 females).

The total in civilian employment was 23,707,000, including 21,963,000 employees (13,472,000 males and 8,491,000 females)—a drop of 440,000 (363,000 males, 81,000 females).

WESTERN areas will be mainly dry and bright, but E England will be rather cold with northerly winds and scattered showers.

Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Little change.

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.

### Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists

## MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

Sunday May 7

**We demand the Right to Work!**

**No retreat from the fight against the Industrial Relations Act!**

**Hands off the trade unions! Defend democratic rights!**

**Withdraw troops from Ulster! Release all internees!**

**Victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants**

**For the military defeat of US Imperialism!**

**MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!**

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

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

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

G. Healy (Socialist Labour League National Secretary)

J. Simmance (Young Socialists National Secretary)

M. Banda (Socialist Labour League Central Committee)

(In a personal capacity)

Frank McCabe (NUM)

Roy Battersby

A. Thornett (Deputy Senior Steward Morris Motors)

CHAIRMAN

C. Slaughter (Socialist Labour League Central Committee)

I would like to come to the May Day Demonstration

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

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