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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . TUESDAY MAY 22, 1973 . No 1078 . 4p

THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

FASG STS

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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only action against this extreme danger from the right was a half-hour 'general strike' in Milan.

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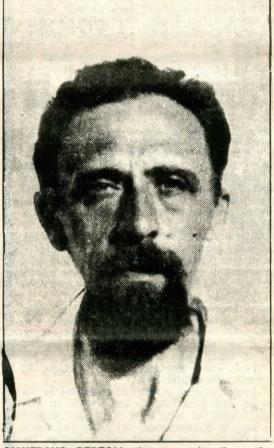
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The counter-revolutionary actions of the Stalinists expose the working class to grave dangers.



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Bertoli has also been exposed as a member of 'Ordine Nuovo', a para-military fascist organization. He took part in attacks on workers on strike and demonstrations of left-wing groups. Although his name was given to the police on several occasions, no action has ever been taken against

him, probably because he had police connections. Several important questions concerning Bertoli's action last week remain unanswered. Just before arriving in Milan, he had made a long-journey via Marseille from Israel. He had been a member of a kibbutz called Karmyah, near Gaza, for two years, where he was noted for his anti-communism.

WHERE did he obtain the money for the long trip to Milan?

HOW did he know that the ceremony commemorating police chief Calabresi's assassination was to take place on that day?

Gold panic at new peak

GOLD panic reached a new peak in London yesterday after the price was officially fixed at \$112.50 an ounce, \$7 up on Friday's closing price. In Paris the price rose to \$114.34 an ounce.

The London stock exchange began to fall under the impact of the international monetary crisis, and the 'Financial Times' index shed 6.6 points by 2 p.m.

The fall was attributed to the fact that 'the uncertain world money situation caused weakness which counter-acted government

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As gold rose, the dollar once As gold rose, the dollar once again fell in relation to European currencies. The pound floated up to a new parity of \$2.58 and there were similar sharp rises in the parity of the German mark and the French franc.

The achievement of this new peak in the feverish flight from paper currency coincided with the opening in Washington of the much-fanfared Morse committee on international monetary reform.

The gold price gives an accurate picture of the contempt with which this committee is now regarded by the world's financiers.

£100,000 PARTY BUILDING WE ARE keeping up the

pace. Yesterday's post brought in £219.80, which brings our total so far collected to £24,336.49.

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UOTKETS PIESS

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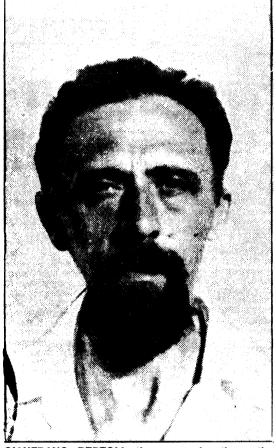
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Withdraw the gunboats from **Icelandic** waters

The decision by the Tory government to violate Icelandic waters and air space by the despatch of fully-armed frigates, torpedo-carrying helicopters and RAF planes is brutal proof that the 'ugly face of capitalism' is not confined to Lonrho.

It is the normal expression of Tory imperialism which is rendered no less hideous by the sickening hypocrisy and chauvinism of Harold

British gunboats—contrary to this reformist and his Tory patron—are in Icelandic waters not to defend trawlermen, but to defend the super-profits of the huge food-processing and fishing combines which have already reaped a bonanza in profits by price increases allowed under Heath's so-called Counter-Inflation Act.

The same government which helps them by soaking British workers with VAT and price increases now provides them with a naval armada paid for and maintained by the taxes wrung out of the working class—so that they can continue to charge extortionate prices to housewives and amass untold profits from the poverty of British trawlermen and the

helpless agony of Icelandic fishermen!
British gunboats 'defend' the Hull and Grimsby
trawlermen like Harold Wilson's troops 'defended' the Catholic workers of Belfast and Derry in 1969! Anyone who believes Wilson's codswallop is mistaking dogfish for

British labour has nothing in common with the grasping monopolies who want to expro-priate the Icelandic fisheries. The Icelandic government must be supported in its efforts to ban British planes from its bases and British ships from its disputed waters.

Heath's 'protection' is the protection afforded by an imperialist freebooter for those who keep him in power. He has no mandate to open an 'undeclared' war on an unarmed nation which relies entirely on fishing for its existence-and Wilson has no mandate to support him either.

War against Iceland is inevitable so long as the fishing and food monopolies remain in private hands; so long as a Tory government remains in Westminster; and so long as right-wing leaders like Wilson and Callaghan re-main at the helm of the Labour Party.

A settlement of the cod problem demands:

Forcing the Tories to resign.

• A Labour government pledged to socialist policies and shorn of its right-wing rump.

Nationalization without compensation and under workers' control of the fishing in-

Complete opposition to every form of chauvinism and complete support for interna-tional solidarity of British and Icelandic Nixon's 'Year of Europe' in jeopardy

Watergate heralds slump

DIVISIONS within the ruling class which lie behind the Nixon scandal are coming more and more into the open on the question of relations between the United States and western Europe.

As the flood of revelations undermines the President's authority there is mounting fear among the European bourgeoisie that the most savagely pro-slump faction of the US capitalists will triumph.

The Common Market employers fear that Nixon will now be unable to continue with the 'Year of Europe' plans outlined by his national security adviser Dr Henry Kissinger, who is now himself implicated in the web of scandal.

The basic conception of this plan is the formation of what Kissinger called a New Atlantic Alliance, to be opened by a series of linked negotiations on trade, monetary questions, troop reductions and European security.

But this plan has already been overtaken by events.

Nixon is under siege in the White House with a powerful section of the American ruling class grow-ing more and more determined that he must go.

For them it is not a ques-For them it is not a question of Nixon as an individual, nor of conducting some return to 'clean government' in the United

Unleashed

The moneyed interests which stand behind the 'Washington Post' and the 'New York Times' are interested, above all, in clear-ing the decks for all-out trade war and deflation.

They are not thinking in terms of negotiation with the Europeans, but in terms of ultimatums.

The Common bourgeois must be told to accept American terms and shoulder the full burden of uncontrollable deflation that is being unleashed.

BY JOHN SPENCER

Hence the fear in Europe that Nixon might be forced out of office and the idea that while Nixon may be a crook, he's the best President the world has got.

This hypocritical theme song was sung by Paul Lewis, US editor of the 'Financial Times' yesterday:

'Whatever his personal popularity at home or abroad, the Common Market countries and the other members of the Atlantic Alliance are likely to find Mr. Nixon about as sympathetic to their interests as any President elected in the current state of American public opinion.'

Lewis points to the strong feeling in Congress that the President's freedom of manoeuvre should be res-stricted in the multi-lateral trade negotiations due to open in September, and that the American garrisons in Europe be reduced, regardless of reaction from the European governments con-

This assumes, of course, that Nixon is still there to conduct any kind of talks with the Common Market and Japan.

And with every day that passes, his chances of cling-



Robert Helms ex-CIA boss with Nixon.

ing to office get thinner and thinner.

A very important indica-tion of the break-up of relations at the top in the United States is the state-ment of Richard Helms implicating the President in the decision to enlist the the decision to enlist the Central Intelligence Agency in the cover-up operation after the Watergate burglary.

Helms is a former director of the CIA and is currently ambassador to Iran.

Decimated

His statement adds great weight to similar testimony already given by James McCord, one of the convicted burglars. Unlike McCord, Helms is not trying to get a reduction in a prison sentence.

Not only will Nixon's

Bill - regarded essential if the multi-lateral talks are to make any progress—face strong opposition in Congress, but his negotiating team may also be decimated by resignations resulting from the Watergate affair.

The chief international trade negotiator, William Eberle, his deputy, Harald Malmgren, together with other staff members in the trade team, are threatening to hand in their resignations if they are subordinated to Peter Flanigan, executive director of the White House international economic policy.

Here is yet another in-dication that the US administration is breaking up and that divisions over economic policy towards the rest of the capitalist world are racking the American ruling

The case of Andrew Cunningham Bureaucratic action

IN 1970 Andrew Cunningham was a powerful figure in the north-east labour movement. He was regional officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union in charge of the affairs of some 100,000 workers in the shipyards, gasworks and local factories.

He was also a member of the 28-man National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Labour Party, the supreme policy-making body; chairman of the northern region Labour Party; chairman of the Durham Police Authority; chairman of the Tyneside Passenger Transport Authority; chairman of the Northumbrian River Authority: a Durham County Councillor; and a Justice of the Peace.

From these public appointments and other directorships Cunningham was drawing an extremely handsome salary. He drove a sleek Jaguar and lived in a £15,000 bungalow at Chester-le-Street.

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Cunningham also had other financial interests . . . with the Poulson empire. Both he and his

Poulson empire. Both he and his wife, Freda, were receiving payments from Poulson, via Mr T. Dan Smith, the public relations consultant and man of influence. On the Poulson 'gravy train' the Cunninghams took holidays in Nice and Portugal. While the Cunninghams were living it up in the northeast as important in the north-east as important power-brokers in the labour and trade union movement, things were vastly different for brother members of the G&MWU at St Helens.

They were out on the stones at the giant Pilkington glass factories. They were sacked by the management of the glass monopoly. And the leadership of the G&MWU—on which Cun-ningham sits—did nothing to oppose the company's decision. When the men asked the union and the TUC for assistance, they were turned down in the most cynical and off-hand fashion.

The latest revelations in the Cunningham case engender a deep and bitter hatred of these trade union bureaucrats.

Yet let's look at how they close ranks. Last year the regional council of the union passed a vote of confidence in Cunningham's leadership—despite what had come out in the Wakefield bankruptcy hearing and despite the fact that he is head of the management side against his own members in at least one of his public chairmanships, at Newcastle Airport.

The other union bureaucrats The other union bureaucrats have also been implicated in accommodating themselves with Cunningham. At last year's Labour Party conference at Blackpool Cunningham was re-elected to sit on the NEC when the Transport and General Workers' Union and Roy Grantham's APEX continued their support. This enabled Cunningham to This enabled Cunningham to scrape home in the polling.

Cunningham has now been removed from many of his public posts.

But he is still a full-time official of the union and hopes to see out the next three years until his retirement at 65.

Government curbs caused Rhodesian Arican riots

ALLAN SAVORY, the Rhodesia Party leader whose pregnant wife was injured in a riot at Harari African township, near Salisbury, on Sunday night, said he thought the government's curbs on Africans might be behind the trouble.

As police squads armed with automatic weapons and tear gas moved into the township following the riot, Savory

'Africans are becoming embittered about such things as com-munal punishment and bar curfews. I think this is the reason why violence is being stirred up and by the way the government is carrying on.'

The riot in Harari was one of two in Salisbury on Sunday night. In the Highfields township, about two miles away, Africans began stonings cars as they left a closely-fought football match. The rioting in Harari spread to the edge of the city centre before police were able to contain it.

The rioting was an echo of the widespread street fighting that broke out in the Salisbury suburbs at the time of the visit of the Pearce Commission sent by the Tories to try and fix a deal with Ian Smith. Then hundreds of Africans stoned whites' cars, sacked an burned shops and wrecked cars and buses.

The Smith regime has recently introduced savage new legislation designed to repress the mounting resistance movement among the black majority.

Under recent decrees, whole communities can be collectively punished if any are suspected of associating with guerrillas and Africans are not now allowed in bars in white areas after seven in the evening.

ARCPLY TO MONTY JOHNSTONE

MR JOHNSTONE'S letter raises important issues of principle which he has failed to answer.

Because of the considerable lapse of time between the original statement of Comrade Slaughter (see Workers Press, March 14, 1973—'A Stalinist Humbug Reappears') and the reply of Mr Johnstone, we feel that it is necessary to briefly recapitulate the main charges made against Johnstone.

Comrade Slaughter stated that so long as Johnstone refuses to clear up a number of vital political questions, the Socialist La-bour League 'reserves the right to protect itself against the danger of provocative and planned and deliberate distor-

Our principal objection to his attending SLL meetings was the fact that, prior to becoming a prominent prominent apologist for the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalin and the Stalinist regimes in eastern Europe and the Sta-linist parties in the west, Johnstone was a member of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Com-munist Party for two years.

He had, in this period, access to the major works of Trotsky and he knew well the leaders of the RCP. Even more significant he joined the RCP at a time when Trotskyism was being calumniated as an agency of

For this reason Comrade Slaughter asked him to explain politically his remarkable change. Until he did so, he would remain suspect and would be treated as a person who entered the RCP as an agent of Stalinian

Curiously Mr Johnstone in his extremely belated reply consciously avoids this legitimate doubt and tries to dismiss it as a 'phantasmagoric and unverifiable assertion' which reflects on our

'veracity'.

Does Mr Johnstone now deny the fact that he was a member of the RCP for two years and was acquainted with the Trotskyist critiques of Stalinism?

Or does he want only to disembarrass himself of the sus-picion of being a Stalinist agent in the RCP?

Since Mr Johnstone does not explicitly deny having been in the RCP, we must infer that he is only interested to repudiate the suspicion of being an agent.

If this is so, it does not re-solve or clarify our doubts about Johnstone's motives in joining the RCP and then leaving it for the Communist Party.

It is no good playing around with dates—1943 or 1945?—the real issue is that Johnstone does not reply to the point that he did leave the YCL, join the Trotskyists, then return to the CP leadership. He does not reply, nor gives us an explana-

is Johnstone's political credibility rating buttressed by the plea that he defended the pre-war and post-war frame-up trials of Stalin in the naive belief that it was not conceivable

he wants a liberalization of Stalinism, not a struggle against it. Like them, he is for the 'with-drawal of the criminal charges against Trotsky', only because he believes that 'reasonableness' on this score makes it easier to fight Trotskyism politically.

Having written tens of thousands of words on these questions, Johnstone has come down on the side of Stalin's 'socialism in a single country'. This was a more 'realistic' policy than the Bolshevik programme of Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

Of course it was precisely on



Sinyavsky and Daniel in court. Johnstone's attempts to dissociate himself from the jailings, frame-ups and murders by the Stalinists are very unconvincing.

that workers' states would en-

gage in such judicial murders'.
Coming from a person who
was already familiar with Trotskyism, this argument to say
the least seems inappropriate and

disingenuous.'
He 'forgets' that we are here discussing the lessons and resdiscussing the lessons and responsibilities of the whole postwar experience of the working class and the Marxist movement. Stalinism is not just a matter of abuses, even if harsh words like 'frame-up' and 'crime' are used as in Johnstone's letter. It is a political question: what are the causes of the degeneration the causes of the degeneration of the international communist movement and the Soviet state is the point where these crimes against the working class were committed?

Johnstone does play a special role. Like the right-wing leaders of the Communist Party of Italy,

these 'realistic' grounds that thousands of liberals and anti-communists sided with Stalin against Trotsky. They had never sympathized with communism as a revolutionary movement, but easily sympathized with the Sta-

linist bureaucratic rule.
Mr Johnstone's attempt to dissociate himself from the imprisonment of Daniel and Sinyavsky, the murder of Rajk the frame-up of Trotskyists and Old Bolsheviks in the 1930s Moscow Trials is not only disingenuous, but very unconvinc-

Of course if Mr Johnstone
Moscow wants to review the Moscow Trials and withdraw the 'criminal charges' against Trotsky, we would certainly not oppose But we feel that a single oblique reference to the Trials in an obscure statement hardly amounts even to support for the

rehabilitation of Trotsky—let alone a public struggle for it.

In any case, it is not the with-drawal of 'criminal charges' against Trotsky which the struggle for historical truth demands. The charges against Trotsky were political charges, first and foremost. They grew out of a whole campaign against Trot-sky's theory of permanent revolution, his critique of 'socialism in a single country', his struggle for greater equality and democracy and for a more rational and less convulsive development of industry and agri-

Iohnstone will not face up to some questions: if Stalin's economic and political policies were correct as against Trotsky, why did they entail such crimes? Were the Soviet state and the international workers' movement infiltrated by criminals?

We know that it is Utopian to imagine a workers' state without abuses and distortions of democracy which have to be combated. But were the state, the Bolshevik Party, the Communist International and all the states of eastern Europe except Yugoslavia taken over by the perpetrators and organizers of these crimes?

To ensure their control they physically liquidated every op-ponent they could lay their hands on. They turned the state security organs of the USSR and the world's communist parties into instruments of counter-revolution and subjected the international working class to historic defeats (1926-1927 in

Britain, and China, Germany in 1933, Spain in 1936-38).

Johnstone's 'disapproval' is frankly disgusting. The '17 years' for which he has condemned the frame-up of Rajk do not take us further than the official positions of the Communist Parties. It was the Hungarian workers who settled that question in the political revolution they attempted

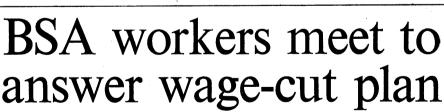
For Johnstone's benefit we will recall the words of the principal defendant in the Trials:

'The Moscow Trials do not dishonour the revolution, because they are the progeny of reaction. The Moscow Trials do not dishonour the old generation of Bolehavike. The Moscow of Bolsheviks . . . The Moscow Trials dishonour the political regime which has conceived them: the regime of Bonapartism, without honour and without conscience!' (Trotsky, 'I Stake My Life', page 15, LSSP publi-

Precisely! The Moscow Trials marked the definitive advent of the Bonapartist state and the liquidation of Soviet democracy. How can Mr Johnstone review Trials while leaving the Byzantine system which organized them intact?

Didn't Johnstone, after all, write these deathless words in his debate with Krasso and Mandel: 'The most negative features of Stalinism spotlighted by Trotsky have been dismantled.' ('Trotsky—The Great Debate Renewed'—New Critics Press USA) Press. USA.)

CONTINUED TOMORROW



OVER 2,000 motor cycle workers will meet today at BSA-Triumph, Meriden, near Coventry' to give their answer to a savage attack on wages and conditions.

Management at the crisisridden company has asked the men to accept a 10-per-cent cut in wages and up to 25 per cent redundancies. Other proposals include the loss of the average earnings rule for untimed piecework and the introduction of time-study in the plant.

It is understood that the joint shop stewards have already rejected the plans put to them by local management last Thurs-

day.

The confrontation is the culmination of the crisis at BSA-Triumph, which began earlier this year when shares plunged

down to a value of 4.5p.

Management and union officials used this scare to push through a reduction in the waiting time allowance by 25p to

£1 an hour as a step towards placing a ceiling on piecework

This caused divisions in the labour force—some were persuaded that cuts were the only way to save the firm and others insisted on defending basic rights and wage levels.

Now the uncertainty has vanished. As one worker said yesterday: 'We were conned once—we are not going to be conned again. We are fighting this one out.'

Already night-shift workers at the plant have met and accepted the stewards' recommendation

to reject the plans.

At last Thursday's meeting management rounded on the men and blamed their industrial action for company losses. They also said that an assessment of the firm's performance, which led to the cut already agreed, was 'incorrect'. The stewards were told that even if higher production was kept up over 12

months, losses for the period would amount to £1.56m.

There can be no doubt that the campaign to destroy hard-won rights and conditions at the Meriden plant has the full backing of the Tory government. The government is supporting a bid by Manganese Bronze to take over the firm with £3.6m and the cuts are the Tory strings **≰**o this deal.

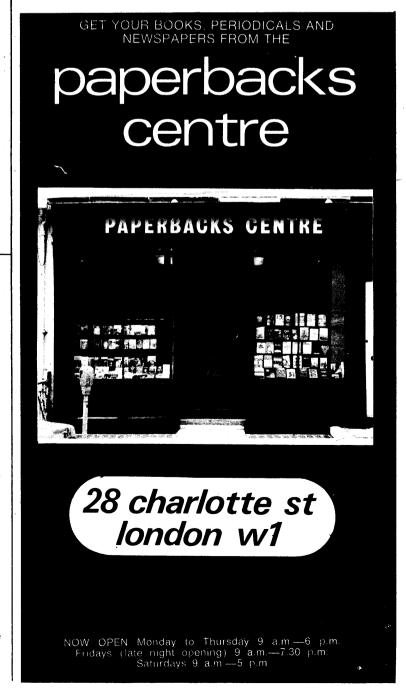
If, as expected, the workers decide to fight the company's onslaught, they must be backed by the whole labour movement.

by the whole labour movement.

BSA-Triumph is in trouble not because of the workers, but because of the total inability of British capitalism to compete with its international rivals.

Workers should reject this attempt to make them pay for the crisic and demand that the

the crisis and demand that the unions mobilize to remove the Tory government and re-elect Labour pledged to nationalize concerns like BSA without com-



TRANSFORMING THE SOCINTO A REVOLUTION ARY

THE DISCUSSION GOES ON



Arthur Lynn (31), is a Vauxhall, Luton, shop steward:

The Labour Party leaders have got to be exposed'

When I first saw the Workers Press I was a bit sceptical but after a while I realized it had a lot to say.

I'd seen a girl standing outside the factory and I thought what can one little girl do without the support of the whole working class?

I was on the brink of joining either the Labour Party or the Communist Party or any other party which would defend workers' rights and get down to the job of socializing

the country.
Since 1969, the intensification of the war on the trade unions and the working class has been dramatic. Yet the trade union leadership and the Labour Party are doing nothing.

The trade unions are being slagged off and dragged down in the dust and being made the scapegoats for the country's economic problems.

When I first started to read Workers Press I got to understand that world capitalism is in a state of collapse and that it is not the fault of the work-

ing class.

I didn't join the Communist Party because I wasn't impressed with what they did in Hungary and the actual state of the workers in countries dominated by them. It's hard to defend what goes on in Russia. The workers are downtrodden because they've got the bureaucracy on top of them.

I didn't join the Labour Party because as the years go by you find it harder and harder to explain what they're

doing.

In 1967 they had no socialist policies whatsoever. I could see they were never going to do anything. I could see that we would never have socialism until Labour took up a fight against capitalism.

I decided to join the League because they stand on principles, genuine Marxist principles. And the Workers Press is doing a good job explaining to the people of the country what can be done.

Marxism provides for genuine socialism which we can't have if we follow the parliamentary



T&GWU chief, Jack Jones, with AUEW president, Hugh Scanion, outside 10 Downing St to take part in talks with Heath.

road of the Communist Party.
The League is going to have a complete break with tradition and all those systems which hold down the worker, like religion.

Leadership has got to be changed and people have got to be put into positions of power in every facet of the organization of trade unions and at a political level who will fight for the working class and not defend capitalism.

The Labour Party leaders realize that if working-class forces come to the surface they will be forced to implement socialist policies. But they're afraid for their positions and their wealth.

If they support the call for a General Election and they get to power they would be forced to carry out socialist policies. If they didn't, they'd be kicked out of parliament within a week.

This is why the League is so important because they explain these issues clearly and give leadership.

give leadership.

The alternative leadership has got to be trained in Marxist thinking. Basic Marxist principles have got to be explained so that workers realize what is at stake.

They've got to be fighters who can make people understand and not just drive them away. We've got to stress heavily that what we are proposing is the answer.

The Labour Party leaders have got to be exposed for the reformists they are. People keep saying why a Labour government, but they've got to be shown these people won't do anything for them.

The Workers Press throws everything open, puts everything down. It explains why the TUC takes the line it does and why Scanlon and Jones are behaving as they do and why the CP covers for them.

It explains why there is a need for a revolutionary party.
The working class has got

The working class has got to be led. It's powerful, but it won't come forward on its own.

It's got to explain to people what causes inflation. It's very important for people to know that wages chase prices and not the other way round.

The Tories have used the power of the mass media to advertise a glorious and affluent way of life, but when the workers try to obtain this wealth they get kicked in the

teeth by harsh and vicious laws.

You just can't afford holidays every year. You're working to exist. You're in debt to the building society or the rent man. You can't afford to have time off work. You feel a slave. You ask yourself 'What am I working for?'

You see the massive propaganda poured out against the working class. But I've got no carpet, no proper furniture and then you hear them say you're wanting too much money.

The TUC and the Labour Party have never come forward to explain inflation, which is at the crux of the present crisis, and who is responsible.

It's only the Workers Press and the League which explains these problems.

The working class don't understand the crisis and why there is a recurring question about the economy.

At the moment they are without leadership. They have been sold out by the TUC, 'lefts' and the Labour Party. They are turning to Liberals because they want change. There's no doubt about it, the working class is searching for leadership.

If the League wasn't transformed and built into the revolutionary party I think we'd see the destruction of the trade union movement. They'd just become a mouthpiece for the government. I think we'd see a police state and the workers would be kept down.

It is very important that the working class sees there is a leadership available and our revolutionary party is the leadership.

Workers tend to say all political parties are the same. The trade union movement, by not defending itself against the Tory attacks, by accepting the pay laws, is admitting it is responsible for the crisis. I think we are really seeing the emergence of the corporate state.

Workers are so fed up with what's happened in the last 30 years they stay at home, don't vote and without the League they'd just be dragged down in the dust.

Workers know what's needed, but they don't see how to do it. They see their leadership accepting the Tory policies. What they need is a leadership like the League to explain the situation to them.

CIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Y PARTY

This is an issue of a transfer of power not reforms'

John Winter is a busman in the Transport and General Workers' Union. After two years of association with the Socialist Labour League he has decided to become a member and help build a large branch in the Salford area of greater Manchester.

I think the draft programme for the party is one of the most important statements ever put before the working class. I think the series of rights summarized at the back outline the struggle the workers of this country will have to fight.

The most important is the right to organize in trade unions. It is on this basic right which all the gains we have made are based.

The history of the working class shows that nothing has been given to them by the benevolent employer, that so-called privileges have had to be taken and the way the working class has taken them is by organizing in trade unions. Without the trade unions the working class have no rights, they hardly exist as a class at all.

The major issue is the removal of the government and the advance to socialism. The fight can never stop so long as about 10 per cent of the population own 80 per cent of all the property. Like the programme says, this is not a question of reforms and making things better, but of taking the private property from the ruling class and nationalizing it for the good of everyone. This is an issue of a transfer of power not reforms. And we must tell the working class that this is what we stand for.

The other big emphasis in our policy is the question of the crisis and particularly the role of gold under capitalism. Since the war, at least, there has been a massive growth of credit and people—capitalist and employers—have passed this around to keep their system going.

But this has come to an end. The Americans have pulled away gold from the currency and the whole thing is in danger of collapse. They call it a crisis of confidence—what it really means is that the system is bankrupt and that the only way the capitalists can sort it out is by attacking the working class harder than they have ever done in history.

The SLL are the only people in the labour movement who are putting this perspective

forward.

I think the time is ripe for the building of the party. What happened to me must have happened to thousands of workers. For two or three years I have been around the movement as a vague sympathizer. The thing that finally made my mind up was the

Tory government.

At first I thought they would never get away with it, but they have with the help of the trade union leadership. They are putting the working



The Socialist Labour League's march on May Day, this year. 'The time has come to show the working class there is an alternative leadership.'

class back to where they were 200 years ago.

As I say, thousands of workers are coming to realize this. If they are still confused or even demoralized, they are confused and demoralized over the leadership. We got it all at May Day. We saw in Manchester all the leaders there—'left' and right.

We were called disruptors because we were trying to show people how rotten this leadership was. But who were the disruptors. We now find out that even when May Day was on, the TUC leaders were in secret talks with the Tories over more controls on wages.

The time has come to show the working class there is an alternative to this kind of leadership, to show them they have the strength and the power to get rid of the Tories, the only thing that is keeping this government going is that rotten leadership.

'Racialist ideas come from capitalism'

MSV (19), is an apprentice electrician from Leicester:

You need to build a revolulutionary party now, and it's got to be a massive party which could overthrow the capitalist class. If this is not done, the crisis in capitalist Britain will get worse and' worse, so therefore the whole world will suffer.

It's the same with the USA. They have a crisis, so they take it out on other countries, by say, devaluing the dollar.

But personally I am bearing with the crisis because I am better off than other youth. At the moment the engineers and electricians at our firm are well-paid with average earnings of £35 for a 40-hour week.

I don't have a future in this country because racialism is against me. I am Indian. National Front candidates work on the same shop-floor as me. When I say I'm going back to India in two years' time, they tell me I'm doing no good to this country, but if I say I'm staying here, they say they won't work with me, because they don't want a black boss.

Whatever I say, they're against me. These ideas come from capitalism and you can only change them by building the revolutionary party.

'£14.75 a week that's it'

Ken (30) from Leicester is disabled and unemployed.

I may sound a bit personal about this because I got polio 12 years ago, and it may sound nasty, but I really wish

there were more people treated like me and my family, to make them see how serious things really are.

To support a wife and two kids I get £14.75 a week Social Security. That's it. When you live like us, it does turn you bitter about it. We've been made not to trust anybody.

The SLL seem to be among the few people we can speak to without feeling we aren't being got at, really.

Mind you, more and more people are getting like us with what's happening — rising prices, wage control, equivalent to wage cuts, etc. I think it's necessary to build a revolutionary party because of the struggle to manage.

We have to sling out all these right-wing leaders and replace them with workers.

The SLL seem to be the only ones who have definite plans, like organizing a revolutionary party.





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THE NIXON ARMS AND MUNITIONS CO. LTD.

In February this year Air Force Major General W. S. Harrell retired from service at the Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana. A two-day celebration was staged to mark the occasion. This included a dress parade, a cocktail party, a banquet, a fly-past by 12 F106s and 16 F101s, B57s, F104s and T33s. The flypast required a number of rehearsals. A 51-page booklet was prepared for the occasion and distributed among officers and wives on the base. Senator Proxmire complained about the ritual, stating that it cost 'tens of thousands of dollars'. He noted that there are 375 other major generals in the US army, air force and marine corps. 'If all the other general flag officers of our military are treated equally, the amount spent annually for retirement ceremonies must be staggering.' The attention drawn to the wild wastage of money at the Montana USAF base is only a minute fraction of the sums involved in defence contracts each year. The munitions and arms manufacturers are in fact in the throes of a boom—despite the rundown in the Vietnam war machine.



Elliot Richardson, former Defence Secretary—now the Attorney-General-designate, he is known as a vigorous advocate of arms peddling. Above left: F5 fighter in South Vietnam. Top left: Nixon. Above right: Loading bombers on board the US aircraft carrier, 'Constellation' in the Gulf of Tonkin.



A recent survey by the 'Wall Street Journal' showed that US arms sales to foreign governments 'are booming as never before'. The continued exports to foreign countries, particularly in the Middle East and South America, is keeping the US in first place among the world's arms sellers.

Sales on a government-togovernment basis are expected to reach \$4 billion this financial year ending June 30. That's roughly double the 1970 sales of \$914m.

Aside from these government - to - government deals, more than \$500m in arms was traded directly to buyers in so-called 'commercial' deals.

Vice-Admiral Ray Peet, director of the Pentagon's Defence Security Assistance Agency (the Americans always choose Smirsch-like names for this kind of outfit) is well pleased with the figures.

'We're doing two and three

ous advocate

rs on board

times the sales of the early and mid-1960s,' he said. 'The curve is going up.'

The main reason for the sharp increase in sales is the ready availability of US arms and the advantage of good purchasing terms. Both these conditions are attributable to the Nixon administration which, according to the 'Wall Street Journal', has shown a 'new, more tolerant attitude' towards arms selling.

During the late 1960s the Johnson administration came under Congressional attack for too aggressive arms-selling to underdeveloped countries. The result was legislative restrictions on sales in Latin America and Africa.

The Nixon crowd want these limitations removed. 'The go-slow has been abandoned,' said one Nixon aide in a recent interview. Secretary of State William Rogers explained to congress: 'If US equipment isn't available, Latin American countries will go elsewhere.'

But the major hawk is Elliot Richardson, the former Defence Secretary, whom Nixon has just chosen as his Attorney - General - designate.

Richardson, who is now in charge of the inquiries into the Watergate affair, has been a vigorous advocate of armspeddling.

According to him, business lost by US companies in Latin America not only hurt the US balance of payments, but has also deprived 'us of the opportunity for the kinds of relationships that can be established and maintained through co-operation in training and maintenance of equipment provided'.

Translated into practical English this means the following: loss of military sales means the loss of US imperialism's influence in Latin America.

On the effect of arms sales on the US balance of payments, Richardson says: 'Many nations now have the capability to pay either cash on the barrelhead for their purchases from us or buy with the help of credits annually authorized by the Congress.'

Of the \$3.45 billion in arms sold abroad in 1972, only \$550m was financed with US credits; the rest was in cash.

The arms-sellers have been

quick to notice the shift in administration policy. An executive of one leading munitions group said: 'There's a much stronger feeling on the part of the administration these days to encourage sales. We're getting better co-operation from our embassies and Military Assistance Advisory Groups.'

The Vietnam war has also been a splendid testing ground for arms manufacturers. They have been able to conduct operational experiments with their weapons and come up with more sophisticated and reliable equipment.

At a recent Washington party, General Creighton Abrams, the army chief-of-staff in South Vietnam, bragged that the US army had gained one 'long-unmentionable' thing from the war—'battle experience'.

He said: 'This reservoir of combat experience is unmatched anywhere in the world and will be a source of strength for years to come.'

In recent months these are some of the deals which US arms manufacturers have sealed:

Northrop Corporation announced that it expected orders for its new F5E 'international fighter' to 'ultimately reach at least 1,000 planes'. Northrop also stated that about 30 per cent of its business activities were now 'international in scope'. Roughly 300 of the total will be purchased by the Pentagon—at undisclosed prices—and 'given' to poorer nations. The F5E programme, boasts Northrop, 'will contribute nearly \$2 billion to US exports'.

The Pentagon has disclosed that the Shah of Iran has placed orders for 489 helicopters that will cost \$720m. This forms part of the \$2 billion in arms purchases by the dictatorial regime during the past two and a half years. The 'choppers' will be built by Taxtron Inc's Bell Aerospace Company. The McDonnell Douglas Corporation has been supplying F4 fighter bombers, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation has been building C130 transports, Northrop F5Es and Boeing 707s as aerial refuellers. The Iran air force will be so powerful that in some fields it will be even stronger than similar USAF divisions.

A recent issue of the 'Armed Forces Journal' noted: 'With [the helicopter] deliveries to Iran beginning in 1974, the US Army is faced with the paradox of a friendly nation having more capable helicopters than the US possesses in the older model Hueys and Cobras.' Delicate negotiations have already commenced for Iran to buy the McDonnell Douglas F15 fighter just going into production. Last month the McDonnell Douglas group declared a rise in its first quarter earnings to \$34.4m, or \$1.08 a share, which was \$21.8m or 69 cents a share up on the previous quarter last year. Sales spurted from \$587.4m in the first quarter 1972 to \$816.3m this year.

Despite the rundown in US forces in Vietnam, the Pentagon is still shelling out hefty arms contracts. In a single day this month the following contracts were awarded:

- United Aircraft Corporation's Pratt and Whitney division received a \$31.4m contract for engineering services for various military jet aircraft engines.
- Mason & Hanger-Silas Mason Company obtained a \$10.7m addition to a previously awarded army contract for operating the Cornhusker Ammunition Plant, Grand Island, Nebraska.
- Boeing Company was awarded a \$5.72m Air Force contract for launching of test targets in the Safeguard ballistic missile defence system.
- General Electric Company obtained a \$4.4m Navy award for nuclear ship propulsion components.
- Maxwell Laboratories Inc, San Diego, received a \$3.5m Army contract for construction and tests of an X-ray simulation facility.

These daily hand-outs to the arms industry keep the US imperialists as the biggest spenders in the world on the death and destruction industry.

Money is being made available at such a fantastic rate that servicemen are being employed in the most bizarre projects to help engrandise the military establishment.

It was recently disclosed that 100 men at the Cameron Military Station in Virginia spend 50 per cent of their time making exhibits, bookends, metal photos, slide shows, display cases for medals, guns and maps, pistol boxes, displays of ammunition, framed invitations, murals and Pentagon-shaped cigar boxes. These curios, made at taxpayers' expense, are presented to retiring generals, admirals and high-ranking Pentagon civilians.

TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM

Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the spectre of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries in the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labour movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun a campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the world-wide revolution of the working class. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 published 'Against Trotskyism', a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. In this series of articles MICHAEL BANDA replies to this book.

PART TWO

In his book, 'The Stalin School of Falsification,' Leon Trotsky succinctly exposes the contradictions which determine the Stalinist campaign against Trotskyism.

'Members of the American bourgeoisie,' he said, 'many of whom are descendants of British convicts, having acquired the requisite number of millions, feel the urge to equip themselves with a respectable geneology, drawn pre-ferably from the Kings of

Scotland.
'The Soviet bureaucracy, likewise, after raising itself above the revolutionary class, could not help experiencing the need, in proportion as it entrenched its independent positions, for such an ideology as would justify its exceptional positions and insure it against dissatisfaction from below.

'It is for this reason that such colossal success has been attained by the alteration, perversion and outright counterfeiting of the revolutionary past, still so recent.

'However, the contradictions of the economic process and of the world situation do not allow the bureaucracy to rest peacefully on the laurels of national socialism.

'The convulsions of the official policy obstruct the erection of a new theory as well as a new tradition. With every major historical zigzag they are compelled to revamp history all over again.'
He added: 'Consequently

the official history of the party and of the revolution represents, at the present time, a scroll on which various scribes have written as the spirit moved them—each scribe very much unconcerned with what another has written or, in part, one and the same scribe very little concerned with his writings of yesterday.'

These words exactly characterize the book under review. It is not a history in the generally-accepted sense, but a rewriting of history through the careful and one-sided selection of documents to 'prove' the reverse of what actually happened.

Quotations torn out of context are brought together with the hack outpourings of the bureaucrats under Stalin. At the same time all quotations

which reflect favourably on Trotsky are rigorously excluded. The differences between Lenin and Trotsky prior to 1917 turned on two key

auestions.

The first was

Trotsky's attitude towards a centralized disciplined party and his attempts to 'conciliate' between the Bolshevik and Menshevik wings of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour

This brought him sharply into conflict with Lenin, who correctly criticized him for obstructing the exposure of Menshevism and failing to recognize that there could be no conciliation with opportunism.

The Stalinists, in their eagerness to magnify Lenin's polemics against Trotsky during this period, however, have omitted to mention how Lenin himself characterized Trotsky's position immediately after the seizure of power in 1917.

At the November 1, 1917, conference of the Petrograd Bolshevik committee, Lenin came into bitter conflict with the right wing of the Bolshevik Party which wanted to compromise and share the power with the opportunists.

He attacked them in the following words:

'As for a compromise — I cannot even speak about that seriously. Trotsky said long ago that unification is impossible. Trotsky understood this and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik!'

In other words, Lenin regarded Trotsky's previous difference with Bolshevism as a past episode, without in the least minimizing its importance. Trotsky freely admitted that on the question of the party he had been mistaken and Lenin had been right.

When Stalin and his supporters were trying to hound him from the party after Lenin's death. his position between 1903 and 1917 was brought up against him by means of selected quotations and falsifications.

Zinoviev and Kamenev who

had entered into an un-principled alliance with Stalin against Trotsky in this period later revealed that the 'legend of Trotskyism' had been deliberately created in this completely cynical manner.

Their campaign was conducted with extreme virulence, playing on the most backward sections of Soviet society in order to swamp the opposition with sheer weight of numbers and sheer tonnage of lies.

Rebutting these lies, Trotsky pointed out in his letter to the Bureau of Party History that although he had voted with the future Mensheviks at the second RSDLP congress, he had broken politically and organizationally from Menshevism in 1904.

The main reason, he wrote, was 'my irreconcilable conflict





Above: Stalin, Rykov, Kamenev and Zinoviev. The unprincipled ailiance Stalin against Trotsky in the period after Lenin's death. Top: The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers Deputies, 1917, shows Trotsky (second row, seventh from left) as one of its members.

with Menshevism upon the questions of bourgeois liberal-ism and the perspectives of the revolution itself'.

In the same letter he pointed out the defects of using the biographical method in reaching decisions about political principles.

He gave the example of Franz Mehring who became a Marxist only in his maturity but remained one until his death, while Eduard Bernstein, Engels' literary executor, and Karl Kautsky, long the leading theoretician of the German movement, both went over to reformism.

Challenging Stalin and his supporters, Trotsky went on: 'During the time when I stood outside the Bolshevik Party during that period when my differences with Bolshevism reached their highest point, the distance separating me from the views of Lenin was

never as great as the distance which separates the present position of Stalin-Bukharin from the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism.'

In their campaign against Trotskyism, Stalin and the group around him made great play of Trotsky's political record before 1917. All this material is dutifully regur-gitated by the hacks of the

Institute for Marxism-Leninism. They concentrate much of their virulence against the theory of the permanent revolution, slandered in the preface as a theory which 'questioned the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and denied the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat'.

This description of the theory is an outright and thoroughgoing lie. The Stalinists did not dare attack this theory during the period between the October revolution and Lenin's death.

They 'discovered' Trotsky's 'scepticism' about the revolutionary role of the working class and his 'denial' of the revolutionary potential of the peasants only after Lenin had

Prior to this, as Trotsky tartly pointed out in his 'History of the Russian Revolution', his theory was officially referred to as 'the original and now especially famous theory of Permanent Revolution, asserting that the Revolution, asserting that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 would go directly over into a socialist revolution and prove the first of a series of national revolutions'. (Quotation is from the note to the 'Complete Works of Lenin', published during his life.)

CONTINUED TOMORROW

Seven thousand workers at the Boulogne-Billancourt plant of the nationalized Renault concern returned to work earlier this month without winning their demands.

The men had been locked out by the management following a strike of nearly 400 semi-skilled workers in the body press shop which began in the middle of March. This strike of mainly immigrant workers for improved condi-tions and upgrading broke out despite the Communist Party-controlled union (CGT) and continued against its wishes.

The press-shop strikers won their principal demands—but not full pay for the days lost through the strike—after turning down the first compromise proposed by the CCT. proposed by the CGT.

The Stalinist-controlled

CGT dominates Renault and could have closed down the plant to back the press-shop men. But it refused to do so. It was forced to put itself at the head of the strike to prevent it snowballing out of control, as it had done in May 1968.

The strikes spread to other Renault factories at Flins and Sandouville, mainly involving the lowest-paid workers, also including many immigrants. Work had already resumed at these plants while negotiations were going on. With secondary school and

university students out on the streets in their tens of thousands against the call-up and for educational reform, the Stalinists feared a link-up with workers and a new revo-

lutionary situation.
That is why, when the 7,000 Renault men went on strike to win full pay for the working days lost through the press-shop strike, the CGT also had to put itself in the lead in order to keep the movement under control.

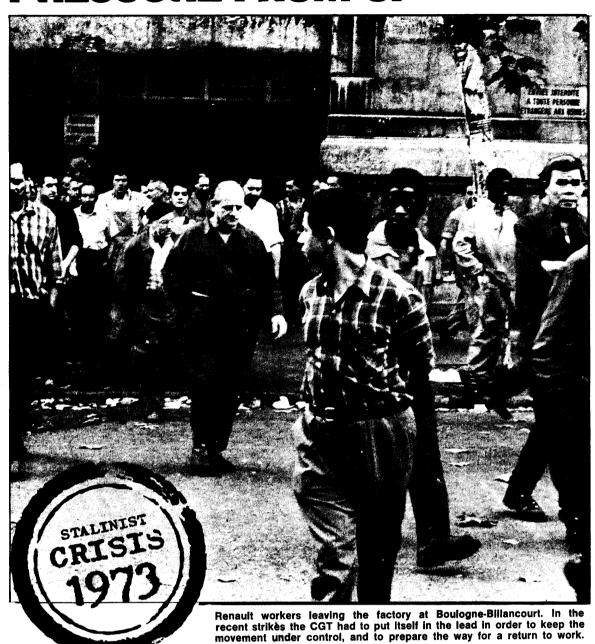
But when the management showed that it had no intention of satisfying a demand which would cost it large sums of money every time one section of the plant was affected by a strike, the Stalinists prepared the way for

a return to work.

The CP daily 'L'Humanité'
points the lesson—to the employers—of the Renault strike. It is to begin negotiations immediately with the trade unions whenever a dispute breaks out-we will do the

'Serious negotiations from the beginning with the workers of the press shop, immediate discussion about reclassification would have avoided the loss of 50,000 vehicles we use the figure advanced by the secretary-general of the Renault firm. Instead of that there was trickery, and the dispute resumed on several occasions. The state hoped to divide the workers, isolate them and, at the same time, strike a blow at the national

RENAULT RETURNS—UNDER PRESSURE FROM CP



enterprise by inflicting heavy losses on it.'

The Stalinist daily shows more concern for the wellbeing of Renault and its lost production than it does for the workers, most of them low paid immigrants, working under intolerable conditions of speed-up in the outdated Billancourt plant.

Working in tacit collusion with the management, the CGT on May 2 was able to ensure that the plant opened normally. According to a Press statement:

'The workers have suspended their movement. . . They have decided to act in their workshops to back their demands for the full satisfaction of their claim for reclassification, full payment of the hours lost and the withdrawal of sacking notices.'
As a result of the Renault

strikes 25 workers have been sacked at Flins and five at Billancourt for alleged acts of violence and breaches of discipline.

The Stalinists try to hide a retreat, claiming that it was in accordance with the workers. In fact nothing has been won for sure: that is what is meant by 'the struggle continues'. The CGT now resumes negotiations on the old style with the workers back on the assembly line after a strike which achieved nothing.

Renault has issued a state-ment which says: 'Relations between the management and the trade unions in Renault will not be changed by the conflict which has just ended. . We continue to be-lieve that the contractual policy is the best one and we have no intention of de-nouncing the agreement in

As a sop to the workers, the works committee, controlled by the Stalinists, distributed meal tickets to the victims of the lock-out to cover the period up to the next pay day on May 7.

In fact the workers are not at all demoralized. They were

forced back under pressure from their own leaders be-cause they had practically no financial resources.

There are plenty of precedents for the CGT betrayal, going right back to 1936 when CP secretary Maurice Thorez' slogan. 'It is necessary to know when to end a strike . .' got the workers out of the factories which they had occupied.

Although the Renault workers are back, nothing has been solved in the relations between the classes in France. The Stalinists have had great difficulty in containing the strike mood and they recognize that bigger tests are approaching.

Combativity is rising in the factories in many parts of the country. It is especially high among the young and lower paid unskilled workers. Now, unlike 1968, the immigrant workers are not afraid of coming forward with their demands.

YUGOSLAV TALKS OF PEOPLE'S **DEFENSIVE**

Yugoslav preparations for organizing the economy in the event of a 'people's de-fensive war' have been des-cribed by Najobsa Trkulja, Assistant Federal Secretary for the Economy.

They envisage the carrying on of production of essential articles in small units not requiring large investments which would mean a return to cottage and handicraft industry. The assumption is that much production would be transferred to hilly and mountainous regions round a nucleus of skilled workers.

Each area had been asked to consider what substitute materials it could find near at hand and to build up stocks for use in wartime.

According to Trkulja, measures had been prepared would prevent an enemy drawing any advantage



Partisans in the Yugoslav mountains during last war.

from occupied territory, presumably by some kind of scorched-earth policy. The possibility was left open that some workers concerned with serving the needs of the population would stay at their

Of course, nothing definite was said about who the potential enemy might be, though it will be recalled that Yugoslavia faced the possibility of Warsaw Pact intervention at the time of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in

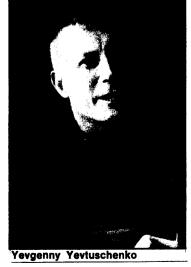
In general the plans seem to have been drawn up to fight the last war—the war which the partisans conducted from mountain fastnesses and islands against German and Italian occupying forces—rather than the next one.

ADVENTURER

Self - styled 'Anti - Stalinist' protest poet Yevgenny Yevtuschenko has been accused by former writer friends of being a 'traitor' and a 'greedy adventurer'.

Soviet writers. Vassilv Axyonov and Grigory Poschenyan both circulated open letters last month in the USSR, not being able to find a newspaper which would print their statements.

Yevtuschenko had made an open attack on both writers in the Moscow 'Literature News-paper'. Axyonov and Poschenyan replied by breaking



off their 20-year-old friendship with him.

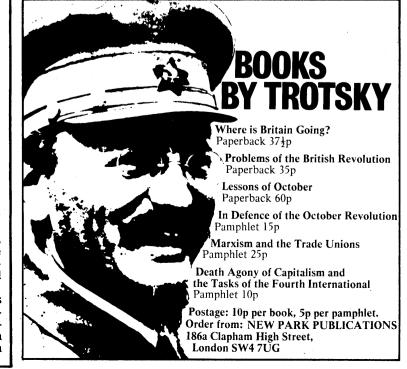
Their main accusation was that Yevtuschenko had betraved his old literary friends and won political comfort and security for himself by making a public attack on them.

Polish Press and radio have been ordered to begin a campaign against ideological weakening in the face of western influences in a strongly-worded article by Party secretary Jerzy Lukasiewicz.

The article carried a hint of new censorship restrictions and a purge of Polish radio and TV. Newspapers were criticized for their fascination with foreign trends and for making serious propaganda errors.

'We are striving to increase the responsibility of the editors-in-chief for the political content of their magazines', writes Lukasiewicz. 'We are also analysing the cadre situa-tion of the Polish radio and television.

The Polish bureaucracy is clamping down on the few remaining traces of 'liberalization' in the media which open the way to criticism of its own



BBC 1

9.38 Schools, 12.30 Mae geni air, 12.55 News, 1.00 Pebble Mill at one, 1.30 Fingerbobs, 1.45 Fanny Cradock invites . . 2.05 Schools, 2.25 A fringe of Caesar's empire, 2.55 Animal design, 3.20 Gardeners' world, 3.45 Governor and J.J. 4.10 Play school, 4.35 Jackanory, 4.50 Animal magic, 5.15 Casey Jones, 5.40 Hector's house, 5.45 News, Weather,

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 TOM AND JERRY.

6.50 FILM: 'Flying Tigers.' John Wayne. A group of pilots help the Chinese fight the Japanese.

8.30 LIVER BIRDS.

9.00 NEWS. Weather. 9.25 SO YOU THINK YOU'RE A
GOOD DRIVER? Good Drivers
v Bad Drivers.

10.15 FILM 73. First days of the Cannes Film Festival.

10.45 MIDWEEK. 11.30 NEWS. 11.35 Weather.

A Car for Europe. East Anglia: On Camera. West: Under Mendip. South: Report South: South West: Peninsula. North: Northern Gardeners' Question Time. North East: Looks Natural. North West: Free Speech. Wales: National Sports Quiz. Scotland: Scope.

9.30 Schools, 10.45 Bertrand Russell (London only), 11.00 Schools, 12.05 Rainbow, 1.25 Hatty town, 12.40 First report, 1.00 Lunchtime with Wogan. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 About Britain. 3.25 Kate. 4.25 Junior showtime, 4.50 How. 5.20 Arnie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY. 6.40 CROSSROADS.

7.05 HEY BRIAN! Brian Marshall.

7.35 FILM: 'Say Goodbye, Maggie Cole.' Susan Hayward, Darren McGavin. A doctor with a re-search job decides to return to general practice.

9.00 SIX DAYS OF JUSTICE. Excuse Me, Madam.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 DOCUMENTARY: 'Memories of Russia,' Russian Jews now liv-ing in Israel talk about the country they have left.

11.30 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

12.15 A COMMON MIND.



Vanessa Redgrave as Mansfield on BBC 2. Katherine

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 1.15-1.40 Medicine today. 5.50 Open University.

6.40 INTERACTION.

7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY. 7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 WHEELBASE.

8.10 MASTER CLASS: GERAINT EVANS. Rehearsing students in scenes from Mozart's 'Don Giovanni'.

9.00 POT BLACK. Ray Rearden v Eddie Charlton.

A PICTURE OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD. In the Life. With Vanessa Redgrave.

10.20 FOR THE SAKE OF APPEAR-ANCE. Where all that is not Greek is Roman.

10.35 CHELSEA FLOWER SHOW. A Flower for All Seasons. 11.00 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

11.30 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. With Nazareth, Harvey

BY ROYSTON BULL

REFORMIST hopes for removing the 'lump' in the

building industry, centred on

Eric Heffer's private members' Bill, collapsed when the

Bill was talked out in the House of Commons last

An embarrassed Heffer tried to

cover his confusion at the mass meeting in Central Hall—follow-

ing the building workers' London

Because no one expected the Bill to be reached last Friday,

there were not enough Labour MPs around to vote a Tory off his feet at 4 p.m. in a closure motion. Just over 50 were present and 100 were required. The

Bill, therefore, goes back to the

bottom of the private members' Bills list, which means it is lost for good, unless Heffer is lucky

again in the ballot next October.

cover-up for the inadequacies of

parliamentarism. Communist Party

member Jack Henry, plus other Stalinists in the meeting inter-

vened to plead for a fair hearing.

done more for our cause than

Heffer, said one Stalinist, 'has

But whatever Heffer's explana-

tion, over 200 Labour MPs thought the fate of building workers not important enough

to be worth hanging round West-

minster for on a Friday afternoon in case the Bill was called.

rest of parliament put

Building workers jeered his

demonstration and lobby.

Friday.

together'.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 4.50 Young eyes. 5.20 Partridge family: 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 7.30 Curtain raiser. 7.35 Columbo. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.20 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 12.13 News. 12.16

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.05 News. 12.07 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Hey Brian. 7.15 Film: 'To Trap a Spy.' 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.25 Weather. Guideline

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 House-party. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckle-heads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Who do you do? 7.05 London. 7.35 Columbo. 9.00 London. 12.15 Beloved enemy. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25-4.35 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30-11.15 O'er cyfandir. 11.15-11.30 O'r wasg. 12.15-12.45 World in action.

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 About women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Smith family. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.30 McMillan and wife. 9.00 London. 12.15 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Dick Van Dyke. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35

London, 7.30 Cartoon, 7.35 Banacek. 9.00 London, 12.15 Gordon Bailey. Weather

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.50 Romper room. 3.00 London. 4.23 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cool million. 8.50 Cartoon. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.40 London. 2.30 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 5.20 Bewitched. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Film: 'Love Hate Love.' 9.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Craftsmen. 2.55 London. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.40 Film: 'Emergency.' 8.30 Hey Brian. 9.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Back to Bede. 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.40 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 5.20 Jackson five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Film: 'She Waits.' 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Lertern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Police call. 6.30 Protectors. 7.00 London. 7.30 McMillan and wife. 9.00 Lon-don. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Country focus. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Film: 'The Rookies.' 9.00 London. 12.10 Medita-



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LABOUR LEAG

Name..... Address.....

'Guerrilla' protests won't kill the lump



excuses for talk-out.

When Heffer told the meeting that the next Labour government would make abolishing the 'lump' one of its first priorities, the building workers jeered even louder.

Through the groans and the catcalls, Heffer shouted:

'Listen brothers, I'm on your

The London action committee's proposed new policy following the defeat of the Bill is almost as disastrous as Heffer's parliamentary moves.

They plan a strike campaign against one isolated building contractor, probably Mowlem's,

to drive out all 'lump' labour and go on from there to pick off one major firm after another.

The building employers are prepared for exactly this move. They will make available every resource to beat off such an isolated attack. They are prepared to spend millions of pounds to defend the lump.

Such an isolated strike campaign is doomed from the start.

The long-drawn out guerrilla strikes like the Bootle Inland Revenue strike, the St Thomas's Hospital electricians strike, and others, are not the way forward

Workers will be asked to contribute money to a single-issue protest which they know will not succeed. Their support cannot be but half-hearted.

The fault is NOT, as the CP claims, the lack of militancy among building workers.

The fault is that the fight is not being directed to where it should be.

Only by demanding that the building trade unions take up the fight for the nationalization of the industry without compensation and under workers' control, and join with other unions in the battle to defeat the state control of wages by forcing the Tory government to resign, can building workers take up in earnest the struggle against low wages and the fight against the

TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

ABINGDON: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. Above New Top Taxis. Ock Street. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights. BATTERSEA: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. 'Nags Head', cnr Wandsworth Road/North Street. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

BRIXTON: Tuesday May 22,

8 p.m. Brixton Training Centre, Control Room. 'The Economic Crisis and what it means for the working class'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday May 22, 8

p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fan-shawe Avenue. 'The inflationary crisis and the rising cost of liv-

TOTTENHAM: Thursday May 24 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', High Road, nr White Hart Lane. READING: Tuesday, May 22, 8 p.m. The T&GWU offices, King's Road. 'The TUC and

Phase Three.'

KINGSTON: Wednesday May 23,

8 p.m. Norbiton Hotel, Cliffton Rd.

MEETINGS

HACKNEY: Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. Build the Revolutionary Party'. **HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Wednes-**

day May 23, 8 p.m. Adeyfield Hall, Queen's Square, Adeyfield. 'The fight against Stalinism'.

PAISLEY: Wednesday May 23, 7.30 p.m. The Bakers' Rooms, George Place. 'Build Councils of Action'.

WYTHENSHAWE (Manchester): Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m. 'Cock o' t' North', Portway. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.

MERTHYR TYDFIL: Thursday May 24, 7.30 p.m. 'Belle Vue' (upstairs), High Street. 'The trade unions and the Tory government.'

FULHAM: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. 'The Swan', Fulham Broadway. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

LEEDS: Thursday, May 24, 8 p.m. 'Peel Hotel', Boar Lane. 'The role of Stalinism in the trade unions '

LUTON: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

TONBRIDGE: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. 'The Foresters', Quarry Hill, Tonbridge.

WILLESDEN: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. Brent Labour and Trades Hall, Willesden High Road, N.W.10. 'Forward to the ATUA

Massey Ferguson plans new

MASSEY FERGUSON, Coventry, may be making a bid to introduce Measured-Day Work-on the cheap. A whole series of proposals for factory reorganization, including MDW, have been made by the company. But officials say they will be unable to pay the rises which normally go with the new system in full because of the Tory state pay laws.

Management has issued figures for strikes and production hold-ups to back the argument that traditional piecework has become a liability and must stop.

In line with the state pay laws the company is seeking to end the day-by-day negotiations controlled by shop stewards and replace them with a once-a-year agreement reached through talks with full-time

trade union officials.

According to the factory shop stewards' committee, management's proposals will mean cutting the workforce in the assembly and paint shops by 182, although present production track speeds will be

This would bring Massey Ferguson considerable savings—182 men less earning £48 a week would save £452,272 in a year.

Under new wage proposals, the remaining 1,100 workers in the assembly and paint shops would receive a £5 rise (subject to Pay Board approval) for maintaining the same production rate.

Even after the £5 rise, the company would still save £168,272 in a full year.

The introduction of MDW today has completely different results than when it was intro-duced in, say, 1968 at the Chrysler plants in Coventry.

No chance

In those days workers actually got wage increases and improved benefits. Chryslers total wage belief went up. But at Massey-Ferguson, any increase will be paid for by the workers them-selves and the company will get a handsome bonus as well.

The Transport and General Workers' Union Coventry district organizer, Mr Norman Evans, told the Coventry Evening Telegraph' on May 3:

'Massey-Ferguson haven't got a cat in hell's chance of persuad-ing their workers to accept Measured-Day Work on the present terms.

'We believe it is better to ompare the increases under a piecework system with those of Measured-Day Work and consider whether the handing over over to the company the control of track speeds, labour-loading and the full mobility of labour and having no negotiating rights and having no negotiating rights is worth the extra pound or so.'

In a nutshell this is the essence of Massey-Ferguson's proposals—to take away all established trade union rights within the Coventry plant.

New models

The proposals are announced just at the time the company is preparing to models.

When the present DX range of tractors was introduced in 1965 militant shop stewards were able to increase wage rates by £8 to £9 a week through the piecework system.

It is obvious that this time Massey Ferguson plan:

WAGE RATES for the new models would be introduced on company terms.

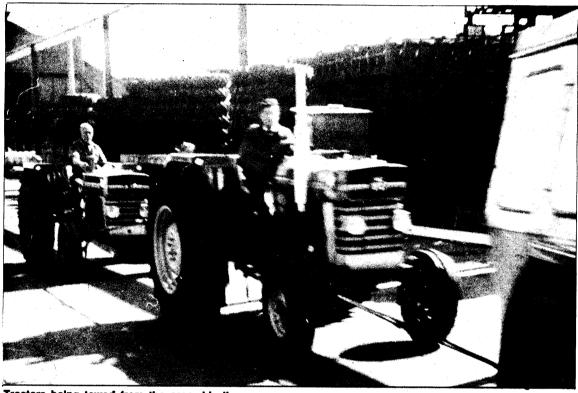
FOREMEN would have more powers and greater control over individual workers.
COMPLETE mobility and flexi-

CORRECTION

In yesterday's story on the GEC strike at Coventry, we said the firm had not offered any money. This was not correct. GEC has offered £2.88 in accordance with the government's Phase Two pay laws, but the workers have jected this because they want the offer paid in stages to give them a higher platform of earnings.

Measured-Day Work pay scheme

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT



Tractors being towed from the assembly lines.

bility of labour would be introduced with the unions being prevented from 'delaying or obstructing the movement of employees.

The company says:

'Conversion to Measured-Day Work no longer requires the retention of gang structures. Employees will be regrouped to conform with supervisory responsibilities or work require-

What this clause will mean in effect is that all power will be taken away from the shop ste-ward and that his 'base' or his gang will disappear.

It is not hard to imagine be-fore very long the company challenging the whole basis of shop steward representation and even the present structure of the stewards' committee.

The shop stewards themselves spotlight the danger when they say: 'Measured-Day Work eliminates the day-to-day negotiations over money which takes place under the piecework system.

ALL TRADES UNIONS

ALLIANCE

Public Meeting

GLASGOW

Reformism on the Clyde

WEDNESDAY MAY 30

7.30 p.m.

McLellan Galleries

Sauchiehall Street

Glasgow.

Speaker: Stephen Johns

(Workers Press)

01-720 2000

— The Story of UCS.

'Once Measured-Day Work is accepted, increases in wages can only be achieved as the result of an annual review and invariably any such increases are tied to productivity deals which in-clude strings.'

This is, of course, an understatement of the position. It may have been true in the early 1960s, but not now under the Tory state pay laws.

New shop

Massey Ferguson's proposals are particularly important at this time because to introduce new models will require a certain amount of capital investment.

A new assembly shop is being constructed to prepare the tractor cabs and the production tracks are being increased from two to three in the present assembly shop.

New safety regulations, the tremendous inflation of paper money and increased competition

All Trades Unions

Alliance Meeting

Special dockers' meeting to

discuss

What next after the accept-

ance of casualization?

LIVERPOOL

Wednesday, May 23,

7.30 p.m.

Workers Press office, 14 Col-

quitt Street (off Bold Street),

Liverpool 1.

All Trades Unions

Alliance Meeting

After Jones-Aldington

What next for dockers?

SOUTHAMPTON

Wednesday May 30, 7.30 p.m.

Conference Room

Civic Centre

Speaker: M. Banda

(SLL Central Committee)

means that Massey Ferguson is forced to press ahead with the proposed changes in its wages

The only way to defend wages and conditions within the plant is to press forward with the present wage claim which brought about the company's counterproposals of MDW.

Shop stewards and full-time officials must not allow any reduction in the present labour force and must fight for the present wage review without allowing any change in the wages structure.

No changes in the piecework system must be allowed nor any change in shop stewards' duties.

New strategy and tactics are being employed by Massey Ferguson and the Tory pay laws are strengthening the company's

Preparing to beat the company's proposals means also pre-paring the ground to force the Tories to resign and replacing them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Fourth

A journal of international Marxism published by the International Committee of the Fourth International Spring 1973

Tampoe

By a Ceylon correspondent April Dictatorship: The Tasks of the Greek Trotskyists Resolution of the 5th

articles from the German Trotskyist newspaper Der Funke

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By Stephen Johns LENIN AND TROTSKY WRITING

and six International Committee statements

SOCIALIST LABOUR

LEAGUE LECTURES

Merthyr Tydfil Given by Gerry Healy,

National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

Wednesday May 23

Theory and Practice of Marxism

Wednesday May 30

Role of the revolutionary party

St David's Church Hall. Church Street, Merthyr 7.30 p.m.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING Salford

The Angel, Chapel Street Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m.

What is the Socialist Labour League?

Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m. 'The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class'.

> Council of Action North London

TUC must break off talks with No negotiations on Phase Three

No capitulation to corporatism Make the Tory government resign

TUESDAY MAY 22, 8 p.m. Lord Morrison Hall.

Chestnut Grove, Tottenham, N.17

All Trades Unions **Alliance meetings**

TEACHERS' MEETING

The way forward after the NUT conference

Thursday, May 24, 7.30 p.m.

Conway Small Hall. Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

HOSPITAL WORKERS' MEETING

Hospital workers and the fight against the Tory government

Tuesday May 29, 7.30 p.m.

Norfolk Room Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

BUILDING WORKERS' MEETING

TUC must break off talks with Tories! Build revolutionary party!

Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m. **Tudor Room**

Caxton Hall. Caxton Street. London SW1 (admission 10p)

POSTAL WORKERS' MEETING

Break off secret talks with the Tories! Force the Tories to resign!

Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG, Newsdesk: 01-720 2000. Circulation: 01-622 7029.

BARBER DEFLATES TORY 'BOOM'



THE TORY government yesterday took the first steps towards deflation by slashing public expenditure by a massive £600m.

Chancellor Anthony Barber told the Commons £100m would be cut this financial year and a further £500m in 1974-75.

Budgets will be slashed as follows: nationalised industries

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

£100m; Post Office £30m; roads £100m; miscellaneous services at local government level £100m; public building projects £15m; civil service £20m and agriculture £25m.

Shadow chancellor Denis Healey commented: 'The immediate impact is a certain increase in the price of food, postal charges and rates.'

Apart from what Healey says, the cuts are also bound to cause a sharp rise in unemployment and a further drop on the share market.

The shock announcement comes only a week after premier Heath and Barber were prattling in the press and on television about a 'boom'.

The drastic cuts are a victory for those sections of the Tory Party and big business circles who have been arguing for a deflationary policy and an end to the Heath balancing act with the trade unions.

The crashing of the public expenditure programme comes at a time when the TUC leaders are up to their ears in amicable talks with the government about implementing Phase Three of the state pay laws (see below).

Students

lobby

MPs over

MAY FUND £807.46-ONLY 10 DAYS LEFT

WE ARE now concerned at the slow pace of our monthly Fund. We have still not yet reached our halfway mark and it is getting very close to the end of the month.

Of course we realize that we are trying to raise our Party Development Fund on top of the normal Monthly Appeal Fund. But more than ever this political situation demands that we expand as never before.

Thousands of workers, affected by the huge cost of living and the inflationary crisis of the capitalist system are getting more and more frustrated with the existing trade union leaders who refuse to tackle this Tory government.

government.

Workers Press, alone, provides a political alternative in this fight and every day exposes the treachery of these reformist and Stalinist leaders. Help us, therefore, reach out to thousands more workers in every district. Make sure we raise our May Fund over these last few days. Raise extra amounts and send these immediately to:

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

End all Phase Three talks now

By Royston Bull

THE TUC economic committee's decision to continue the talks with the Tory government is a serious blow to the working class.

By discussing with the ruling class a possible 'solution' to the problem of inflation through wage restraint and other measures, the TUC bureaucracy disarms workers in the struggle against the capitalist crisis.

Only by understanding that the world-wide economic chaos is an inevitable outcome of the capitalist system itself can the working class take the conscious steps towards ending the anarchy through socialist policies.

The TUC therefore creates confusion among workers when it sits down for drinks and a pleasant chat with the organizers and perpetrators of trade war, currency crises, and the economic anarchy which leads to closures and unemployment.

Although it was not possible for the bureaucracy to sign a voluntary wage-cutting agreement because of the militancy of the unions, the long drawn-out tripartite negotiations last year served their purpose in preventing the working class mobilizing a political campaign to force the Tories to resign.

How is it that the TUC bureaucracy can so deliberately mislead the working class?

The answer is that their reformist ideology means that they regard the 'mixed economy' and give-and-take compromise as a permanent system of things.

This means they regard the capitalist system as a permanent part of life.

Thus when the system is in difficulty, they see it as 'Britain's' economy being in difficulty. Their fundamental task becomes to protect the system.

This requires all good trade unionists to 'be responsible' and make sacrifices. As the cost of living rises by 10 per cent a year, wages are kept down to a 7 per cent increase. This is wage cutting.

The TUC leaders are now consciously driving the working class towards full-scale cooperation with capitalism through the corporatist system of 'participation' or 'workers control' or 'industrial democracy' as it is variously called. This is the plan for 'worker directors' and other phoney measures of 'co-determination'.

It is now the most urgent task for the trade unions to assert their independence from the corrupt capitalist system and make a clean break with the men responsible for the economic crisis and chaos.

The working class must demand an end to all talks with the Tory government and insist instead on a campaign to force their removal from office.



Heavy police guard on Belfast 10' case

COMMITAL proceedings against the 'Belfast 10' opened in London yesterday under heavy police surveillance.

Police, some armed, lined the street outside Lambeth court, rooftops were manned and cars in the vicinity were searched. Everybody who went into the court was checked by police and bus loads of reinforcements stood

The ten defendants are charged with conspiring together and with others on or before March 8 to cause explosions in the United Kingdom of a nature likely to endanger life or to cause serious injury to property.

Reporting restrictions were not lifted.

Meanwhile at Coventry, a Catholic priest and five others accused of a bomb plot faced new charges yesterday alleging conspiracy to commit arson and criminal damage.

One of the six, allegedly members of an IRA network with plans to attack targets in Coventry, was also accused of possessing bomb-making materials.

They have already appeared in court five times accused of conspiring with others unknown to cause an explosion likely to endanger life or injure property.

Reporting restrictions were lifted and three of the accused lodged a strong protest at their conditions of detention at Winson Green Prison, Birmingham.

Defence solicitor Mr Michael Jervis said the six were all classified as Al security risks and they were in 'total, absolute, solitary confinement'.

The basic liberties any prisoner on remand was entitled to had been taken away and in the last seven days they had been given only five and a half hours' exercise.

The three, Rev Patrick Fell, Anthony Lynch and Francis Stagg, issued a statement welcoming their relatives' demonstrations of support for them outside the court but dissociating themselves from what they called 'hard-core elements' in the protests.

Defence solicitor Mr Christopher Aldridge said that his clients, Herbert Kelly and Anthony McCormick, also felt that the 'hullabuloo' outside the court did not help them.



Policeman watches as workman removes old spikes on Lambeth magistrates court gate to replace them with bigger 'deterrents'.

200 from several universities and colleges in Britain assembled (above) at the Department of Education and Science, where a picket has been mounted for the past three weeks, before setting off to lobby their MPs.

yesterday to 'express their dis-

gust' at the government's handling of student grants. About

UPW 'tests' Pay Board

POST OFFICE workers were looking to the Pay Board for 'fairness', union secretary Tom Jackson said yesterday.

The Pay Board's handling of the union's case for better wages would be a crucial test of government policy, he told delegates to the Union of Post Office Workers' annual conference.

'If it does not, then we will know that there will be no fairness. We will know where we stand and that only industrial struggles succeed in getting settlements which are worthwhile.'

Jackson, who at the weekend launched a witch-hunting attack on the Socialist Labour League, International Socialism and the Communist Party, welcomed the talks between the TUC and the Tories

• See 'Stalinists and democratic rights', tomorrow.

Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League presents

GRAND DANCE AND CABARET

Lisa Martin plus supporting group Heywood Civic Hall Thursday May 24 8 p.m. to 12 midnight Plus support system Admission 50p.

PUBLIC MEETINGS Transforming the Socialist

Transforming the Socialis Labour League into the Revolutionary Party

Hull

Wednesday May 23,

8 p.m.

'Windmill Hotel'

Witham

Goole

Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. 'Cape of Good Hope'

Dewsbury

The Textile Hall.

Thursday, May 24 7.30 pm