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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Poulson bankruptcy hearing learns about

Crosland's

coffee pot

FROM ALEX MITCHELL IN WAKEFIELD

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The ACTT shop at Granada yesterday held in abeyance its threat of strike action over the ban

Gasmen plan strikes as pay talks reopen

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

Board area are to stop work today as union chiefs meet the employers in London.

Plans are going ahead for an all-out, nine-day strike by gas workers in Scotland, beginning this Friday.

THE RESUMED talks over the gas workers' pay claim take place today against a background of widespread industrial action by the rank and file.

Three thousand manual workers in the Northern Gas

How

Hitler

came to power



Forty years ago today, January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler became the Fuehrer of Germany. On our centre pages today and tomorrow Tom Kemp looks at the reasons for the fascists' rise to power.

SHAKE-OUT IN STEEL



50,000 jobs are to be axed in the steel industry in the most massive and ruthless manpower shake-out since the Tory government came to power. Why? Which plants will close? How will the steelmen fight back? IAN YEATS has been to the major steel-making centres in England, Scotland and Wales to find out. He begins his reports on THURSDAY

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Three thousand manual workers in the Northern Gas

Board area are to stop work today as union chiefs meet the employers in London.

Plans are going ahead for an all-out, nine-day strike by gas workers in Scotland, beginning this Friday.

Some workers in Barnsley have already turned a work-to-rule into a strike, while a ban on overtime is in force in many areas of Britain.

In line with Phase Two of the Tory state pay plan, gas workers have been offered under £2 a week rise as against a claim ranging up to £3 extra.

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BY DAVID MAUDE
OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

LEADERS of the actors' union, Equity, will today attempt to piece together the shattered fragments of their do-nothing policy on the Tory cut in their West End members' rates. It will be an impossible task. On Sunday a mass meeting of actors decisively rejected the policy and called for strike action. Gerald Croasdell, the union's general secretary, had already indicated that he and his executive have no intention of acting on this call. But Sunday's meeting showed a definite shift of mood in Equity. Workers Press talked to members and leaders afterwards about what faces the union now.



A worried Equity general secretary Gerald Croasdell speaking to the Press after Sunday's meeting.

A political move by actors against Tories' Phase Two

'I'VE always considered myself middle of the road and I'm still middle of the road, but the middle of the road is going to have to move.' This comment of a young actor who voted for strike action during Sunday's meeting expresses very clearly the impact of the Tories' West End wage-cut on the thinking of Equity members.

Maurice Macmillan's January 1 order banning a £5 increase in minimum rates—and taking back £7 granted last November—has brought politics into the theatres in no uncertain fashion.

At London's Adelphi Theatre on Sunday night, the question 'to strike or not to strike' was argued out on clear political lines.

It was this development which was worrying the union's right-wing leaders when they met the Press after the meeting. And it is this which makes their job today so difficult.

After four hours of debate, the Adelphi meeting voted by 156 to 129 to:

- Implement the decision of Equity's annual general meeting to strike in defence of full payment of the West End claim.

- Lodge immediate pay claims for every section of the membership, act on a policy of total opposition to government control of wages and defy the state pay laws.

- Withdraw immediately the union's registration under the Industrial Relations Act.

- Join with the whole trade union movement in a struggle to force the Tory government to resign and elect a Labour government pledged to repeal all anti-union legislation.

Both the executive's proposal—pledging support for 'all lawful acts' against statutory wage control—and a centrist motion calling for rank-and-file 'action committees' were defeated. So was a move by Communist Party supporters simply to delete the word 'lawful' from the executive's motion.

The meeting opened with president Ernest Clark and secretary Gerald Croasdell telling their members they were 'confused' about the meaning of the government's Phase Two pay legislation.

It was 'anybody's guess' what some parts of it meant, Croasdell said. But he claimed that it was

certain actors would get their £7 from February 3 and their £5 from March 31.

He had been assured of this, he told a Press conference later, by someone at the Department of Employment, whose name he did not know, but who he thought was either an under-secretary or a senior civil servant.

What Croasdell did not make clear, either at and during the meeting or at the Press conference, is that if the Tories get their way, actors will never see again the money they have already lost.

The D of E's assurance that the Society of West End Theatre Managers could pay out from March 31 was the right-wing leadership's only argument.

Their 'alternative' to the strike motion, unveiled by Croasdell at the post-meeting Press conference, was a special committee of the executive 'to try and discover what the government's guidelines mean—

then to see what position we are in under the legislation'.

The Stalinists' role in Sunday's meeting was to faithfully cover up for this thoroughly bankrupt policy.

Their leading spokesman, Declan Mulholland, voted against the successful resolution, moved as an amendment to the Council motion. His own amendment was simply to remove the word 'lawful' from the Council's motion.

In moving this motion, Mulholland appealed first for unity, then for 'the Conservatives in the union to join their local associations and oppose the wage freeze from within'.

This left the centrist motion, moved by supporters of the International Marxist Group, which quite specifically and deliberately excluded all reference to removing the Tories and replacing them with a Labour government.

The defeat of these two motions is highly significant. Many of the 156

actors who supported the successful motion were clearly voting as much for the politics of the motion as for its call for militant action.

'This was not a general meeting with statutory authority', Croasdell rushed to tell the Press. 'The motion as carried has no binding authority. It represents the view of 156 members at the time the vote was taken.'

'I would hazard a pretty confident prediction that the governing body of the union will not consider this as authority or persuasion to launch into strikes in the West End or abandon our application for an approved closed shop.'

And Hugh Manning, vice-president, rushed in to tell the Press that a lot of those who had spoken in the debates had made much of their association with the Socialist Labour League.

An Equity Press officer later took the unprecedented step of informing the Press that one of the movers of the successful resolution was 'probably' an SLL member.

Sunday's meeting made clear, however, that no such moves can revive the ghost of Equity's past.

US ships and planes threat as war rages

THE WAR has raged on unchecked throughout South Vietnam since the ceasefire agreement of last Saturday.

The United States has threatened to throw its ships and planes back into the war if fighting continues.

Mr William Sullivan, the State Department's top official on Vietnam, said on Monday that US air power remained in Thailand and US ships were being kept off the coast of Vietnam. Hanoi 'can draw its own conclusions', he said.

Heavy battles are taking place in the central highlands, the central coastal region, the Mekong delta and in the provinces round Saigon. Liberation forces have captured more than 50 hamlets.

Meanwhile US planes are still launching combat missions in Laos. Twenty B52s and about 100 Phantom fighter-bombers have been in action since the Vietnam truce.

The Cambodian puppet regime is reported to have called a unilateral suspension of offensive operations, but bitter fighting was continuing in the Tram Khnar area.

In Saigon the government yesterday allowed 14 members of the Provisional Revolutionary Government into the country without completing immigration forms.

The PRG delegation had held up the meeting of the joint military commission (consisting of the United States, North and South Vietnam and the PRG) for more than 20 hours because they claimed signing the forms would imply recognition of the Thieu regime as the sovereign government of South Vietnam.

The first meeting of the four-nation (Canada, Poland, Hungary and Indonesia) International Commission of Control and Supervision of the ceasefire held its first meeting yesterday.

Asked what the Commission could do if fighting broke out 'right now, across the street', the Commission's chief delegate, Canada's Michel Gauvin, replied: 'Nothing.'

Eight jailed in Athens

AN ATHENS Court of Appeal yesterday sentenced eight people, including three women (one of them a West German), to prison terms ranging from one to 12 years and four months on charges of plotting to overthrow the regime by force and establish communism.

The defendants belonged to a group of 17 arrested in Athens in October 1971. They were charged under a 1947 anti-secession law passed during the civil war.



Eleanora Armando, one of the young demonstrators hurt when attacked by the MSI fascists.

As fascists attack left wingers Italian CP blunts engineers' fight

REPRESENTATIVES of over a million Italian engineering workers resume negotiations today with employers' federations and Minister of Labour, Coppe, for the renewal of their wage contract.

Negotiations have been prolonged since last October because of the Italian Communist Party leadership's refusal to continue the fight against employers who threaten bankruptcies and mass unemployment if they are forced to make big concessions.

The Stalinists' restraining of the mass movement is coupled with an enthusiastic defence of the forces of the state when they act against left-wing groups.

Fighting broke out in Turin last Saturday in front of the local offices of the fascist MSI after a group of MSI provocateurs had tried to disrupt a left-wing demonstration.

The police came to the aid of the MSI and two members of Lotta Continua were injured and four arrests made.

The public prosecutor who was put in charge of the case immediately gave the police per-

mission to raid over 40 houses and offices in Turin, including the Lotta Continua offices.

The police claimed to have found the remains of Molotov cocktails and other missiles in the vicinity of the MSI headquarters. They also 'identified' 20 leftists and arrested four youth.

The CP's provincial federation Party issued a statement condemning the 'provocateur acts of irresponsible groups who are mounting a campaign against the democratic and working-class movement of Turin'.

The Stalinists want all left-wing opposition to be broken up by the state because they are afraid of the attraction they have to Italian workers frustrated by continuous token protest actions.

With a possible breakdown in the engineering negotiations could lead to strikes in the factories of Turin, the CP comes to the defence of the guardians of the local MSI.

BLACK SEPTEMBER has claimed in Cairo that it had executed an Israeli intelligence officer by firing squad in Madrid. The man, Moise Hanan Yshai (36), was shot on Friday in the main street of the Spanish capital. He is said to have played a part in organizing the murder of the Paris and Rome representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Spain creeps closer to the Common Market

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

SPANISH FOREIGN Minister Lopez Bravo yesterday paid his first visit to the headquarters of the Common Market in Brussels to sign a protocol to supplement the 1970 preferential agreement between the EEC and Spain.

The new protocol is a step on the road to establishing a free trade area with Spain and other Mediterranean regimes.

Bravo was warmly received by Xavier Ortoli, the Gaullist

president of the EEC, and Sir Christopher Soames, the Tory delegate in Brussels.

A group of 30 Catalan engineering employers will shortly follow Bravo in order to research the prospects for the Spanish engineering industry in Europe.

Backed by the Franco regime, which outlaws trade unions, they are sure to meet with success.

However Franco does not intend to break his close ties with American imperialism.

At a meeting of the joint Spanish-North American Defence Committee over the weekend, Lopez Bravo excelled himself in his praise of General Burchnall, head of US forces in Europe which include bases in Spain.

He assured this 'brilliant prototype of the

United States military' that the Franco government was under no illusions about its links with eastern Europe: 'However great the dialogue is, we consider that we are radically anti-Marxist.'

The Spanish Communist Party has yet to explain how Spain's 'integration into democratic Europe' constitutes a body blow against US imperialism.

Four-point plan chases cost of living

THE FOUR main aims of the National Union of Students' grants campaign—the biggest ever run in the union's history—will be to:

- WIN grants for all students.
- GAIN increases of up to £100 a year to keep grants in line with the cost of living increases.
- OBTAIN full grants for married women students.
- ABOLISH the present means test.

In October 1972, the NUS estimated that for grants to retain their 1968 value only, they would have to be immediately increased by £65 a year to £510.

Since then, however, the union has made a new estimate, based on cost-of-living increases since December last year. The new figure they estimate for the minimum increase is now £105 to bring grants to £550 a year.

Other students have rejected the NUS executive's estimate, pointing out that what they need are immediate cash supplements to the present grant to enable them to exist for the coming year.

At present only those students on Bachelor of Arts or Diploma of Education courses have grants as a right.

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

Other students, like those on Ordinary and Higher National Diploma courses, are subject to 'discretionary' awards.

The grant is at the 'discretion' of the local education authority and this varies widely from area to area.

Consequently in some parts of the country students would not get a grant for a particular course, which they might get easily somewhere else.

The union is demanding that all students get the same grant, irrespective of their courses.

Grants for married women are totally inadequate for their needs. A maximum grant for a married woman student is £275 a year, unless her husband is also a student.

Even the £275 is subject to a means test on her parents—though she is not dependent on them in any way.

Such a low figure makes it impossible for a married woman to exist at university or college unless her husband is willing and able to afford to pay for her.

The union's executive statement points out:

'It confines higher education to those women whose husbands are both well-off and approve of their wives having higher education. It is doubly discriminatory: it discriminates against women and it discriminates against the poor.'

Finally there is the issue of the means test.

'To get a grant at all, students have to subject their parents to a means test', the union explains.

If parents' yearly income is over £1,100 money is deducted from the grant.

Theoretically, parents have to make up the rest.

But if they can't afford to or refuse to do so, then the student has no means of obtaining it—unless he institutes court action.

At the same time, students are prevented from making up the extra money from other sources.

If a student earns more than £100 a year during term time, he has to pay back the extra to the local authority.

The system also leads to hardship for parents and younger children in their families—since a sizeable portion of their income goes towards grant expenses alone.

Students ready for militant grants campaign

A 'LONG and militant' campaign for higher grants was launched by the National Union of Students yesterday at six special Press conferences at major cities throughout Britain.

Piecework clash delays US contract

STOREKEEPERS at CAV Acton, west London, are refusing to issue components for an important US contract because of a pay dispute.

The men have put their case to union officials, and a works conference on the issue is expected to be arranged shortly.

Under CAV's interpretation of the Tory pay-control law, piecework values on jobs agreed before November 6 last year are frozen, but new work is still subject to mutual agreement.

The storekeepers are pressing for an increase because of a change in their method of working.

The students are demanding minimum full grants of £510 a year against the present maximum of £456.

NUS president Mr Digby Jacks told reporters at the union's London headquarters yesterday: 'Students are more concerned and more angry about their grants than they have ever been.'

Forty students' unions are already staging rent strikes and canteen boycotts in a bid to force the Tories to raise grants. Massive demonstrations and rallies are planned over the next few months for all parts of the country.

The NUS is canvassing for wide support and expects backing from teachers' organizations, trade unions, trade councils and the TUC.

Mr Jacks challenged the government to deny the justice and strength of their demands.

He said: 'There will be a long and sustained militant campaign from the student body because that is the only way we think we can get justice from the government.'

Miss Tish Collins, from Walbrook College of Education, said inflation had so undermined grants that some students were forced to live on 5p plates of chips.

And Miss Judy Cotter, from the University of London College of Education, claimed students had to go without food, sleep

on floors and give up all entertainment to survive on existing grants.

Mr Jacks warned that if the Tory government refused to increase grants this could only mean a policy of contraction in the further education sector.

The NUS claim, which will cost £20.6m to implement in full, was submitted in September and there will be further talks between the two sides next month.

Commenting on the effect of Phase Two of the Tory pay plan on their claim, Jacks said it would



FROM IAN YEATS

be up to the government to decide when to pay any increases.

He said: 'Ideally we would like the money now, but it is more likely the government will raise grants for 1973-1974. We just want action from them, that's all.'

The grants campaign will be the biggest ever mounted by the NUS and it comes after a unanimous recommendation from the union's annual conference at Margate last year.

In addition to raised grants the NUS is demanding full grants for all students in further education, including women, and the abolition of the means test which determines parents' contributions to grants.

NUS president Digby Jacks throws down his 'long and militant action' challenge to the Tories. With him, Tish Collins and Judy Cotter from London colleges of education.

Colliery walk-out called off

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WESTOE colliery, South Shields, miners called off their walk-out yesterday when non-unionist James Sim failed to turn up for the 4 a.m. shift.

Sim (32), who quit the National Union of Mineworkers a week ago, did not start after a Coal Board official said he would not be allowed to work.

He was to have talks with the Board later yesterday.

A ropeman, he has been in dispute with the NUM lodge for 14 months after refusing to pay a £3 fine for working too much overtime. He took the union to an industrial tribunal over the case.

Lodge secretary Jimmy Inskip said yesterday other collieries had pledged supporting action if Westoe walked out over Sim starting work. Any dispute could have spread to the whole Durham coalfield.

A 1,000-strong lodge meeting on Sunday decided on the walk-out after hearing official confirmation that Sim had left the union.

Members of the Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association had taken the same decision on Saturday.

Planemakers wound up

BRITTEN-NORMAN Ltd, of Bembridge, Isle of Wight, producers of the famous 'Islander' light passenger aircraft, was compulsorily wound-up in the High Court yesterday on an uncontested petition.

Counsel for the petitioners, Micronair (Aerial) Ltd, of Bembridge Fort, Sandown, IOW, told Mr Justice Plowman that they were trade creditors for £2,247. Counsel said eight other creditors for a total of £72,231, supported the petition.

A receiver of the company was appointed on October 22, 1971. Britten-Norman was not legally represented.

4,000 out to back 100

ABOUT 4,000 workers at two Plessey factories at Beeston and Long Eaton, near Nottingham, staged a 24-hour strike yesterday in support of 100 workers in the wiring shop who have been sitting in for over a week in support of a pay claim. With lorries being turned away from the plants, stewards claimed the stoppage was a 100 per cent success.

Tories take Clyde bank rent rebels to court

THE TORY government is going ahead today with attempts to get a court order made against the Labour-controlled Clydebank town council in Glasgow.

If granted it will order the council to instruct their officials to prepare the implementation of rent increases within a fixed time limit.

Failure to comply with any such court order against them could result in the councillors being jailed for contempt.

Clydebank is one of seven Labour councils throughout Scotland still refusing to put rents up under the Housing (Financial Provisions) (Scotland) Act.

There are over 9,000 council tenants in Clydebank who have not had to pay the increases due last October.

The Tory government has already struck back against the council, which is 14-7 in favour

BY PHILIP WADE
OUR HOUSING
CORRESPONDENT

of non-implementation.

Housing subsidies to the tune of £320,000 have already been withheld, forcing the council to borrow the money at high interest. This is almost certain to result in a rates increase to cover the cost.

The feeling against the Tories in Clydebank over the rent increases is one of extreme bitterness.

When the Secretary of State for Scotland ordered a public inquiry into Clydebank's refusal to implement, tenants and trade unionists stormed the meeting, waving their banners and forced the proceedings to a halt.

Nevertheless, the government

declared the council in default as a result of the inquiry and has now proceeded to take court action.

First moves were made last Saturday when a petition was lodged on behalf of the Secretary of State in the Court of Session. This morning, counsel for both sides will argue the case.

A similar procedure was adopted last month against Glasgow. And the subsequent threat of contempt of court was enough to send the Labourites there crashing and led to a big majority in favour of implementation.

Clydebank Provost Robert Fleming yesterday told me he thought his council would probably decide to continue its opposition to the rent-raising Act

when it meets tonight.

'The majority of councillors have expressed their determination to carry on, whatever happens in the court,' he said.

'There is no doubt rent increases would lead to a lowering of the standard of living for the tenants, especially as the increases are going to be automatic year by year.'

At the same time, unemployment in Clydebank was running at almost 10 per cent, added Mr Fleming.

● The six other Labour councils in Scotland standing with Clydebank are Cumbernauld, Cowdenbeath, Barrhead, Saltcoats, Alloa and Denny and Dunipace. Inquiries have been completed into each of them. But the results are not out as yet.

BEER BARON SACKS 570

Two hundred north-east brewery workers are to lose their jobs over the next three years as a result of a major re-organization scheme by Whitbread.

About 350 others—at present employed at Salford, Blackburn and Liverpool—will be expected to travel to a new brewery at Preston for work.

In all 570 workers will be affected in one way or another by the plans of the £206m

brewing firm, which is a major donor to Tory Party funds.

Under the reorganization all brewing will stop at Salford, Blackburn and Liverpool, but some labour will be retained for storage, distribution, sales and administrative work.

The Salmesbury, Preston, brewery, which is currently producing only Heineken lager, will take over all the older breweries' output.

BECOMING A BUREAUCRAT

The defence of the independence of the trade unions from the state is closely bound up with the struggle for democracy within the unions themselves.

Many unions, however, have few elections and most of their full-time officials are appointed.

The National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, for instance, has only two elected full-time officials. These are the general secretary and the assistant general secretary. Once elected both these officials are in for life.

The union has a 15-man executive board whose members all lay-members—are elected every two years.

But all the other full-time officials—except the top two—are appointed.

The procedure is for applicants to undergo a series of tests to see if they are suitable for an officer-training course.

The candidates undergo a two-hour written examination. According to the current issue of the union's journal, typical questions would be:

'Write a short note on some facet of work-study.'

'The clothing industry is often referred to as a wages council industry. What does this convey to you? Do wages

councils serve any useful purpose?'

'How would you approach the problem of organizing and servicing membership in an industry that has a large percentage of female workers and an extremely high rate of labour turnover?'

Candidates who emerge successfully from this, then undergo two interviews by the executive board.

In the first of these candidates have to debate with each other topics of trade union interest. Then they undergo a personal interview, 'similar to that which takes place when one applies for a job with any employer', says the union's journal.

If they get through that lot, they go in for a training course, which can take up to 12 months.

The training course is designed by the union's national officer, Mr Alec Smith, and it is he who decides whether or not a candidate has proved successful in the course.

If he has, he is appointed by the executive board to a full-time post.

All the unions officials 'in the field' are appointed in this way—the scheme having been in operation for more than three years.

This includes all the area officers of the union, some of whom also act as local branch secretaries.



BACKLASH TO THE GOAD FINES

A number of so-called 'challenges' to the engineers' union policy of refusing to co-operate with the National Industrial Relations Court have been eagerly seized on of late by the Fleet Street Press. In some cases newspapers have even invented stories of a revolt against the policy in the ranks out of thin air.

A case in point was the recent vote of the union's No. 20 divisional committee for a change in policy to allow the union to go to court.

This received front-page accolades from the Tory newspaper barons one Sunday. One paper even suggested fancifully that Hugh Scanlon, the union's president, might be forced to resign. It took a strike against the court by 75,000 engineers in the district to force the capitalist Press to admit, three days late, that the vote had been a totally unrepresentative ten-ten tie, resolved in the court's favour only by the casting vote of the right-wing chairman.

Engineering workers have shown by a series of token strikes in almost every area of the country that they are firmly behind the union leaders' refusal to go to court—and that they want this opposition taken much further.

We have received the following letter from an engineering union shop steward in South Wales, where the divisional committee has also voted to go to court. It gives the lie to the Fleet Street Press and takes the lid off the myth that such decisions represent the real feelings of engineering workers.

Dear Editor,
On Monday, January 15, 74 shop stewards attended a special meeting called by the mid-Glamorgan district committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

This was to hear a report-back from the divisional committee on a resolution submitted by a quarterly shop stewards' meeting in December. The resolution called on the divisional committee to stage a one-day stoppage of all members in the division in support of national policy.

The shop stewards' meeting was told that the resolution had been vetoed by the divisional committee.

Chairman Tal Lloyd, divisional organizer, had ruled that the resolution was out of order 'as one district committee could not dictate to another district committee'. It had therefore not been discussed.

The same divisional committee later decided by 15 votes to four to recall the national committee to change the policy so that the AUEW could attend the court.

This was a stab in the back for all those engineers who have shown in action that they want to fight to defend their union.

The stewards, in complete opposition to the divisional committee's retreat, rejected as totally inadequate a resolution for a one-day stoppage in the district by 43 votes to 12. They went on to pass a resolution, also passed by the Margam branch, calling on the AUEW executive to 'come off the fence and not leave the fight to local officials, district committees and shop stewards'.

It was through their lack

of leadership in leading the fight, the resolution said, that the closed shop—the very basis of the AUEW—was now under attack.

The resolution called on the executive Council to launch a national strike as the first step towards defending the AUEW and free trade unions. It pointed out the danger of isolated stoppages at local level and quoted the national engineering pay claim as an example. The shop stewards demanded that the executive call a meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

This meeting would be to implement the CSEU policy of defending member unions threatened under the Industrial Relations Act, since the attack on the AUEW affected all 3 million members of the CSEU. The policy should be backed with industrial action, if necessary, the stewards said.

And it was stressed that whether the executive liked it or not, the fight of the AUEW was political. It was pointed out that the only way to defend the AUEW and free trade unions was to mobilize the whole of the working class in a campaign to force the Tories to resign.

The stewards called on the executive and the district committees to carry out this policy as the only way of defending the AUEW and the principle of free trade unions. This resolution was carried overwhelmingly by the shop stewards, the vast majority of whom were voting on mandates from their members.

An AUEW shop steward, Glamorgan.

LABOUR MP WELCOMES STATE PAY LAWS

A Labour MP with unemployment in his constituency running at 6 per cent has welcomed the principle of the Tory state pay plan.

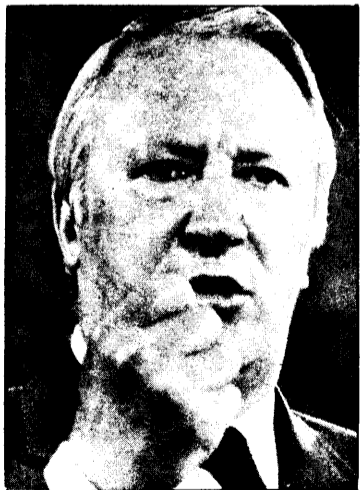
He is Robert Thomas Ellis (48), a former ICI chemist and mining engineer, who represents Wrexham in North Wales.

Two-and-a-half years of Tory rule have brought the unemployment total in the Denbighshire town to 2,288—an increase since December of 143, and 97 of them were male breadwinners. There are now ten jobless workers chasing each unfilled vacancy in the constituency.

But this deplorable situation does not seem to have in any way coloured Ellis's attitude to the Tories' policies.

He told the 'Wrexham Leader' last week that he had believed for many years in the need for a national incomes policy. Some of the details of the Heath policy needed arguing, 'but in principle I would be all for prices and incomes policy, as will, I think, be the Opposition, who have given it qualified support'.

Ellis also took the oppor-



Heath: In principle Ellis agrees with the Tory laws.

tunity to launch a vicious sideswipe at the union leaders, who had announced their non-co-operation policy a few days before.

'A prices and incomes policy has been the official policy of the Labour Party, although some unions disagree,' he claimed. 'Broadly speaking you can separate the unions into those who disagree, representing the better-paid workers, and those who agree, those who represent the poorer-paid workers.'

DRIVE FOR PRODUCTIVITY IN SOVIET INDUSTRY

The system of so-called socialist emulation, successor to the Stakhanov system of the 1930s, is being extended in the Soviet Union in an attempt to raise the general level of productivity and overcome the country's glaring economic problems.

The extension of this old system is announced in the January 16 issue of the official newsheet 'Soviet News' by Anatoly Strelyany, correspondent of the Novosty Press agency.

In essence the system is nothing more than a crude attempt to encourage higher production in industry by promising bonus payments, medals and special privileges to workers who produce more than their fellows.

'Carrot'

This method tackling the basic problem of low labour productivity in the Soviet economy was adopted under Stalin as long ago as 1933. He established the Stakhanov movement, named after a Donbas miner credited with digging fantastic amounts of coal in a single shift.

The aim was to stimulate a form of piecework in the hope that other workers in the factories would be encouraged to chase the 'carrot' of special treatment. Stakhanov and others like him were showered with privileges and medals.

They became part of a labour élite, a genuine aristocracy of the working class, encouraged to think and act like building bureaucrats. Their real wages were sometimes 20 or 30 times those of their fellow-workers.

In 'The Revolution Betrayed', Leon Trotsky described the Stakhanov system as 'the classic methods of exploitation, such as piecework payment... applied in such naked and crude forms as would not

be permitted even by reformist trade unions in bourgeois countries'.

He pointed out that the main reason for the lack of productivity in Soviet industry lay in the general organization of labour. 'The bureaucracy tries fatally to leap over difficulties which it cannot surmount,' he wrote.

Over 30 years later, the bureaucracy has still not succeeded in 'leaping over' the basic problems of the Soviet economy. The Stalinist objective of 'socialism in one country' is as unattainable now as it was in 1924, when it was proclaimed.

The failure of the 1972 harvest and the necessity to purchase very large amounts of grain from the US and other western countries has thrown the Soviet economy into considerable crisis. The current five-year plan (the ninth) has had to be curtailed.

In a recent speech to officials responsible for economic planning, premier Alexei Kosygin called for deep austerity measures to meet the situation. In particular he demanded an end to the initiation of all but the most essential new projects, measures to minimize the expenditure of foreign exchange and primary emphasis on obtaining higher productivity from existing capital investment.

This speech alone makes nonsense of the excuse Strelyany gives for stepping up 'socialist emulation'. He claims that it is being done 'to fulfil the 1973 economic development plan ahead of schedule' (emphasis added).

The Novosty correspondent claims that the socialist emulation movement is aimed at 'ensuring that the production and social tasks facing enterprises and industries are carried out in the best possible way'.

He writes: 'This year will see a 100-per-cent increase in the funds from which the bonuses for the best workers come. The foremost workers will also receive 50,000 vouchers enabling them to take



'Socialist emulation' in 1931. Soviet workers in Magnitogorsk examine their target-board.

trips round the Soviet Union and abroad at reduced rates.

'Those who achieve the best results and display, as the text of the decision says, "examples of labour valour" will be awarded orders and medals.'

Naturally, the orders and medals also entitle the holders to special privileges.

According to Strelyany: 'The general slogan of socialist emulation is "More produce, of better quality and at less cost". In the text of the decision the efforts of those taking part in emulation are primarily directed toward "the steady enhancement of labour productivity as the decisive factor in economic development".'

Labour productivity is indeed a decisive factor, but the various systems of 'socialist emulation'—thinly disguised

piecework backed up by the bureaucrat's whip—have failed to enhance this factor more than marginally in the past and are no more likely to do so now.

The effect of the expansion of the socialist emulation system could well be just the reverse of that foreseen by the desperate bureaucrats who are trying to stimulate productivity in the face of big economic problems.

Confusion

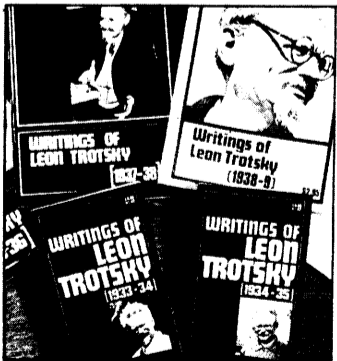
Trotsky wrote: 'When hundreds and thousands of workers are suddenly numbered among "Stakhanovists", the administration gets into utter confusion. Not knowing how, and not being objectively able, to put the regime of production

in order in a short space of time, it tries to violate both labour power and technique.

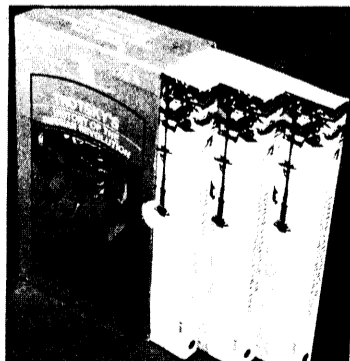
'When the clockwork slows down it pokes the little wheels with a nail. As a result of the "Stakhanovist" days and ten-day periods, complete chaos was introduced into many enterprises. This explains the fact, at first glance astonishing, that a growth of the number of Stakhanovists is frequently accompanied, not with an increase, but a decrease of the general productivity of the enterprise.'

The fact that the bureaucracy is forced back on this costly and generally ineffective means of raising labour productivity is, in reality, a retreat from the plan and an admission of bankruptcy by the leadership, which bears prime responsibility for the economic crisis.

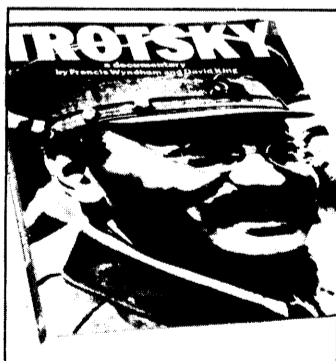
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UP GO PRICES IN THE MARKET

Only 'average' was the verdict on the economic performance of the Common Market in 1972 by Wilhelm Haferkamp of West Germany, vice-president of the European Commission.

The growth rate, he said, was only slightly up on 1971, which was a bad year, while unemployment had continued to increase in all the member countries and the upward movement of prices had continued to accelerate.

These trends had not yet been reflected strongly in the balance of payments owing to an improvement in the terms of trade, the small rise in imports and increased efforts to sell abroad.

Haferkamp optimistically forecast 'a lively upswing of economic activity in 1973'. He did not expect much decrease in unemployment and saw many sectors affected by a continued sharp upward movement in costs and prices.

He saw no hope of increased productivity in 1973 con-

tributing to any slowdown in the rise in unit costs and expected world prices to continue on their upward trend.

'Nor can the possibility be excluded,' he forecast, 'that, in view of the improvement in the business climate, enterprises may make additional price increases, which could lead to new wage demands.'

Perhaps unintentionally the former Social-Democratic MP and trade union official got the sequence right: price rises first, then pressure for wage increases.

The Community is aiming to reduce the rise in consumer prices to 4 per cent by the end of 1973. A meeting will be held in mid-June to determine whether the measures taken up to then by member countries have achieved results or whether tougher ones will be required.

Haferkamp's report, while general and keeping in the middle-of-the-road on all controversial issues, could have given his listeners no confidence that 1973 will see an end to the problems gnawing away at the capitalist economy in Europe.

HOW HITLER CAME TO POWER

BY TOM KEMP

The coming to power of the Nazi Party in Germany 40 years ago today was a heavy defeat for the working class and a major turning point in history. Its consequences can hardly be underestimated.

It was on January 30, 1933, that Adolf Hitler, the leader of the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) Party, was called on by President Hindenburg to become head of the government as Chancellor. In the previous year Hitler had twice failed to defeat Hindenburg as President.

Hitler came to power as a result of backstairs intrigue by the political representatives of the German ruling class. His party never won more than 37 per cent of the votes in a free election. Election figures for 1932 show that Hitler's star was waning. In the General Election of November the Nazis lost 2 million votes. Local elections held later in the same month showed a further sharp decline.

Hitler and the Nazis never won the support of the German working class and to suggest otherwise is a calumny. The election figures from Berlin and the industrial areas show that the Nazis generally reached their peak with between one quarter and one third of the votes. Both the Social Democratic and Communist Party votes, with some fluctuations, were well maintained.

In the factories the Nazis set up their own cells and put up candidates for the works' councils. In 1931 they received 0.5 per cent of the votes against 83.6 per cent for the SPD trade unions. Even in March 1933, after Hitler had taken over, they only received 3 per cent of the votes in the factories. Practically none of the factory workers supported the Nazis.

Hitler's mass support came from the middle classes—the small property-owners, shopkeepers, peasants and white-collar employees. A look at any picture of Nazi party meetings and rallies will confirm the fact that the audience was composed predominantly of respectable middle-class Germans, not of workers or of lumpen proletariat.

Even the unemployed did not flock to the Nazi banner on the scale that has sometimes been suggested. More unemployed supported or joined the German Communist Party (KPD), which almost literally became a party of the unemployed in 1931-1932.

The Nazi party and its Storm Troops (Sturm-Abteilung), the para-military formations descended from the Freikorps, attracted what

Trotsky called 'the masses of crazed petty bourgeoisie, and bands of the declassed and demoralized lumpen-proletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy'.

The SA were housed and fed in party barracks and given a few marks a week. Their job was to protect party meetings and to take command of the streets, beating up and killing workers and smashing the working-class organizations.

The SA Chief-of-Staff was Ernst Rohm, an intimate friend of Hitler from the early days of the movement. Rohm aimed to build up the power of the SA, make it the basis for a new army and supplant the Reichswehr and the officer corps.

After the Nazis came to power a bitter conflict broke out between the SA leaders and the army chiefs. Rohm's enemies in the movement prepared the SS to strike a deadly blow and won Hitler's support.

To make himself complete master of Germany after the death of Hindenburg, Hitler had to ensure himself of the support of the Reichswehr and the aristocratic officer corps. The support of the army was indispensable if his regime was to carry through the war preparations required by German imperialism's drive for markets.

To be sure of this support, Hitler knew that he had to relieve the army of the threat from Rohm and the SA and therefore backed the combined operation of the Reichswehr and the SS against Rohm. On June 30, 1934, in the 'night of the long knives' Rohm and his supporters were shot and the power of the SA was broken. Hitler took the opportunity to have other enemies and rivals liquidated.

The coming to power of Hitler—and its significance for the German working class and the whole international movement—cannot be understood without an examination of German history after the defeat of 1918.

END OF THE KAISER

By the autumn of 1918 German workers and servicemen had had enough of the slaughter and sacrifices of the previous four years. The Kaiser's regime was overthrown by revolution, but instead of power passing to the working class it was grasped firmly by the bourgeoisie with the aid of the army, thanks to the treachery of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party.

To deal with the threat of revolution the bourgeoisie turned to squads of freebooters, mostly ex-soldiers, imbued with nationalist and racist ideology and sworn enemies of the working class.



Hitler in Munich, 1923. By this time he had become the recognized leader of the forces of the far right and he gained national notoriety.

These were the Freikorps, mobilized and used to hunt down militants by the Social Democrat Noske. These squads were the initial recruiting ground for the Nazi Party.

The Nazi Party was thus a product of the 'witches' cauldron which was post-war Germany. This was the party in which Adolf Hitler, unsuccessful painter and wartime corporal, came to the fore. By 1923 he had become the recognized leader of the main forces of the far-right and secured national notoriety as leader of an attempted putsch in Munich.

While confined not too comfortably in a fortress, Hitler wrote his political testament and bible of the Nazi movement, 'Mein Kampf'. After 1933 a copy was to be found in virtually every German home.

During the 1920s the Nazis remained a fringe group of the extreme right and failed to become a mass movement. Noted

and approved by the forces of conservatism, and especially by the magnates of heavy industry, they were kept in reserve with just enough subsidies to ensure their survival during the period of artificial prosperity which preceded the crash.

Everything changed when the economic blizzard struck Germany after the Wall Street crash of October 1929. Hitler himself did not realize the significance of that event, but he soon seized the possibilities which it offered his movement. Germany was more seriously affected by the depression which followed it than any other country. Unemployment leapt to over 6 million. The industrialists faced bankruptcy and they feared social revolution which would dispossess them as a class.

Politically, post-war Germany lived under the 'democratic' constitution promulgated at Weimar in 1919—hence the Weimar Republic. But the industrialists quickly

saw that their problems could not be solved through the medium of bourgeois democracy and adherence to this constitution.

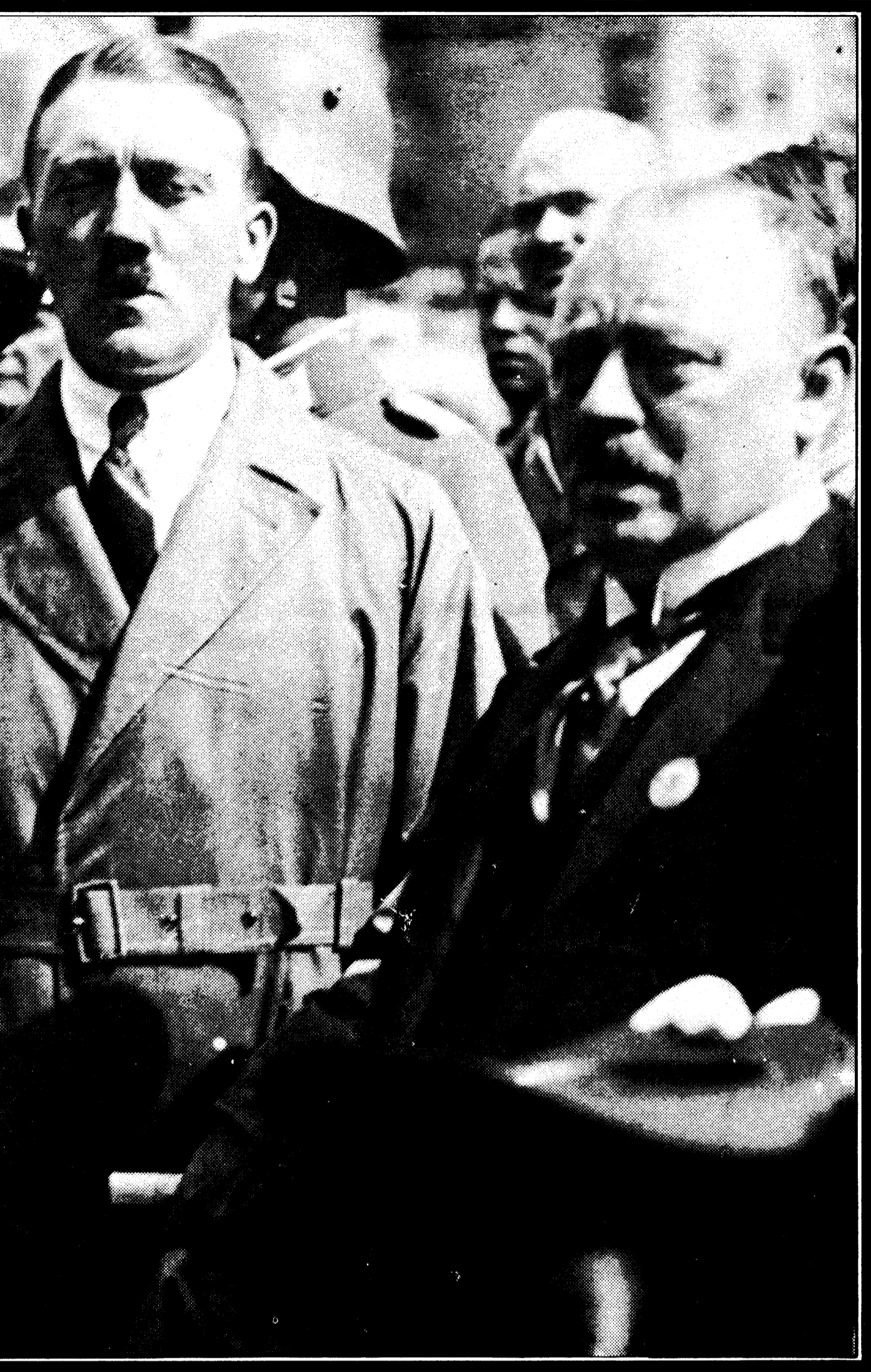
As early as December 1929 some industrialists published a programme called 'Rise or Fall?' in which they demanded higher indirect taxes, falling on the workers, and lower direct taxes to assist capital accumulation. These demands broke up the coalition government in which the Social Democratic Party held key posts. A period of political instability and social crisis began, ending only in 1933.

The German ruling class had been forced to accept the harsh terms imposed by the Versailles Treaty because they saw no alternative. But they hated a settlement which deprived Germany of the armed forces and colonies needed for expansion. The whole right wing was united on this question, as they were in hatred of the working class and the 'Marxist' parties.

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and he gained national notoriety as leader of the Munich putsch of November 9, 1923

To grapple with the economic crisis the Brüning government which took over in 1930 imposed a policy of deflation which could do nothing to overcome the depression and tended to make it worse. In May, 1932 the government fell when it put forward a modest programme of public works which was taken over by Brüning's successor as Chancellor, Von Papen—the man who was to open the door for Hitler a few months later.

By now, although elections were still being held, only the trappings of parliamentary democracy remained. The industrialists understood that the economic crisis could not be solved without state intervention and the smashing of the trade unions and the whole working-class movement. Papen, and then General Schleicher, sought a 'bonapartist' way out—with the state power balancing between employers and workers in an attempt to win support for an

anti-depression programme.

The failure of Brüning and then, in rapid succession of Papen and Schleicher, convinced the German ruling class that only Hitler and the Nazis could save the capitalist system from disaster. From 1930 onwards support for Hitler in industrial circles grew rapidly. In a literal way the big capitalists put their money on Hitler.

FUNDS FOR THE NAZIS

A significant index of this was the speech which Hitler made to the Industry Club in Düsseldorf in January 1932 to a select audience of West German industrialists. His reception at first was cool, but after two and a half hours Hitler had the élite of German business on their feet wildly cheering. Needless to say the cheques flowed in to make possible the two gigantic presidential

election campaigns which Hitler ran during that year.

Men like the old Emil Kirdorf of Gelsenkirchen and Fritz Thyssen, two of the wealthiest men in the Ruhr, were personal friends and admirers of Hitler already. Their example was followed by many others in 1931 and 1932. Hitler sedulously cultivated the support of industrialists and bankers, holding discreet private interviews and always insisting on the need for funds.

The failure of the old politicians to solve the crisis by orthodox means convinced German businessmen that extreme measures were necessary to prevent revolution. They turned to the Nazis when other methods had been exhausted. Within the space of two or three years the alternative seemed to be a Nazi dictatorship or proletarian revolution.

While a large part of the funds for the Nazi Party came from big business, its mass base lay in the middle class.

The German middle class feared revolution as much as did the ruling class. It had suffered most from the inflation of the early 1920s. The depression once again opened up an abyss as trade fell off, farm prices collapsed and competition became more acute.

Nazi propaganda appealed to national feeling by denouncing the injustices of the Versailles treaty. It blamed the big monopolies and bankers for the depression and attacked the trade unions and the 'Marxist' parties. Shopkeepers, lawyers and doctors were told that the real enemy was their Jewish competitor down the street and if only he was removed their troubles would be over.

A confused, contradictory and irrational mixture which promised miracles once the Nazis had power, it was put over by Hitler with consummate demagogic skill at enormous meetings and rallies. Everything was done to stir nationalist emotion and create an atmosphere of expectancy and hope. Frenzied attacks on Bolsheviks and Jews raised feelings to fever pitch.

The Nazi Party itself built up an enormous apparatus to organize its members, the most devoted and energetic being drawn into the paramilitary formations. These formations were intended to protect meetings and marches and to do battle with the enemy: i.e. with the Socialist and Communist workers.

TO PREVENT REVOLUTION

While Hitler put on a respectable front to his huge audiences of troubled middle-class people, a free hand was given to the SA and the SS (Schutz-Staffel) to smash up workers' meetings and carry out a reign of terror wherever they had the power to do so. They came into their own in 1933 when they had the job of totally destroying the working class organizations.

The leaders and active members of the Stormtroopers were the most deeply influenced by the 'socialist' or anti-capitalist elements in the Party programme. As Hitler became increasingly respectable and was drawn into intrigues with the capitalist politicians in 1931 and 1932 these supporters became an embarrassment.

Gregor Strasser, head of the party organization, broke with Hitler in 1932. He, together with many of the brownshirt old guard, was liquidated in the 'night of the long knives', June 30, 1934.

In fact on the very eve of taking power the Nazi Party was in its deepest crisis. Despite the huge subsidies from heavy industry and the subscriptions of members the movement faced bankruptcy. Hitler and his aides spent on a grandiose scale both on the organization and on their personal needs. In the presidential campaigns of 1932 no expense was spared to impress the public.

Hitler and his party flew all over Germany in a big three-engined plane chartered from the Lufthansa airline. In those days such a whirlwind campaign by air was unusual. When not in the air, Hitler travelled in a big Mercedes, the biggest and fastest production car on the German market.

He had a large entourage including a chauffeur, a photographer and a personal bodyguard. At least 300 stormtroopers had to be provided before Hitler would speak at a meeting.

'When I visited Berlin before I came to power', Hitler once reminisced; 'I used to stay at the Kaiserhof [a luxury hotel]; and as I was always accompanied by a complete general staff, I generally had to book a whole floor and our bill for food and lodging came to about 10,000 marks a week. I

earned enough to defray these expenses by means of interviews and articles for the foreign Press. Towards the end of the Kampfzeit [the time of struggle], I was paid as much as two or three thousand dollars a time for such work.'

Reference to lavish fees from the foreign Press recalls the fact that capitalist circles in the rest of Europe and the United States looked favourably upon Hitler both before and after he came to power. Such a valiant crusader against Bolshevism and the trade unions commended himself to all those who were worried about the power of the working class and the threat of revolution which the depression appeared to have brought closer.

Hitler's contacts and support came always from within the established centres of power in Germany—big business, the army, the Prussian landowners, members of the old ruling families.

As has been said, Hitler did not win the support of the German working class before he took power. He never detached it from its leaders or organizations or won its votes. To the last, uniformed Nazis could not enter working class strongholds. In street fights workers gave as good as they got and even after January 30, in the elections of March 1933, they continued to vote in their mass for the SPD and the KPD.

And yet this great movement was defeated without a struggle. Once Hitler had been brought to power by the old-line politicians the police and the stormtroopers were sent out to destroy the organizations of the working class. Its leaders were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, murdered; hundreds and thousands of workers suffered the same fate.

Hitler came to power because of the treacherous policies of the working-class leaders, not because the working class was unwilling or unable to fight, far less because it had been won over by Nazi propaganda.

The betrayal of the Social Democrats still the largest working class party goes back a long way. In 1914 they supported the war. In 1918-1919 they destroyed the German Revolution together with the Freikorps, who were the forerunners of the Nazi stormtroopers. They supported the Weimar republic and entered coalition governments alongside representatives of one of the most brutal and reactionary ruling classes in Europe.

As Trotsky put it in 'Germany, the Only Road': 'The principal political responsibility for the growth of fascism rests, of course, on the shoulders of Social Democracy. Ever since the imperialist war, the labours of this party have been reduced to uprooting from the consciousness of the proletariat the idea of an independent policy, to implanting within it the eternity of capitalism and to forcing to its knees time and again before the decadent bourgeoisie.'

'The petty bourgeoisie can only follow the worker when it sees in him the new master. Social Democracy teaches the worker to be a lackey. The petty bourgeoisie will not follow a lackey. The policy of reformism deprives the proletariat of the possibility of leading the plebian masses of the petty bourgeoisie and thereby alone converts the latter into cannon fodder for fascism.'

The SPD controlled the state government of Prussia the largest state in Germany. In 1929 it polled nearly 30 per cent of the votes cast and was, at that time, the largest party in the Reichstag. Reformist to the core, the SPD and trade union leaders hoped to find a way of saving German capitalism and continuing their loyal dialogue with the ruling class as its agents in the workers' movement.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

In Greece today political trials are on the increase and tortures intensify. Yet the Greek Communist Party calls for the restoration of the monarchy and a 'government of national unity'. It was a government of this type which led to the Civil War of 1944 when the British-backed Greek ruling class sought to disarm the working class—with Stalinist assistance. The coming to power of the military junta in 1967 was directly linked to that betrayal.

While Greek communists languish in jail, Moscow has recently signed an agreement with the colonels to inaugurate a railway service linking Moscow and Athens. Other Stalinist countries, like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania, have trade and cultural pacts with the colonels' regime. In November an 11-man Chinese delegation arrived from Peking to open an embassy in Athens, and in the same month the state-controlled Public Power Corporation announced an \$89m supply-and-install deal with Russia for a new steam power plant to be erected in northern Greece. The Stalinists, in Greece and elsewhere, bear the major responsibility for the sufferings of the Greek masses under the colonels' military junta.

In this series of articles JACK GALE will trace the rise of the colonels' regime and the direct assistance given to it by Stalinism.

Stalinism in Greece Part 2

KISSING CHURCHILL'S FEET

The full tragedy of Greece cannot be understood without reference to the crimes of Stalinism.

During the Nazi wartime occupation, the Greek Communist Party was able to establish its control over the greater part of the country through the EAM (National Liberation Front) and ELAS (People's Army of Liberation). 'The Times' credited EAM with the support of 90 per cent of the Greek people, while its youth organization, EPON, had an estimated membership of 500,000.

And working-class strength was sufficiently great—even under Nazi occupation—that General Strikes and demonstrations in Athens and Salonika halted conscription to the German army, prevented the mobilization of slave labour for Germany and forced increases in the bread rations.

The Greek bourgeoisie was collaborationist from the beginning. Under Nazi occupation, the Greek state was administered by virtually the same personnel as under the Metaxas regime.

The resistance movement was entirely proletarian—and it was equally hostile to Churchill's collaborators in Cairo as to Hitler's collaborators in Athens.

Despite mass support, however, the Stalinists never launched a genuine struggle for power. Instead they sent a delegation to Cairo to persuade Tsouderos, the reactionary premier of the Royalist Government-in-Exile, and a former member of the Metaxas apparatus, to form a 'Government of National Unity'.

This played into the hands of Winston Churchill who sent British troops to Greece under General Scobie to crush partisan resistance and preserve the old regime. This invasion was cleared with Stalin at the Tehran Conference.

As a preliminary a left-wing rebellion among the Greek armed forces in Egypt was crushed and some 20,000 Greek soldiers and sailors imprisoned in the desert.

The Soviet bureaucracy went along with this in return for a free hand in the Balkans.

Churchill's instructions to Scobie were to destroy the EAM: 'Act as if you were in a conquered city where a local rebellion is in progress', he told the military commander.

The deal with Stalin was sealed at a meeting in the Kremlin. Churchill recorded in his 'Memoirs':

'Stalin strictly and faithfully adhered to our agreement in October and in all the long weeks of fighting the Communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from "Pravda" or "Izvestia".'

It must be stressed that—although many members of the Greek Communist Party have suffered terrible tortures and have behaved heroically—their organization shares responsibility for the fate of the country.

The Greek Stalinists faithfully followed Moscow from the beginning and consciously destroyed their chances of victory—cynically sacrificing their own members and supporters.

By 1944 ELAS was a vast army with hundreds of thousands of supporters in the cities, auxiliary organizations, a mass youth movement and labour organizations. Almost all Greece was under its control. In the Athens area alone there were 20,000 ELAS troops.

Coalition

The situation was ripe for taking power. Instead, the Greek Stalinists welcomed the British as liberators, forbade the ELAS units outside Athens to enter the city and agreed to participate in the 'Government of National Unity'.

As in France and Italy, the Stalinists were only too anxious to serve in the bourgeois coalition.

Under the terms of the Lebanon Charter signed in May 1944, the Greek Stalinists entered the bourgeois government of Papandreou, and remained in it even when the allies occupied Greece.

On September 27 the Stalinist commander of ELAS—Seraphis—had a conference at Caserta with the leader of the bourgeois armed forces, General Zervas, and the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces. The terms of the Caserta Agreement—at a time when the Greek masses virtually had power in their hands—were:

(1) 'All guerrilla forces operating in Greece place themselves under the orders of the Greek government of National Unity. The Greek government places these forces under the orders of General Scobie, who had been nominated by the Supreme Allied Command as



the general officer commanding in Greece.

(2) 'In accordance with a proclamation issued by the Greek government, the guerrilla leaders declare they will forbid any attempt by any units under their command to take the law into their own hands. Such action will be treated as a crime and punished accordingly.'

(3) 'In Athens no action is to be taken except under the orders of General Scobie. Security battalions are considered instruments of the enemy unless they surrender.'

The Stalinist leaders followed this by an agreement with Papandreou that both ELAS and EDES would disarm and be superseded by a National Guard. A report in 'Nation' described the situation in Athens:

'Thousands of traitors and quislings were permitted to roam freely around Athens. No collaborators were called to trial or punished by the government. Royalist organizations were secretly armed. Members of the Nazi-organized Security Battalions were spirited out of prison and armed. Wild stories of red terrorism were fed to the local and foreign press. High officials of the various ministries who had faithfully served the Nazi and quisling government were kept at their posts.'

'No attempt was made to purge the police and national guard, both of which had worked for the Gestapo. When the Under-Secretary of War, on November 24, appointed 14 officers to organize a new national guard, eight of them were former officers of the Security Battalions. The Mountain Brigade was withdrawn from Italy and brought to

Athens. More British troops kept landing in Greece. And long after the last German had left the Greek mainland British tanks rumbled along the streets of Athens.'

In this situation, the British occupation commanders gave a deadline for ELAS and EDES to disband by December 20. It was the popular reaction to this that forced the break between the Stalinists and the Government of National Unity.

This was the signal for the suppression of the armed workers by the troops of the western allies beginning with the machine-gunning of a mass demonstration of unarmed workers on December 10.

When the civil war broke out the Stalinist leaders ordered 20,000 ELAS forces to leave for the North while the crucial battles were being fought in Athens. This was a deliberate policy calculated to smash the most militant sections of the working class in Athens.

'Red paper'

(At a meeting in London in January 1970 Greek musician and then Communist Party member Mikis Theodorakis told of a 'red paper' sent by Stalin to the Greek Communist Party in 1944 instructing it to call off the struggle. G. Votsis, who had been a leading member of the Greek Communist Party before the 1967 military coup, and president of the Journalists' Union demanded a full accounting of the role of Moscow in the events of that time.)

They were certainly entitled to ask for an accounting. For, after 23 youth had been shot dead in Athens on December 22, the masses paraded through

the city shouting 'Revenge! Revenge! Death to Papandreou!'

A General Strike was called. Workers militia occupied all except three miles in the centre of Athens.

Papandreou resigned and fled to the Grand Bretagne Hotel where he was protected from the wrath of the Greek workers by British tanks. After a further month's fighting, the bourgeois forces of General Zervas had been wiped out in Epirus and ELAS controlled all of Greece except one section of Athens.

Yet the Stalinists concluded an agreement with Churchill and Eden to disarm the workers, accept an appointed regent and allowed General Plastiras—a commander of the Greek contingents that invaded Soviet Ukraine in 1919—to take office as premier.

Indeed, when the Stalinist secretary of the EAM—Dimitri Partsalides—met Churchill he kissed his feet and thanked his 'great ally' for coming to Greece!

On February 12, 1945 the Stalinist leadership signed the Varkiza agreement disarming and disbanding the ELAS in return for an amnesty for the leaders while the ranks faced murder, arrest and execution, from a Greek regime under the protection of the British army.

This was not a capitulation by the working class but by their Stalinist leaders. Hundreds of partisans took to the mountains to continue the struggle, but they were left without political leadership.

Those who refused to lay down their arms were denounced by the Stalinists as 'sectarians' and 'Trotskyists'. They even organized their capture and handed them over to



December 2, 1944—Members of the workers' militia armed with captured weapons and helmets, on the streets of Athens. Left: Churchill with the Greek Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos in Athens in 1944.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

HANDICAPS

Children who are deaf are being wrongly diagnosed as mentally-handicapped because of a lack of assessment centres and qualified specialists.

A report by the National Deaf Children's Society claims that as many as 350 of the country's 400 ear, nose and throat specialists might not have the necessary skills to detect deafness in infants and young children.

Often deaf children have other physical and emotional handicaps, but very accurate assessment of the degree of deafness is necessary even if it is the only handicap. Both parents and children suffer frustration and distress as a result of mistaken diagnoses.

The Society calls for special assessment centres in Manchester, Birmingham, Exeter, Southampton, Nottingham, Newcastle, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and three in London.

Each centre, it says, should have an audiologist, neurologist, educational psychologist, otologist, paediatrician, psychiatrist and a teacher of the deaf.

But a capitalist system in crisis will do nothing for working-class children, many of whom face the dole, even if they have no physical or emotional handicaps. The deaf can expect little consideration from the Tory government.

BURGHERS

The quiet burghers of Kidderminster are in a spin. They have been faithfully voting Tory for generations in this hamlet.

But the worm has turned. Tory policies are now beginning to lash sections of Heath's own followers.

Kidderminster shopkeepers have just received new rating assessments. Some are up a staggering 1,000 per cent. Hairdresser Miss Hazel Griffiths has been told the rateable value of her lock-up shop in New Road is going up from £58 to £567.

Nearby men's hairdresser John Carter faces an increase from £66 to £622.

Reginald Moore, a shoe repairer for more than 50 years, said he would be forced into retirement by a new assessment from £42 to £347.

INTO EUROPE

Cardinal Heenan, the guru of the Roman Catholics of Britain, has given an enthusiastic blessing to entry into the Common Market.

He says that 'peace is the greatest attraction' of the enlarged community.

But what about the soaring cost of living caused by British entry and the resulting impoverishment of the working

RADIO CASH

Lord Thomson of Fleet will go down as the man who said that controlling a commercial TV channel was 'a licence to print money'. Judging from the figures just released on TV advertising it seems that his ten-year-old statement is as true today as it was then.

Commercial TV advertising revenue totalled £13,151,239 last month, compared with £9,008,131 in December 1971, the Independent Television Companies Association said last week.

But it was less than the record £15.3m total for November, the first complete month in which day-time programmes were fully operational.

It must also be true that commercial radio is also a licence to print money. A syndicate including Thomson Newspapers is heading the stakes for the prime London licence.



Pompidou

class? 'If the world is never again to be involved in war on account of disputes between European nations, no price will be high enough to pay for entry.'

He went on: 'We pray that our entry into Europe may both further the cause of peace and hasten the day of reunion between all the brethren of Christ and the children of God'—believed to be a reference to Heath, Pompidou and Jack Lynch.

POLITICAL PROFILES

By LEON TROTSKY
Paperback. £1.00 Illustrated



Sharp pen-portraits of leading figures of the Second International in Russia and Europe, for the first time published in an English edition. The translations were first commissioned by the Young Socialists' paper 'Keep Left'. Their enormous success has led to the completion of the translation of the whole book, which is the first part of Volume 8 of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1926. It provides the most vivid picture available of the historic figures of the Second International, their strengths and weaknesses, written by an observer who was also a participant in the daily struggle of the European and Russian working class.

Now available from New Park Publications
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

the army and various right-wing groups. The Communist Party with its post-1949 policy of left alliances lent veracity to this fraud, disarmed the working class and left the door open for the colonels' coup in 1967.

While the Stalinists preached support for the Centre Union of Andreas Papandreou 'against the right', they allowed the right to prepare behind the scenes.

There was no basis for parliamentary democracy in Greece. The election of a Centre Union government in 1963 was more than the American government was prepared to tolerate. When this government seemed likely to be re-elected in 1967, with the possibility that it would be opposed to the NATO military alliance, the CIA acted.

In 1970 Papandreou revealed how the US government advisor Walter Rostow met the National Security Council in February of 1967 and proposed the establishment of a military dictatorship.

This was supported by the CIA and endorsed by President Johnson. Papandreou, who had been in charge of the Greek security forces before the coup, revealed that even then the real control of Greek internal and foreign policy lay in the hands of the CIA.

After the colonels took power, thousands of Greek workers, including many members of the Communist Party, were jailed and murdered. This has not prevented the Stalinist regimes having the friendliest relations with Papadopoulos, nor has it prevented them from denouncing Trotskyists to the Junta authorities—as we shall show.

CONCLUDED TOMORROW

the police. They also themselves executed scores of Trotskyites, particularly in the Salonika area.

By July 1945 more than 20,000 militants had been imprisoned, hundreds had been executed and 3,000 more were under sentence of death.

Yet the Communist Party was still legal and its press was free.

However, it was forced to assume the leadership of the armed struggle and was permitted to do so by the politically untrained fighters who saw this as a correction of past 'mistakes'.

By 1947 the rebel army, now called the 'Democratic Army' was dealing heavy blows at the state armed forces, despite the American aid the latter were receiving.

Yet the Greek CP leaders never broke from Stalin—who, in 1948, told a Yugoslav Communist delegation, headed by Kardelj: 'The uprising in Greece must be stopped as quickly as possible and the Yugoslavs should stop helping them.'

The 'Democratic Army' was thrown into adventurist confrontations with far superior forces in such a blatant manner that it was clear the Stalinist leader Zachariades was seeking to destroy it. Indeed when the army commander Vafiades objected to these suicidal tactics he was removed from his post.

Zachariades took over personal direction of the Democratic Army and by 1949 it had been destroyed.

The only force which fought for a revolutionary perspective were the Trotskyists who had undergone years of repression, first from the pre-war Metaxas regime and then from the

Nazis. Its leaders—men like Pouliopoulos and Xypolyotos—were executed by the Nazis.

During the civil war period the Trotskyists were able to bring out a paper three times a week and the Stalinists were forced to take part in debates with them in Athens.

The Trotskyists were unable to win the leadership of the Greek masses partly because they had been decimated first by the regimes of the right and then by the deliberate campaign of the Stalinists to eliminate those consistent revolutionaries who exposed the betrayal of Moscow and its puppets and fought for an alternative programme and leadership for the working class.

Crushed

But, above all, the Greek Stalinists were able to carry out the behests of the Moscow bureaucracy because the working class as an international force had suffered a series of defeats in the previous two decades—these defeats being themselves the responsibility of international Stalinism.

By 1949 when the Stalinists had brought about the defeat of the Greek working class, British imperialism was too weak to continue its role in the Balkans. The United States took over.

With the Greek resistance crushed, some appearances of democratic liberties were a convenient cover for the real policy of holding back revolution, keeping Greece in the 'Free World' and ensuring the dominance of US capital in the country.

Behind this facade of parliamentary democracy Greece became a hotbed of intrigues involving the King, the CIA,

Whitelaw extends direct rule

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE TORY government is to continue direct rule in Northern Ireland, which was due to expire at the end of March.

The Northern Ireland (Temporary Provisions) Act, which suspended Stormont and placed Northern Ireland under the control of Mr William Whitelaw's department, lays down a period of one year for any renewal.

Shooting carried on until the early hours of yesterday morning in the Andersontown area and near Belfast cemetery.

Three petrol bombs and a blast bomb exploded in front of shops in the Crumlin Road.

Meanwhile, the trial continued in Dublin of Londonderry Republican leader Martin McGuinness and Joseph McCallion.

They are charged with being members of the IRA and possessing explosives and ammunition.

Police claim they had 250 lb of gelignite and 4,000 rounds of ammunition when they were stopped at a road block near Ballybofy, in the border area, on January 13.

Both men refused to plead and McGuinness said he did not recognize the court.

Cranes block factory entrance

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

SIT-IN strikers at Coles Cranes in Sunderland yesterday decided to continue their fight against redundancy, and to keep in position three huge cranes with which they have been blocking the factory gates.

The strikers decided that the cranes would remain in position until the company—recently taken over by Acrow group—agreed to return to established agreements with the labour force.

A mass meeting also endorsed a proposal that shop stewards tour the country seeking financial support.

Seamen fly home to union HQ protest



Seamen and their wives demand union action over Australasia pay.

CREW from the liner 'Ocean Monarch' who flew home from Australia on Friday saw union leaders in London yesterday to demand action against the Shaw Savill line.

They wanted National Union of Seamen officials to give a pledge that any attempt to victimize or blacklist the crew would be fought.

Also sought were assurances that seamen serving in Australasia would be given extra payments to compensate for the recent 10 per cent revaluation of the Australian dollar.

Crew members found that when the ship reached Australia, the dollar devaluation meant £1 sterling was only being exchanged by Shaw Savill for \$1.82 as against the old rate of \$2.16.

As many of the crew were likely to be in the region for

up to 18 months, the revaluation effectively amounted to a wage cut.

But demands for extra wages from Shaw Savill were refused and about 200 crew went on unofficial strike at the beginning of last week.

'We were then refused entry to the ship, and were locked out,' one of the crew told Workers Press yesterday.

'When the union official arrived from London the first words he said were: "You're not on". There was no beating about the bush. He said we couldn't get a rise because of the wage freeze in England.'

Eventually the company did offer another £7 a month, conditional on the ship carrying more than 900 passengers on the cruises.

This was rejected by the crew because they claimed the number of passengers travel-

ling on the ship was dwindling and was below 900 on most occasions.

While they were on the quayside, the crew received support from the Australian dockers' and seamen's unions and the pilot refused to take the 'Ocean Monarch' out.

'But we'd had enough and decided to come home,' said another crew member. 'The union wouldn't support us and the company had disowned us.'

When they collected their final pay checks, the crew were in for another shock. Under the notorious Merchant Shipping Act 1970, they had each been deducted £50 by Shaw Savill.

This anti-trade union Act allows a maximum of £50 to be taken out of wages by the employers if crew members are considered to be in 'breach of contract'.

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

JANUARY FUND NEEDS £291.51 ONLY 2 DAYS LEFT

IT IS getting very close now. We are almost there. One last spurt and we are sure you will do it. Don't stop until our £1,750 target is raised.

The capitalist class face the most serious economic crisis of its system. Inflation has proceeded at such a pace that it is not able to find any long-term solution to this situation.

In Britain the Tories are forced to launch even greater attacks to try and defeat the working class. But everywhere thousands and thousands of workers in every industry are fighting back to defend their rights.

Workers Press is needed more today than ever before. Our paper must politically provide a lead to all those taking on this Tory government. This government must be defeated and made to resign.

Our Fund, therefore, is more important than ever. We still have £291.57 to raise by Wednesday. Don't waste a moment. Raise everything you possibly can and rush immediately to:

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

CHICKEN price rises—with warnings of more to come—were described yesterday as 'a bigger scandal than beef'. The meat controller of a large stores combine said 90 per cent of the rises were 'sheer profiteering'. He added: 'The only increase facing the poultry industry has been in feeding stuff—everything else has been frozen.'

Socialist Labour League Public Meetings

UNITE IN ACTION TO DEFEND BASIC RIGHTS

CLAPHAM

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 14, 8pm
South Island Library
South Island Place
Stockwell, SW9
speaker: MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Cttee)

WATFORD

MONDAY FEBRUARY 19, 8pm
Trades Union Hall
near Watford Junction stn
speaker: MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Cttee)

WANDSWORTH

THURSDAY FEBRUARY 22, 8pm
Wandsworth Town Hall
Wandsworth High Street
speaker: MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Cttee)

BIRMINGHAM

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 25, 7pm
Digbeth, Civic Hall
Digbeth, Birmingham
speaker: MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Cttee)

London

SLOUGH

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 28, 8pm
Britwell Community Centre
Long Furlong Drive
Britwell Estate
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

NORTH KENT

MONDAY FEBRUARY 19, 8pm
The Shakespeare,
Powis Street
Woolwich
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

GLASGOW

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 11, 7.30pm
Govan South Town Hall
Langland Road
nearest underground
Govan Cross
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

ACTON

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 20, 8pm
Woodlands Hall,
Crown Street
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

MEDWAY

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 27, 8pm
Aurora Hotel
Brompton Road
Gillingham
speaker: MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Cttee)

DAGENHAM

THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8pm
Manor Park Library
Romford Rd/Rabbits Road
opp Rabbits Pub
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

MIDDLETON

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 14, 8pm
Middleton Baths,
Middleton, Manchester
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

SLL LECTURES GLASGOW

Sunday, February 4
The Left Opposition's struggle against Stalinism.

MID HALL
Partick Burgh Halls
7.30 p.m.

Lectures by Tom Kemp, SLL Central Committee member

DONCASTER

Sunday February 4
The crisis and the socialist answer.

Sunday February 11
The revolutionary party in Britain.

Lectures given by Cliff Slaughter.
SPREAD EAGLE HOTEL
Westlithgate
7.30 p.m.

TODMORDEN

Monday February 5
'Trotskyism'
THE WEAVERS' INSTITUTE,
Burnley Road,
7.30 p.m.

Lecture 1
1919-1924—The Communist International in the days of Lenin and Trotsky

Lecture 2
1924-1933—The Left Opposition's struggle against Stalin

Lecture 3
1933-1938—From the German defeat to the founding of Fourth International
given by TOM KEMP
(SLL Central Committee)

ACTON

Wednesday January 31
Lecture 1
Wednesday February 7
Lecture 2
Wednesday February 14
Lecture 3

Woodlands Hall
Crown Street, W.3. 8 p.m.

EAST LONDON

Thursday February 1
Lecture 1
Thursday February 8
Lecture 2
Thursday February 15
Lecture 3

Old Town Offices
Poplar High Street
E.14. 8 p.m.

Nixon's new war—on workers at home

ON THE EVE of Edward Heath's crisis visit to Washington, president Nixon's budget announced yesterday slashes to shreds the social gains won by workers in the United States since the turn of the century.

Health, education, housing, welfare, anti-poverty and job training programmes have all been savagely slashed and many items of welfare eliminated entirely.

Despite the signing of the Vietnam ceasefire, welcomed uncritically by the Stalinists, this budget is not a 'peace' budget. It is a declaration of class war by a ruling class which is determined to take back from the workers of America and Europe what it has lost to the revolution in Asia.

The budget cuts were announced as Nixon prepared to receive British Tory premier Edward Heath, who arrives in Washington for talks on trade questions today.

The talks will centre on relations between the US and

Slashing budget cuts hit basic rights

Europe. Nixon will make it plain that he expects big trade and economic concessions from the Common Market.

He will also indicate that Heath must shoulder the burden of struggle against the British workers. He announced at his inauguration that other capitalist countries could no longer simply rely on the US 'umbrella' and must take responsibility for 'preserving their own peace'.

Inside the US Phase Three of the President's wage control programme, begun in August 1971, is already beginning to bite into workers' wage packets.

Just a few days before Nixon announced his budget plans, the



Cost of Living Council slashed a wage increase won by 33,000 hospital workers from 7.5 to 5.5 per cent under its Phase Three powers.

Presenting the budget from the Florida White House, Nixon said that 'the greatest threat to our new prosperity is excessive spending'. He promised big business that tax would be kept down.

Among other cuts, the president slashed:

- \$600m in health care for the elderly.
- \$59m in school milk subsidies.
- \$305m in public housing grants.
- \$2,700m in social service grants.

He abolished the minimum income proposed for poor families and he gave notice that he would do away with plans for building new hospitals, with urban renewal programmes and with aid to schools near Federal facilities.

At the same time, he announced that military expenditure will increase from an estimated \$76,500m this year to \$80,000m next year, despite the ending of direct US involvement in South Vietnam.

The sum to be spent on so-called defence is an all-time record, eating up 30 per cent of the budget total of \$268,700m.

Warning against any attempt to fight the budget proposals, Nixon said: 'Should congress cause the budgeted outlays to be exceeded, it would inescapably face the alternatives of higher taxes, higher interest rates, renewed inflation or all three.'

This attack cannot be met by liberal protest or by the class-collaboration policies of the US union chiefs. It must serve as a spur to the building of a Labour Party in the US, based on the trade unions and fighting for socialist policies against both parties of big business.

BRIEFLY

A TEN-DAY strike by 400 welders at Govan Shipbuilders was called off yesterday on the advice of shop stewards. The dispute over manning of welding equipment, over which the strike started, is to be taken through procedure.

LUCAS Industrial Equipment workers began working in at Fazakerley, Liverpool, yesterday. They accepted passes issued by the CAV sit-in strikers who control the gates of the site. Lucas management has refused to accept the pass system and will not pay the LIE workers.

'FINANCIAL TIMES' share index slipped again yesterday, reflecting losses by leading companies on the London Stock Exchange. At mid-afternoon, the index was down 4.4 points at 454.8. Banks were among the shares which fell most heavily, the Midland losing 17p during the day to reach a price of 417½p.



Lord Denning

LORD DENNING announced in the Appeals Court yesterday that it would take 'two or three days' to think about the evidence on the banning of the Andy Warhol film. Mr. Roger Parker, QC, representing the Independent Television Authority said the judges were not 'a court of public morals' and should only have intervened if it could be shown that the film was so greatly offensive that no reasonable man could approve it. Mr. John Le Quesne, appearing for right-wing journalist Ross McWhirter, said the material before the court when it granted the injunction against showing the film was sufficient to show that the IBA had not taken proper steps to see it contained nothing offensive.

SLL public meeting

SWANSEA

Wednesday, January 31, 7.30 p.m. Oxford Street School, Oxford Street.

Speakers: Roy Battersby (ACTT), Don Jones (AUEW convenor Viscose), Jim Beavan (mid-Glamorgan AUEW district committee). All in a personal capacity.

McGUINNESS and McCallion were jailed for six months for belonging to the IRA, but cleared on explosives and ammunition charges. ● See page 11.

Briant Colour liquidator might get tough

BY IAN YEATS

THE BRIANT Colour liquidator may soon be forced to take legal steps to clear the men out of the factory unless a buyer is found.

Mr David Brockdorf made an offer for the Old Kent Road factory a month ago, but it was rejected by liquidator Mr P. Granville White on the grounds that it fell far below

the real value of the assets.

A spokesman for the liquidator Mr H. B. Blandford Baker said yesterday: 'Ultimately the job of the liquidator is to realize the value of the assets.'

'He was appointed seven months ago and we have still not found a buyer. What option is there but to take steps to gain

possession of the factory and put it under the hammer?'

About 105 men and women are still working in at the factory and the co-ordinating committee has called a special Press conference at the Connaught Rooms today to discuss the position.

The workers have made no formal statement on the Brockdorf offer, which involved employing only a third of the present staff.

Poulson: Crosland's coffee pot

FROM PAGE 1

at the National Liberal Forum when he, Poulson, was chairman of this Tory body. The guest of honour at the Caxton Hall meeting was Edward Heath, then leader of the Opposition.

● The speech described by Mr Hunter as 'a very strong political utterance', was 'violently attacking the then Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Harold Wilson.' Poulson: I can't remember.

● In January 1966 Poulson gave Anthony Crosland, the Minister for Education and Science, a silver coffee pot following the opening of a school built by Poulson.

Crosland and his wife, journalist Susan Barnes, wrote letters thanking Poulson.

Crosland wrote that he was 'most grateful for the coffee pot you so kindly gave me'. He described it as 'a quite exceptional gift' and added:

'I tremble to think how much it cost.'

Hunter: It must have cost at least £500?

Poulson: Oh no, about £100.

● More details emerged of the payments to George Pottinger who was seconded from the Scottish Office to assist with the development of the luxury ski resort at Aviemore.

A document was produced showing that Poulson had paid a total of £23,209 towards a new house for



CROSLAND . . . cupboards full

Pottinger on the Muirfields golf course near Edinburgh. The court heard that Poulson paid for the land, the construction of the building and paid mortgage arrears.

He also gave Pottinger the use of a new Rover car and paid for an expensive Mediterranean cruise worth more than 600 guineas.

● Bovis Holdings, the main contractors on the Aviemore project, were strongly criticized by Poulson in a letter ('Dear George') to Pottinger.

Poulson said the additional costs in the Bovis receipts were 'false accounts'—'and this is not too strong a word'. He added: 'In fact the Bovis contract is a complete confidence trick.'

Asked if he informed the appropriate authorities of his views, Poulson told the court that he had shown his disquiet by withholding certificates.

● Poulson agreed that he gave Lady Fraser, widow of Sir Hugh Fraser, a silver salver costing £150. He said it was for an opening ceremony.

At another opening ceremony, he presented an eight-inch salver to the chairman of Eston (Teesside) Urban District Council.

Poulson said he contacted Pottinger about the Fraser gift.

● But the most astonishing revelation was the mysterious case of Mr Smith and Mr Brown and their uncertain identity.

Mr Hunter produced a letter dated June 1964 in which Poulson wrote to T. Dan Smith, his business associate in Newcastle.

The letter stated that a Mr and Mrs George Brown would be taking a holiday at an expensive Spanish Majorca resort from July 11 to July 26.

Poulson suggested however that Mr and Mrs Brown used the names Mr and Mrs T. Dan Smith 'to avoid publicity'.

Mr Hunter asked if the George Brown was the former Cabinet Minister.

Mr Poulson replied that he had no idea and had never met him.

Hunter: Why should you write a letter which indicates that Mr and Mrs A are to go to an hotel as Mr and Mrs B?

Poulson: The only thing I can think of is that I was asked to do it.

Hunter: I asked you who it is the George Brown you are sending off on an incognito holiday?

Poulson: I have no idea—certainly not the one you infer.



SPECIAL LECTURE: Given by G. Healy, SLL national secretary
Marxism and the Road to Workers' Power
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 4, 7p.m.
 BEAVER HALL, GARLICK HILL
 (nr Mansion House tube)