Workers mess

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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By Royston Bull

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The latest hammer blow to the hospital workers hopes came with yesterday's TUC Economic Committee decision to defer acting on this resolution so that a report can be submitted to a Finance and General Purposes Committee meeting next week.

This scandalous time-wasting will go on until the General Council meeting of March 28 without a finger being lifted to help the hospital workers, civil servants, or anyone else. It means that the men and women on the picket lines will have had to battle it out for a further three and a half weeks in complete isolation since the Special Congress voiced the

opinion of the trade union movement about giving sup-

It also means that the issue will be shelved until just before Phase Two becomes law. At that point, the hospital workers will not only have their own union leaders to fight, but also the full force of the state legis-lation as well, including criminal proceedings, fines and imprisonment.

This is a record of downright treachery, a deliberate betrayal of the wishes of the working class by its leaders.

Where does the left-talking engineering union president Hugh Scanlon stand on this crucial issue?

In words, he correctly states that if the hospital and gasworkers are allowed to go down to defeat, it would mean 'the end of trade unionism as we know

But in deeds, he takes part in the disgraceful charade being acted out at Congress House.

In the case of the hospital and gasworkers, a defeat for one will, in truth, mean a defeat for all.

The Tories will go on a rampage of wage-cutting if they can drive these workers back without paying them a penny piece more. At the same time, price in-flation gets completely out hand. (See prices story right).

And if they break these strikes successfully they will be encouraged to introduce even more ruthless methods to break the next strikes that come along.

The present campign of threats to victimize strikers, the police disruption of picket lines and the propa-ganda war in the Press will be replaced by full-scale intimidation, organized strike-

pression. The time to defeat the Tory corporatist plans is now, while the government is still hesitant and divided. If the unions wait until the right wing has the bit between its teeth and has shown some real steel, it will be that much harder a task.

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TUC secretary Victor Feather has promised 'urgent TUC action' once a decision is finally reached, but explains that this takes time.

If he had spent the last few weeks on a hospital picket line, he would quickly get the message of the need to take urgent decisions too.

He has no time for emergency meetings, apparently, but plenty of time to go to businessmen's lunches.

Tuesday treated himself to the City men's 'Comment Club' lunch, enjoying the wine, cigars, and pleasant chat with enemies of socialism. with the

The truth is that Feather wants to hold up any developments in the workers' movement that might lead to a General Strike situation.

That is the reason for the delays in solidarity action or any decision on the one-day

stoppage, also postponed till next week. Feather is a reformist, a believer in the 'mixed economy' system—an agent of the status quo. And when this requires wage restraint, Feather is a willing col-laborator.

He is determined to dis-rupt the fight against state wage controls.

If the working class is to avoid bearing the crushing burden of capitalism's uncontrollable inflation, it must take political action to de-feat the Tory government by forcing its resignation through the General Strike. Ebbw Vale workers storm steel HQ - see page 12



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the increases.
Prices of the most popular brands of biscuits will also rise. United Bis-cuits, producer of Mc-Vitie's, Crawford's and Macfarlane's ranges,

Macfarlane's ranges, has applied for a second 5 per cent increase this year.

On Monday 50 per cent of UB's products were increased in price and the combine, which controls 60 per cent of the UK biscuit market, wants the other 50 per cent increased in

June or July plus more increases on the ones already adjusted upwards. UB's total profits for 1972 increased by £2.8m to a new record of £21m. Shareholders will pocket an 11.2-per-cent dividend compared with 10.67 per cent for 1971.

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Inflation and the lowerpaid workers

UNDER THE GUISE of concern for the plight of low-paid workers, 'The Times' advocates a permanent Tory 'incomes policy'. This, says the newspaper of big business, would 'protect' hospital staff, nurses, farmworkers and other low-paid men and women by replacing free collective bargaining with a state Pay Board.

In reality this corporatist-type measure would make these workers directly dependent on the state for their living and working conditions. It is a deliberate plan to destroy the purpose of trade unionism.

A large group of workers relying on state handouts would be used to intimidate any trade unions seeking to improve the conditions of their

It is not true, as 'The Times' claims, that collective-bargaining for wages discriminates against the lower paid. On the contrary, the strength of well-organized workers wins gains for the entire working class. The plight of the lower paid is not the result of the so-called 'greed' of workers who have won better conditions. Such workers have consistently fought to improve the conditions of their lower-paid brothers—as, for example, thousands of miners have repeatedly gone on strike to get rises for the low-paid surface workers.

Deliberate Tory policies have brought hardship and poverty to working-class people who carry out essential jobs. The floating of the pound last June—it has now been devalued by about 10 per cent with more to come—was a conscious Tory measure to accelerate inflation.

Taxation of companies and high incomes has been lessened, while charges for school meals and other social services have been raised.

Entry into the Common Market means that the price of food and other basic necessities is already shooting up and will continue to do so.

State control of pay has held wages down while prices have been allowed to soar. The rent Act has taken pounds out of workers' pockets.

The Tory government has deliberately slashed the living conditions of millions of workers and their families. Many workers find it impossible to live on their basic wage and are forced to work long hours and take extra jobs to avoid being driven below the poverty line—a fate which not all of them escape.

This is what the employers and the government want to see—large numbers of workers dependent, not on workers' unity and their confidence as a class, but reduced to servile dependence on the thin 'generosity' of the boss and his political representatives in the Tory Party.

This, combined with the Industrial Relations Act, which shackles the unions to the state, is a programme for corporatism. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, key military figures, closely connected with top Tories, prepare civil war measures to impose a Bonapartist dictatorship on the working

It is now, more than ever, urgently necessary to defend basic rights and to unite the entire working class to force the Tory government to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Only in this way can lower-paid workers win security and a decent life.

hat we think Preferential treatment causing Congress storm

n he triple

TRADE between Soviet Union and the United States could be tripled as a result of talks between Moscow officials and a United States delegation headed by Treasury Secretary George Schultz.

Schultz had talks on Monday with First Deputy Trade Minister Mikhail Kuzmin and Soviet State Bank chairman Mefodii Sveshnikov. It was also thought possible he would meet Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin.

Under last October's trade treaty, the USSR and the US agreed to increase annual trading turnover to at least \$1,500m.

BY FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

Last year the turnover reached a record \$642m, though Soviet exports to the earned only about \$95.4m.

A large proportion of the US exports was taken up by the big grain purchases made by the Soviet Union to off-set a bad harvest. In 1971, US-Soviet trade turnover totalled \$218.1m.

Status

During the visit Schultz was planning to raise the question of granting the Soviet Union most-favoured nation' status, which would give Russian goods preferential tariff treatment.

Some Congressmen Washington are threatening a veto of tariff benefits to Soviet goods in the United States unless the Soviet government removes high exit visa fees on educated immigrants from the USSR.

However, the Nixon administration has made clear that it favours giving the Soviet Union preferential treatment regardless of its emigration policy.

President Nixon recently established an East-West Trade Policy Committee, with Schultz as chairman.

◆ The Soviet bureaucracy is extremely anxious for more trade with the United States and for American capital investment and loans in order to avert the worst aspects of its own economic

\$2,000m-worth of grain from abroad and potatoes from eastern Europe was barely enough to stave off acute shortages and even famine in parts of the USSR hit by the worst harvest of the century.

This harvest, the result of bad weather and bureau-cratic mismanagement, has meant the widespread im-position of rationing, even for such staples as butter and potatoes.

Rations

Rationing is acknowledged by CP political lecturers at such widely separated places as Volgograd (Stalingrad), Gorki and Astrakhan. The Press is now urging

farm managers to avoid last year's mistakes by planning in advance for the spring sowing.

'Release Abu Daud' demo at Jordan 3000 POLITICAL N THE DEROUS



Some of the demonstrators outside the Jordanian Embassy London,

Embassy

ARAB STUDENTS demonstrated outside the Jordanian Embassy in London yesterday demanding the reprieve of Fatah leader Abu Daud and his 16 comrades sentenced to death by King Hussein.

Abu Daud was arrested on February 8 with a Fatah unit on its way to the Israelioccupied West bank of the river Jordan. They were tried by a military tribunal on trumped-up charges of plotting against state

Despite appeals from a number of Arab heads of state and from Yassir Arafat-chief of the Fatah-Hussein has made it clear that he will go ahead with judicial murders.

An offer from the King to reprieve the Palestinian commandoes if the Fatah gives an undertaking not to act against the Jordanian regime has been treated with contempt by the Palestinian freedom fighters.

More than 3,000 Palestinian fighters are in Hussein's prisons along with thousands of other political prisoners who are subjected to brutal torture during their long sentences at the hand of military courts.

Since the massacre of Palestinians by the regime in September 1970 Hussein has authorized 200 death sentences. Seven people were hanged on December 9.

Thyssen seals link-up

Row with army over Turkey's president

generals and right-wing politicians are locked in conflict over the election of a new president

by the parliament.
After four ballots MPs still refused to endorse the army's choice, General Faruk Gerler, and gave a majority to the conservative Justice Party candidate, Tekin Ariburun. As he did not have an absolute majority, balloting was adjourned.

If an alternative can-

didate can be found acceptable to the Republican Peoples' Party, president could be elected who would challenge the role of the army in Turkish politics.

The army ousted the ment two years ago and martial law is still in operation in seven pro-

There are signs that the army is ready to intervene again if the politicians do not come heel General Gerler.

Cheng awaits decision

TZU TSAI-CHENG, found guilty in the United States of the attempted assassina-tion of Chiang Kai-shek's son, is lying in Pentonville prison awaiting the out-come of his appeal to the

House of Lords:

If his March 5 appeal is rejected, Cheng faces up to 32 years in American jails followed by further extra-dition to Taiwan. There he

would certainly be killed. So far Cheng's appeals not to be sent back to America have been rejected on the grounds that the movement to which he belongs—the Formosa Independence Movement—is in conflict with the Taiwanese

government, but not with the United States government.

The entire British labour movement should demand the immediate granting of political asylum to Cheng.

• A full review of the Cheng case will appear in Workers Press shortly.

THYSSEN Group, West Germany's largest steel

company, has succeeded in acquiring a majority shareholding of the big Rheinstahl engineering and steel firm.

US JETS BOUND FOR ISRAEL

ISRAEL is to receive four squadrons of combat jets from the United States according to a 'New York Times' report. The US will also help set up production lines for an Israeli-designed jet fighter.

Prime Minister Meir visited Washington earlier this month to arrange a new arms deal. Deliveries under an agreement made by President Nixon in December 1971 are still

The merger, about by a consortium of banks, creates the second largest industrial group in Germany, with a £2,000m annual turnover.

The move creates the biggest privately-owned steel cartel in Europe and is part of the attempts by German capitalism to rationalize in competition with British, French and Japanese manufacturers.

The takeover was one of the biggest in German history, dwarfing the cartels of the 1920s which later backed Hitler's Nazi Party in its rise to power.

We'd be a lot stronger if everybody was out

MILITANT pickets at London's Royal Northern Hospital said this week union leaders should call out all ancillary workers.

'We would be a lot stronger if everybody was out,' said picket Mrs N. Cosgrave.

Hours later Tory Health Secretary Sir Keith Joseph advised the hospital wor-kers: 'Go back to work and accept what we've offered.'

He said the £2 rise for men and £1.80 for women could be in next week's paypackets, adding that the hospital workers were now only hurting themselves and patients.

He said if they were not satisfied with the increases in line with Phase Two of the pay laws, they could always take their grievances to the new Pay Board.

Royal Northern Hospital ancillary workers have been on strike for two weeks. They are still 100-per-cent solid and morale is high.

Strike committee member Mr A. Ashton, said: 'We are treated like dirt here, like slaves. Private patients poured a bucket of cold

water over our picket and some of the senior staff have refused to treat stri-

'If the government doesn't improve its offer the strike should be extended. Even if we do have to go

Even if we do have to go back, we will work-to-rule and boycott everything. We are not going to go down until we get what we want.'

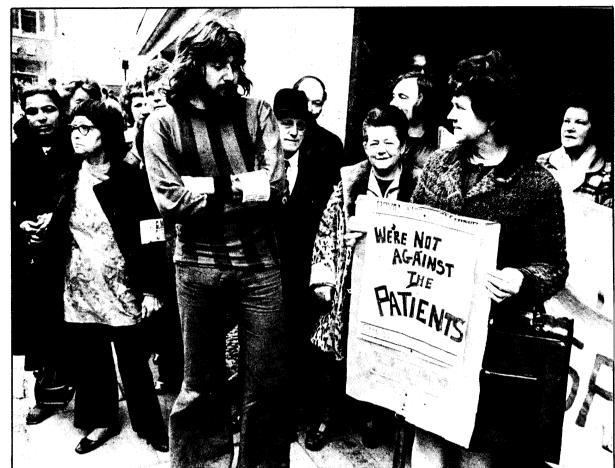
Mrs Mary Alwright added: 'The public is blaming us for things going wrong in the hospitals. But they should blame the government Heath should nay ernment. Heath should pay

ws the money.'
Mr G. F. Cummines said:
'It's all very well for consultants to condemn us—
they can afford to. They are earning the money.'

After two weeks, many of the workers are finding it almost impossible to live without their wages. In some cases husbands and

wives are both on strike.

'We can't live on air,'
said one picket. 'It is the government we are fighting. Our leaders should have called for a General Strike before they called us out. We need the whole nation behind us.'



Militant pickets at the north London hospital.



Limited action a lost cause

FORTY PORTERS and all 150 domestics have now joined drivers in an all-out strike at the Hope Hospital in Salford, Lancs.

Ronald Hudson, a porter, told Workers Press:

'We do all the dirty work and yet no one except shift workers take home more than £16 a week.

'The limited strike action is a lost cause. The govern-ment won't back down. They've just said so again.'

Mr Hudson angrily attacked suggestions that the were endangering strikers

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

the health of patients. 'It's a load of nonsense about patients being left. In an emergency they know we'd be back in immedi-

ately. Another picket added: 'The wireless and TV are poisoning the public against

As the pickets spoke three senior members of the hospital management could be seen dumping and burning

rubbish. Mr Hudson said: 'We need General Strike. Heath should go to the country instead of sailing his yacht.'

A hospital workers' leader in South Wales has denied there are any signs of a break in the strike.

Mr Norman Waring, divisional officer of the public employees' union, said: 'The determination of members of the union is as firm as it was at the beginning.

'Reported signs of weaknesses are not weaknesses but a return to duty on a temporary basis or in line with the phased character of the strike.'

Police-style coach breaks St Thomas' sparks' picket

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A STRONG body of police yesterday manhandled electricians on the picket line at the St Thomas's Hospital site, south London, and allowed a coachload of scabs through the gate.

Laings used a special port new labour through the picket line.

The coach, coloured brown and with Laings written on the side, had small high windows which prevented pickets from seeing inside and passengers from seeing placards carried by the strikers.

This is the third time this week that the coach has been used—with police help break through the pickets.

More than 100 electricians on the new hospital site came out on strike on February 1 in support of a £1an-hour pay claim and against the government's order halting wage increases of between £2.80 and £3.20, which should have been paid to 70,000 electricians from January 3.

The men's union, the EPTU, has persistently refused to back the strikers. Their general secretary,

Frank Chapple, wrote each of the strikers telling them to go back to work.

He said: 'By your action you are arming your enemies. You give the government the means to frus-trate our case. By your strike you make it less likely that ALL contracting members will enjoy the increase (for 1974) the union has negotiated.'

The men have since been sacked and attempts made to use new labour on the

When the coach arrived yesterday, about 40 pickets rushed forward and closed the gates.

The large police contingent then moved in pushing and shoving the pickets out of the way.

There were scuffles between police and pickets as the coach moved through. Pickets punched the side of the coach with their fists.



Police lay into electricians trying to stop fresh labour taking their jobs

At a meeting held later the pickets decided to call for a mass picket to be held on the site next Monday.

Building workers from all London sites will be asked to take part.

One speaker said: 'It's more than just building workers now. It's all of us

AUNDRY WORKERS RETURN TO WORK

THE LAUNDRY workers at Whitley Hospital, Coventry, return to work today after one week on strike. These key workers, who sup-ply most of the clean linen to all the Coventry area hospitals, had the option of extending the strike but decided

Laundry worker Mrs Cowie said: 'I think the main reason for this is that the committee members allowed some of the laundry workers to go in for emergency purposes while strike was on.

'Most of our members did not see much

point in having another week's strike while this is going on. But they are all ready to come out again on strike.

'I think everyone in the country should be out on strike. That is the only way we can win and get this government out.'

WHATS ONE FACTORY TO SIR CHARLES?

It was Sir Charles Hardie's birthday last Saturday, and he wasn't short of the wherewithal to celebrate it in fine style. For this already wealthy knight is raking in up to £70,000 a year from his many directorships.

Five hundred workers at BDR Machines, Bristol, spent a rather less happy weekend, however. Last Friday they were told by union officials that a meeting with management had yielded no change in plans to close the factory.

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The shock closure
announcement came just over
a week ago—fuelling fears of
unemployment in a city already badly worried by the
US airlines' cancellation of
Concorde options.

What, you may ask, has all this got to do with Sir Charles Hardie? Well, besides being chairman of BOAC, the British Printing Corporation and merchant bankers Hill Samuel, Hardie heads the £7,3m Vokes engineering group which owns

Vokes bought the company from millionaire Harold Dolman in 1969, but following a drastic 15 per cent fall in its group profit rate, has decided to shut the vending-machine plant completely.

When union officials met the management last Thursday they argued strongly that the plant could become a moneyspinner again given 12 months' grace. Proprietorial faces across the table remained

When not presiding over board meetings at BOAC, Hill Samuel or Vokes, Hardie chairs the Metropolitan Estate and Property Corporation and the White Fish Authority. Board membership at BEA provides his pocket money, while for any other loose change he may need he relies on directorships of the Royal Bank of Canada, British American and General Trust, the Melbray group and NAAFI

Turnover

Vokes alone is no mean organization.

A turnover of £14.3m in the financial year 1971 - 1972 ranked it Britain's 693rd largest company while its pretax profits of £1.2m made it the 560th most lucrative.

A £1.2m profit may not seem bad going with a total UK labour force of only 5,000, but it was just not enough for Hardie and his board. The previous year they made £1.4m and then their rate of return was 29.7 per cent. By 1971-1972 the rate had fallen to 17.1 per cent.

If the Bristol union officials are right that BDR could still make money, then the decision to shut up shop and thus sack one Vokes worker in every ten would seem to have been taken principally on the strength of this plummeting profit rate.

But the atmosphere in which this decision was taken

is also important.

For instance there is the little episode of Hardie's daughter Alexandra's coming-out.

For this momentous occasion Hardie hired the Café Royal in London's pricey Regent Street and spent £3,000 on flowers alone. The total cost was £25,000.

In London, his two clubs are Boodles and the Royal Thames Yacht.

In this setting it will come as no surprise to BDR workers to learn that another of Hardie's companies, Hill Samuel, has been a major donor to the Tory Party

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In the year of the last General Election, 1970, the merchant bank backed Heath to the tune of thousands of pounds. (Towards the end of last year, Hill Samuel was sacked by the engineers' union for paying over £5,000 of union money to the National Industrial Relations Court without consulting with the executive.)

Diversion

Facing this kind of opposition, even the Rev Anthony Norton seems to recognize there is little chance of softening the Vokes directors' hearts.

Norton is secretary of Bristol's St. Paul's ward Labour Party, and a city councillor. The BDR factory lies within his ward.

But if Norton isn't exactly offering up prayers for the BDR workers' jobs, the scheme he is pushing is almost as much a diversion.

The council, he says, should consider buying the factory and leasing it out as one large or several small factory units.

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Norton admits that his proposal would not be a complete solution to the threatened redundancies. 'But we hope that it might be possible to encourage small engineering concerns that could use the skills of the BDR workers,' he says.

This reformist cleric also backs the call of Arthur Palmer, MP for Bristol Central, in his demand for 'a full inquiry' into the events leading up to the closure announce-

Understandably, the feeling is growing amongst Bristol trade unionists that the sooner Norton and Palmer are told to stop dithering and back a real fight against closure the

Only if there is decisive action—and quickly—at the factory will the message start to get through to Charles Edgar Mathewes Hardie.

Some people are touting round the idea that BDR's founder, Harold Dolman, might decide to go back into the vending-machine business. No dice.

From his Chew Magna home, Dolman (75), has expressed an interest in developing some new ideas in the automation field—but he told the Bristol 'Evening Post' last week that he was only considering contacting 'one or two' former staff of Brecknell, Dolman and Rogers



A NEW LUXURY HOTEL BESIDE THE DOLE

Two new buildings have recently been opened on the Wythenshawe council estate, Manchester. One is a Trust House Forte luxury hotel, the other is a brand new Social Security and employment exchange.

These twin monuments symbolize in an contradictions of capitalism.

The new hotel is built next

The new hotel is built next to the new M56 motorway which leads into Manchester and is only five miles from Manchester airport. It caters for the business executives who jet their way in and out of the northern capital.



Sir Charles Forte. Above: Lord Robens, on the board of THF.

A single room with bathroom is £6 a night and a double is £7.50. Clearly not the sort of place that the working class of Manchester will be checking into every night of the week!

The THF group is making splendid profits from these establishments. The latest annual report reveals that profit before taxation and special items was £16.1m for the year ended October 31, 1972.

This compared with a £8.7m net profit in the previous year.

Chairman Sir Charles Forte says the current year began well and 'we are substantially ahead of last year's profitable performance'. THF is well placed to increase turnover and profit. A final dividend is to be recommended which will give a total for the year equivalent to 10p (40 per cent) per share, compared with 7.5p (30 per cent) in the previous period.

In the annual report, Forte pays a generous compliment to his hotel staff:

'The success of your company depends on the ability and loyalty of our staff and it gives me great pleasure to express our thanks to them for their energy, enthusiasm and loyalty.

'The morale of the management and staff is excellent and it really is most encouraging to be conscious of the unified team spirit that exists.'

In a recent television interview Forte said he thought trade unions were permissible, but on the other hand he saw they were becoming too powerful.

It is scarcely surprising to note that Lord Robens, former chairman of the National Coal Board and ex-Labour minister, joined the THF board of directors in 1971. Robens, who recently learnt that he was no longer a 'socialist', carried through the massive pit closures in the 1960s.

While THF is raking in profits at their luxury hotel (opened a month ago) there is a growing queue of local people at the other new building in the civic centre—the labour exchange. The unemployed are picking up their dole money of £5 a week for single men which wouldn't even get you a night's kip at the THF palace.

The total out of work in Wythenshawe at present is 2,452, made up of 2,114 men, 124 boys, 142 women and 72 girls. The recent closures of plants at Altrincham and Stockport in Cheshire and in Wythenshawe itself has pushed up the figures to disastrous levels.

There was deliberately-created euphoria in the local Press recently about the Lyons group takeover of the AEI plant at Wythenshawe. It now appears that the total number of jobs is to be 25!

AEI, Wythenshawe, was opened in 1957 by 'Get-your-finger-out' Duke of Edinburgh and closed in 1970 by Sir Arnold Weinstock with the loss of 3,000 jobs. During his massive rationalization of the merged AEI/GEC groups, Weinstock is credited with having walked through one large plant and then turned to his manager and said: 'Sack everybody on the left hand side'

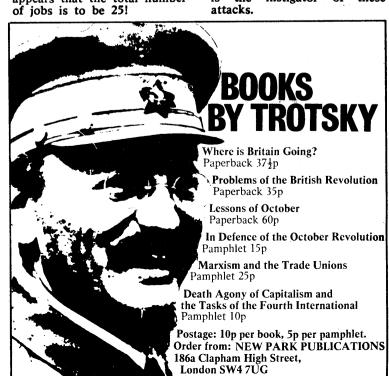
There has been no real fight against unemployment by the Communist Party-dominated district committee of the engineering union. Their arguments are that the fight against unemployment is 'fruitless', that people would only get victimized and that people can always get other work anyway.

work anyway.

The fight for the right to work cannot be postponed any longer. Estates like Wythenshawe are now faced with becoming completely distressed areas. Not only are they being buffeted by unemployment, but rising rents and soaring prices also threaten the standard of living of those who live in the 30,000 council houses.

Wythenshawe first became a council housing estate in the 1920s. The land for the development was donated to the Manchester City Corporation by Lord and Lady Simon of Wythenshawe.

A Council of Action on the estate must be mobilized in defence of the basic rights of the working class and against the Tory government, which is the instigator of these attacks.



JAPAN'S PUBLIC WORKERS FIGHT FOR RIGHT TO STRIKE

BY JOHN SPENCER

Japan's biggest labour organization is locked in a bitter struggle with the government in a bid to restore the right to strike for millions of publicly - employed workers.

The campaign has intensified with guerrilla stoppages and a prolonged work-to-rule compaign by national railway workers which has created chaos on Tokyo's commuter

Last month 4-million-strong General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo) staged its first - ever half - day General Strike to back the demands of government and public corporation workers. Another half-day strike has been set for next month.

The reformist-led Sohyo has also appealed to the International Labour Organization in Geneva to back its campaign for the right to strike. This right was taken away from Japanese public service workers in the years immediately following the end of the war, while the country was under American occupation. Shortly after the war a labour law was passed which banned strikes by all but prison officials, police and firemen. But this law was soon found inadequate to control the working class in accordance



General Douglas MacArthur.



A meeting of striking railwaymen at Tokyo's Central Station, when they were on strike three years ago.

with US imperialism's requirements.

After violent left - wing demonstrations, General Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander of the allied occupa-tion forces, ordered that a General Strike due to begin on February 1, 1947, be called off. He asked the Japanese government to review the

Seventeen months later the government issued an administrative decree barring public workers from striking. Sohyo says that since then the annual rate of wage increases has slowed down, labour injuries have increased and workers have been restricted in the freedom and right to speak up against severe restrictions and unfair contracts.

Most workers, particularly railwaymen, have stopped just short of striking by engaging

in forms of action such as 'work - hour meetings' and work-to-rule campaigns. A prolonged campaign beginning in late February has caused the cancellation of hundreds of train services in Tokyo alone and resulted in chaotic rush-hour scenes at major terminals. Many passengers have been injured by being crammed into carriages carrying up to three or four times their designated capacity.

The authorities have usually struck back with sackings, suspension from duty or wage reductions that can affect a worker up to retirement since life-long employment and a seniority system are traditional in Japan.

Victimization has been very widespread among workers battling for basic conditions and wages against this legal

strait - jacket. More than

800,000 corporation workers were punished for taking illegal industrial action from 1953 to 1972.

Similar punishments were inflicted on more than 770,000 public officials, state and local, between 1956 and 1972, according to Sohyo. The government claims that strikes by public workers, if permitted would have grave economic effects.

A Labour Ministry official even claimed it would be contrary to article 15 of the Japanese constitution (also imposed by the Americans) which says: 'All public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof.

Three million workers about one-third of the total organized labour force in Japan—are deprived of the right to strike under the

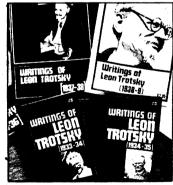
labour laws. Sohyo claims that the constitution backs up its case and not that of the Ministry of Labour.

Article 28 of the Japanese constitution states: 'The right of workers to organize and to bargain and to act collectively is guaranteed.' In its annual spring wage offensive this year, Sohyo is seeking a promise that the government will not punish striking public workers.

But despite four rounds of talks on the question since last November, no formula has been found satisfactory to both sides. The government of Kakuei Tanaka is clearly planning to resist the public workers' demand.

Having taken away the right to strike from large sections of workers, the Japanese ruling class will not concede it without a fight.

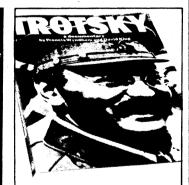
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USSR: SHORTAGES IN CROCKERY

The Council of Ministers of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic has once again been occupying itself with weighty matter—a shortage of cups and saucers.

Despite the fact that production capacity in the crockery industry increased as much in 1970-1971 as in the previous five years, a shortage persists. The present level of crockery production, it is admitted, does not meet the growing demands of the population.

The expansion of production and the building of new pottery factories are running behind schedule. Instructions

were given for the shortcomings to be eliminated.

The same meeting also heard about serious shortcomings in the use of agricultural machinery in Siberia a factor in last year's disastrous harvest. Many tractors, sowing, ploughing and cultivating machines, and combines were idle because of lack of repairs.

The farm machinery organization was criticized for sending machinery to the collective farms with serious defects. The Council of Ministers ordered measures to be taken to improve the quality of repair work and preparation of farm machinery for the beginning of spring sowing.

courted his favour and indulged his weakness for boasting.

One interviewed him in his ranch-style bungalow at Chester le Street, Co. Durham, surrounded by half an acre of neat gardens.

'If I had gone to sea,' said Cunningham, 'I would probably have been a captain of a large passenger liner.'

Instead he had become a leader—though looked like an American business executive with his silky suits, carefully-groomed grey hair and thick expensive spectacles. He was an odd figure among his members in the General and Municipal Workers' Union, among the lowest-paid workers on Tyne-

But in August 1972, the halcyon days ended abruptly.

A court in Wakefield learned that union leader Cunningham, the chairman of Durham Police Authority and a leading member of Durham County Council, had enjoyed holidays in right-wing Portugal, paid for by an architect named Poulson-the very same Poulson who today is a celebrated bankrupt!

Poulson also threw in the way of Cunningham's wife, project worth £250,000.

Northern Regional Organizer morland, projects for union buildings.

Finally, as chairman of Durham Police Authority and chairman of the Police Archito Poulson.

The Poulson revelations movement was numbed with shock, especially as other dragged into the case. These famed as 'Mr Newcastle', an ex-city Labour councillor and ex-boss of the North East Deran a publicity firm which promoted Poulson's firm and paid Cunningham £1,000 a

year as a consultant.

In 1965 Cunningham was chairman of Felling town Housing Committee when Poulson was awarded a design Cunningham was

G&MWU, covering Durham, Cumberland, West-Northumberland and north Yorkshire, Poulson won more important design

tects Committee, Cunningham turned over a contract for designing alterations to Sunderland police headquarters from the Borough architects

caused a storm of protest in the north-east. The labour leading Labour figures were included T. Dan Smith, once velopment Committee, Smith

So many members of the labour movement seemed to or other been in the pay of Mr Poulson.'

Pardoe's accusations naturally caused great protest on Labour and Tory benches. But suspicions are easily aroused. The Granada investigating team 'World in Action' attempted to dispel rumours with a programme on the friends of Poulson. They stressed that all their information was based on court records. But the authorities suppressed the show. The publicity, they said, would be

bad for the public interest. So the gossip continues. Men in public life, including Labour and Tory MPs, have been mentioned in private as involved in the Poulson scan-

This odorous publicity is very damaging and Cunningham has been subject to more than most. But he has shown a remarkable capacity for weathering the storm.

When the crisis broke. eager local journalists traced Cunningham and his wife to a Swedish hotel. Had they heard about the Poulson case? What about the holidays? The payment to Freda?

Cunningham brushed questions aside—'That's a laugh' was his laconic reply. Since

of the Labour Party-though he lost the support of the giant engineering union at the last election. He is also renominated County Council after an initial decision to drop his name the list of candidates.

The main seat of his influence remains the union with over 90,000 members in the north east.

Such numbers give power. Unions send delegates to ward and constituency committees of the Labour Party in proportion to their membership in the localities. Unions in big working-class centres can control committees and therefore the selection of councillors and MPs. Their financial contributions to the Party locally is also a

This is by no means a bad principle. Ideally it would allow the working class at local level to shape the policies and actions of their Labour representatives.

But, of course, in most areas, especially strong working class areas, the bureaucracy has come to predominate. The officials pick their men and

and efficiency.' Cunningham began at 18 in the men get elected. (Last year a Sunderland

Whitehaven—also in father's regional area.)

So long as Cunningham has the backing of his union, he remains secure within the Labour movement. The union, for its part, has supported him, though in rather extraordinary circumstances.

They debated their chief's involvement in the Poulson case not at their headquarters in Newcastle, but it is believed, at a remote aluminium smelter site on the bleak windswept north east coast.

The whole episode had a farcical touch. Press men waiting eagerly outside the union were surprised by a rush of officials who tumbled into cars and sped away through the busy city traffic. Later a communication was issued-once more Cunningham had landed on his feet.

Cunningham's resilience is a characteristic of the G&MWI men. The full-time officials of this right-wing union are mostly career labour leaders. They pride themselves on their efficiency (and their dress) and, like Cunningham. they say: 'If I have an addiction it is to method study

Felling as an organizer of the

Young Socialists. While he was a docker, engineering and chemical worker, he always had his sights fixed on office. He began to climb.

By 1958 the local Press were calling him 'Mr Felling' —he had been three-times chairman of the council, was the chairman of Felling Labour Party and Trades Council and chairman of Gateshead East constituency Party, chairman of Durham Education Committee and chairman of the Wear and Tees River Board.

Cunningham only cut a local figure, but it was clear he was designed for bigger things. 'I think you can put it this way,' he told newsmen. 'I have always found myself in the right place at the right

His lack of socialist dogma was perhaps one reason for his rapid promotion. His understanding of the problems businessmen faced were well revealed by his attitudes over pollution—a key issue since he was chairman of the river authority.

'You can't expect industrial

firms to change their methods of waste disposal overnight. It is a very expensive process,' he replied to people demanding pure rivers in the Sunder-

His attitudes to the working class, of course, were coloured with the G&MWU's great distaste for strike action.

'Our attitude to the unofficial direct action groups is bluntly but in committee that the unions can't countenance unofficial stoppage of work and that it pays in the end to make maximum use of conciliation machinery.'

Cunningham himself did eventually face action from unofficial groups. In 1970 shop stewards from a Newcastle firm, who said their dispute had been ignored by the G&MWU, toured the shipyards contacting other members in a bid to get rid of Cunningham

-but they failed. In 1964 he became the Northern Regional Organizer of the union. He seemed set on a union career after having refused nomination as a candidate for a Labour seat.

Through reached into the upper echelons of the Labour Party itself. 1965 got National Executive Committee and in 1967 became chair man of the Finance Commit tee—'I thrive on this kind of

responsibility,' he said. By this time Cunningham had shaken off Felling and moved to Chester le Street. He denied the shift was because Felling would be swallowed by the proposed Tyneside authority, therefore disqualifying him from the valued seat on Durham County Coun-

'I feel I want to devote myself to bigger things, there is not much left for me in Felling,' he explained when he made the move in 1967.

This was true. He had been the 'mayor' several times and had monopolized the chairmanship of the housing committee for 14 years. During this period he came into contact with Poulson through council contracts.

Above: Cunningham, wife, car and home at Chester le Street, 1969 The bigger things were just to leave the G&MWU.

round the corner. By 1969 Cunningham had massed an amazing portfolio of positions in local and regional government and in public life.

He was: Regional Secre-

Alderman of Durham County Council and the ex-chairman: member of the Northern River Authority and the exchairman: chairman Durham Police Authority: member of the Labour Party NEC and chairman of the Finance Committee; a director of the ill-fated Fairfields shipyard on Clydeside; member (under T. Dan Smith) of the North East Development Planning Council: chairman the Tyneside Passenger Transport Authority and chairman of the Newcastle

Airports Authority. The last two jobs were particularly unusual. Both the

airport and the buses employed G&MWU members. In case of a dispute, therefore, Cunningham would be both boss and union leader — the quintessence of corporatism. This did not seem to concern Cunningham, but it worried some of his members. The airports staff tried unsuccessfully

This was Cunningham at his peak. He lived in his big bungalow and rambled on about possible avenues in life he could have chosen (sea

captain for example). He was a controversia figure. He lashed his shipyard members for striking, as he saw it, unnecessarily. The world did not owe them a

living, he reminded them. In June 1971 he caused a storm when he suggested the police might have to use 'not constitutional or legal methods' in their fight against crime.

He was famous too. In March 1972 his wife launched the new Tyne ferry she named it the 'Freda Cunningham' But the storm clouds were gathering.

At the height of his power, a journalist on the 'Newcastle Journal' asked him, 'What about the temptations of pub-

lic life?' Cunningham replied: 'I think they are over-exaggera-

Months later the Poulson case broke out in headlines across every paper in the land.



A RECORD OF TREACHERY

Part one of a series by Jack Gale on the revisionists and Ceylon.

The International Marxist Group — British section of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International — has attempted to answer our serious charges against their Ceylonese section, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), and its general secretary, Bala Tampoe.

Our charges were based upon the report of the United Secretariat's Commission on Ceylon which was read out at their Ninth World Congress held in Europe from April 11-19, 1969, and translated into the languages of all the delegates there.

Serious admissions

The Commission was set up to inquire into allegations against Tampoe by Edmund Samarakkody, of Ceylon, who attended the 1969 World Congress as a member of the revisionists' International Executive Committee.

Its report made the following serious admissions about Tampoe's behaviour:

The Commission felt that some of the actions and policies of Comrade Bala and the LSSP(R) brought to our attention by Comrade Edmund and not denied by Comrade

Bala could have seriously damaged the reputation of Comrade Bala as a revolutionary leader, compromised the 4th International in Ceylon and [could] have been exploited by all the enemies of our movement. In this context, we refer especially to the following examples:

(a) A series of incidents which together constitute compromisingly close relations between Comrade Bala and the Ceylonese embassies or missions of the imperialist countries.

(1) A trip to the US in the summer of 1967, financed by the Asia Foundation.

(2) His acceptance of a small private luncheon invitation at the residence of the British High Commissioner, during the 1966 plantation workers strike—a luncheon that was also attended by Thondaman, a trade union leader who was playing an open strikebreaking role against the plantation workers.

(3) His attendance at a small dinner party at the West German Embassy for visiting Chancellor Kiesinger.

(b) A letter sent to the Ceylonese Prime Minister on January 22 1966 by Comrade Bala in his capacity as union general secretary, concerning the state of emergency in which he implied support for the imposition of a curfew in response to the 'violence' that occurred in Colombo. (This letter is included in bulletin March 17, 1969.)

Aarch 17, 1969.)
(c) Comrade Bala's policy in

regard to the struggle against devaluation of the rupee in November - December 1967. The CMU did not support the strike that took place at that time in the private sector. Serious questions are raised concerning why the LSSP(R) did not take the lead in fighting for united action by all the trade unions and working-class parties against devaluation.

These were unprecedented admissions about a leading member of an organization claiming to be Trotskyist—particularly since the Asia Foundation is a well-known front organization financed by the American CIA, and Kiesinger is a former member of Hitler's Nazi Party

of Hitler's Nazi Party.
Accordingly, we published a series of articles exposing Tampoe and his protectors in the Unified Secretariat in Workers Press of October 18, 19, 20 and 21, 1972 (soon to be republished in pamphlet form)

These provoked a statement of the Unified Secretariat, dated October 29, 1972, and carried in 'Intercontinental Press' on November 20.

In reply to this statement we published a further series on Ceylon in Workers Press of December 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. We published in full the

We published in full the report of their Ceylon Commission on December 4 and we printed the minority report of the Indian member of the Commission on December 5.

Now the revisionists—in a pamphlet called 'Ceylon and

the Healy School of Falsification', published in January, 1973—seek not only to defend Tampoe, but to justify their entire record in Ceylon.

This pamphlet is nothing but a collection of deliberate lies and miserable evasions from beginning to end.

Wholehearted support

In June 1964 the Lanka Sama Samaja Party—then the Unified Secretariat's official Ceylonese section—joined the bourgeois coalition government of Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Since then it has supported wholeheartedly every reactionary measure of that government — including the ferocious repressions launched in 1971.

Nevertheless, the author of this IMG pamphlet—one Jaya Vithana—blandly proclaims: 'I do not propose to deal with the absurd charge that the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International is responsible for the betrayal of the LSSP in 1964'!

The LSSP was your Ceylonese section Mr Vithana! People jumped straight from your International Executive Committee into Mrs Bandaranaike's Cabinet!

The lcadership of the Pabloite International would not be able to evade responsibility for that political crime, even if it had not known what was going on.

was going on.
But it **did** know what was

Bala Tampoe (right), general secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary). A report in 1969 at the World Congress of the revisionists' Unified Secretariat made serious admissions about Tampoe's behaviour.

going on!

The reason Vithana does not want to answer this 'absurd charge' is that in our issue of October 19 we quoted a letter from the LSSP outlining a programme for joining such a bourgeois government—and sent to the Unified Secretariat in Paris four years before the LSSP joined the government.

This letter, written by N. M. Perera—now Finance Minister in the repressive Bandaranaike government—listed: (1) an agreement not to contest certain election areas against Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), (2) support for the formation of an SLFP government 'not hedged about with conditions', and (3) steps to bring about a programmatic agreement with the SLFP with a view to forming a joint government.

No action was taken by the Pabloite International on this letter—yet Vithana claims that they were 'not responsible' for the defection of Perera and his accomplices.

No fight was ever taken up with the LSSP leaders by the present leaders of the Unified

Secretariat.
CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

NEWS MAY BE CENSORED BY THE POLICE

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) and the Canadian Association of Police Chiefs were accused of having reached an agreement which would allow 'news management

by the police'.

Speaking at a Press conference in Ottawa, New Democratic Party leader David Lewis said he has seen a statement 'that journalists are supposed to exchange information with the police. He added: 'It sounds as if the journalists are going to become spies for the police, and that's hardly the job of a journalist . . . Newsmen ought to be free to find out information and give it to the public without being harassed by the police and without being part of the police.'

CAB's president, Don Hamilton, denies that any agreement was drawn up. He says it was simply 'a statement of objectives, principles and operating guidelines for effective working relationships between the police agencies . . . and the media . . . It is of course not binding on anyone'.

The statement does, however, contain a clause saying because of investigative and legal requirements, the police have the right to make the decision on release of news for publication'.

It has been pointed out that this could mean the police censoring news during any crisis situation.

Hamilton insists that the clause merely recognizes 'an existing fact'.

In that case, Lewis asked, why bother to draw up a special statement about it?

The toll of people shot and killed by South African police 'in the course of their duty'

was almost twice as high in 1972 as in the previous year. In 1971, according to Police Minister Louwrens Muller, the police killed 52 adults and two juveniles. Last year, he told the Cape Town parliament, the figure was a staggering 91 adults and three juveniles.

Most of the last year were Africans-77and only three of the remainder were white. The other 14 were classified Cape coloured (mixed race). The three dead under-18s were two coloureds and an African, Muller said.

A further 299 people were wounded by police, 14 of them juveniles and again the majority were non-whites — 237 Africans, 52 'coloured' and ten whites. On one Tuesday this month, police shot two teenage boys.

One 14-year-old is in an intensive care unit at Johannesburg with a bullet lodged near his spine. Another boy, aged 16, was wounded in the back the same day while running away from a suspected

stolen car. Last month, Mike Carsten (27), was shot in the back and killed in a busy shopping district while trying to escape from police after being de-tained for suspected fraudulent use of a credit card.



'The Spanish Revolution' By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press (New York). Price £4.15 cloth. £1.65 paperback.

PART 3 BY TOM KEMP

The move by Andres Nin and most of the members of the Left Opposition into the Partido Obrero Unificacion Marxista (POUM) in September 1935 marked their passage to a centrist position and the abandonment of the struggle to build a revolutionary party.

The unification with Maurin's workers' and peasants' bloc was an unprincipled alliance which left all the decisive questions unanswered.

The new party declared its allegiance to the London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties which was opposed to the struggle to build a new, Fourth International which Trotsky had proposed as an imperative task in the light of the Stalinist betrayal in Germany which had paved the way for Hitler to come to power in 1933.

Nin's decision to join with

Maurin was a conscious rejection of all Trotsky's advice

in the previous years and pre-pared the way for the be-trayals which were to follow. In February 1936, the POUM joined with the Com-munist Party and the Socialist Party and two 'left' bourgeois parties in an electoral pact based upon a common pro-gramme. This was the applica-tion to Spain of the Stalinist policy of the Popular Front laid down at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in August 1935 and already in operation in France.

'In Spain', Trotsky wrote forcefully, 'genuine revolution-aries will be found who will mercilessly expose the be-trayal of Maurin, Nin, Andrade and their associates, and lay the foundation for the Spanish section of the Fourth International.'

It was with this perspective that Trotsky continued his polemic against the POUM as revolutionary events rapidly loomed nearer after the electoral success of the Popular Front in February 1936.

The study of the letters exbetween Trotsky and Nin which appear as an appendix to this volume is necessary to understand Trotsky's struggle against centrism which found its most calamitous form in the evolution of the POUM.

Nin showed his reluctance to break with old friends and to take a stand for the Left Opposition. Instead he entered the Catalan Federation which was dominated by Maurin and strongly opposed 'Trotsky-ism'. Trotsky demanded of Nin that the Left Opposition 'execute an abrupt political turn to avoid being confused with Maurin any longer - a confusion which has been to his advantage and to our own disadvantage'.

This Nin refused to do, preferring to evade discussion of all the principled political questions which had been raised. Nin's own letters contain a string of complaints and protests in which the political differences were smudged over.

BOOK REVIEW TROTSKY ON SPAIN



Amnistie Générale pour tous les prisonniers antifascistes.

Libération immédiate de tous les Camarades du P.O.U.M.

Nous n'admettons pas le principe d'un procès contre les camarades du C. E. du P. O. U. M. sans la garantie de la présence d'une délégation ouvrière internationale.

Nous protestons contre les exécutions sommaires et lés assassinats de Camarades du P.O. U M.



et les autres disparus

Andres Nin, from a postcard of the time. Above: POUM banner on a march during the period of civil war.

Reviewing his relations with Nin in June 1936, Trotsky wrote to Victor Serge, with whom he also had to make a decisive break at a later date: 'Nin was the head of the Spanish Bolshevik - Leninists, and by that fact alone, he had a serious responsibility which he failed to carry out in pracall the while throwing dust in my eyes . . . if I am guilty of anything with regard to Nin, it is of having nourished illusions for too

long on his account . . .'
Trotsky held Nin responsible for the passivity and confusion which reigned in the Left Opposition in Spain and the failure to make significant

As the crisis in Spain developed, with the election of the Popular Front and the ferment in the working class, Trotsky did not give up hope of bringing Nin to see sense. The first condition was to abandon his centrist course and take a stand openly for the Fourth International and in opposition to its enemies in the POUM and against the Popular Front — 'the question of questions'.

The outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936, made the question of the exposure of the Popular Front one of extreme urgency. It also raised

more sharply than ever before in Spain the need to struggle against Stalinism, because it was only in 1936, in the course of the war, that the official Communist Party became a real force in working-class politics in Spain.

From the opening shots, Trotsky warned: 'By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralysing their will to struggle, the Popular Front creates favourable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torments and sacrifices, if not by decades of fascist terror.'

Tragically it proved to be the latter of these two alternatives which was to be realized in Spain.

In a letter to the Interna-tional Secretariat of the Left Opposition Trotsky laid bare the nature of the Popular Front, both in France and in Spain. The radicals and 'Left' bourgeois parties entered the coalition to represent the bourgeoisie, if only, as he put it later, as their 'shadow'. Such a government could not purge the officer corps because the army was needed as a counterweight to the working class. Nin and his friends, who

signed the agreement which brought the Popular Front into existence, had foreseen nothing and they could not in-

voke ignorance as an excuse. The Civil War began precisely with an uprising of the officer corps led by Franco. But it was the army that the bourgeois supporters of the Popular Front—in France as well as in Spain—depended on to head off the working-class revolution.

'It is impossible to over-throw the bourgeoisie', Trotsky wrote, 'without crushing the officer corps. It is im-possible to crush the officer corps without overthrowing the bourgeoisie.'

It was necessary for the working class to win the support of the soldiers on the basis of a struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords whose sons made up the officer corps. That was the lesson of the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky was writing in order to mobilize the true revolutionaries in Spain for a struggle for power. That did not mean renouncing support for the Republican armies against Franco and the troops anco and the of Mussolini and Hitler sent to his aid. It did mean going to the masses with a bold social programme in opposition to the Popular Front policy of victory first, then reforms.

This was the policy which the POUM supported by entering into the Popular Front. Trotsky did not renounce the objective of rallying the true revolutionary forces, especially those in the POUM, in opposition to the treacherous policy of alliance with the bourgeois Ministers, with 'the phantom bourgeoisie who stay in the Popular Front only to prevent the masses from making their own revolution'. In any case, the industrialists and bankers, the majority of the Spanish capitalist class, whatever side of the lines they happened to be, supported a Franco victory.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WHAT WE THINK

IN HIS preface to 'Where is Britain Going?', Leon Trotsky wrote: 'By analysing the most important factors in Britain's historical development (we) elucidate the historical path along which the country will be urged by the external and internal contradictions of its existence.'

These contradictions are driving Britain on the road to revolution. That is why only a revolutionary organization can present to the working class its own true history and rip aside the bourgeois curtain of false history, based on so-called 'special British characteristics', 'gradualness' and lies.

This false history is peddled inside the labour movement by the Stalinists, the revisionists and reformists of all shades. The truth is, however, that the history of Britain, like that of all the world, is one of wars and revolutions. As the first capitalist nation, Britain launched a ceaseless process of violent onslaught against other nations from Ireland to China.

And all the modern history of Britain stemmed from the violent revolutionary conflict of the Civil War in the 17th century.

Every gain ever made by the British working class was made through struggle, frequently inspired by revolutionary developments abroad. Only Marxism can present this history today.

Only the Socialist Labour League has been able to present to workers and youth, in the most dramatic form, 150 years of labour history, the fight for the unions, the struggle of the Chartists, the formation of the First International and the beginnings of the Labour Party.

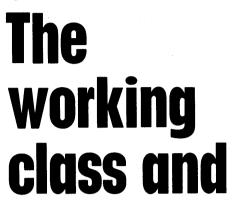
Britain was the birthplace of the industrial working class. Here were the first mills and factories, docks and coal-mines. Here for the first time concessions were wrung from the capitalist class. Here Karl Marx wrestled with the gigantic task of laying bare the true relations between the classes and the fundamental contradictions within the capitalist system.

All of this leads to one central conclusion: that the working class is a revo-lutionary class whose historic role is the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the socialist order.

Marxism, based on the materialist conception of history, is therefore inextricably bound up with the development of the working class in Britain.

But for the working class to be victorious in its revolutionary tasks requires a serious and extensive process of political preparation. Unlike any other class in history, the working class must prepare consciously on the basis of Marxism as a theory of knowledge.

This requires a party of the type constructed by Lenin—a Bolshevik Party.



Only the revolutionary method of dialectical materialism, based on the objective conditions of the world economic crisis, can show how all the accumulated historical conditions which have regulated the relations between classes are now being shaken to their foundations.

The present economic offensive against Europe launched by the United States, which in turn forced British capital to join forces with European capital in the Common Market, drives the ruling class into a violent onslaught to take back from the working class all the gains it has made since it was brought into existence.

It is the deepening of these contradictions which provides the material basis for the socialist revolution.

Those tendencies in the labour movement which refuse to start from the nature of the epoch underlined by the rapid acceleration of the economic crisis of world capitalism can neither lead the working class nor examine its history.

The Labour leaders, left and right, believe in gradualism and always rush to the rescue of capitalism at times of crisis. The Stalinists, clinging to the counter-revolutionary theory of the parliamentary 'peaceful road to socialism', consciously betray every struggle which might go beyond that.

The revisionist groups such as the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group, have no confidence in the revolutionary strength of the working class and, accordingly, meekly trail along behind the Stalinists, pouring cynicism on the SLL and on revolutionary ideas and organization.

These reformist, opportunist and revisionist tendencies are not part of the historical traditions of the working class. reflect bourgeois ideology, the method of compromise, back-room deals, half measures and a cynical approach to principles.

By robbing the struggles of the working class of a political programme centred on the need to bring down the Tory government, these tendencies—often under the guise of lavish praise of spontaneous militancy—drive the working-class movement into a blind alley and force individual groups of workers into piece-meal actions in which they can be isolated and

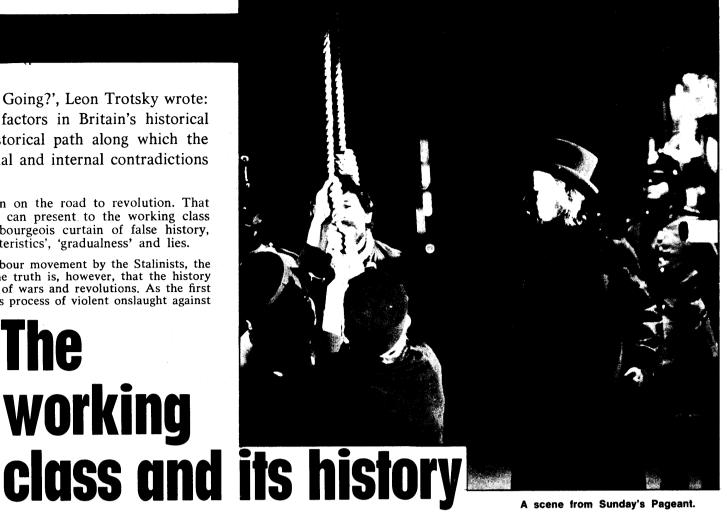
defeated.

This plays into the hands of the most reactionary elements in and around the Conservative Party who wish to provoke conflicts on their own terms so as to justify repressions and throw the movement back.

Every struggle of the working class to defend its basic rights is now a conflict with the Tory government and its state machine. But serious political preparations have to be made for clashes in which the question of state power is raised.

This involves the ceaseless exposure of every betrayal and an irreconcilable struggle against reformist illusions. That was the purpose of our Pageant 'The Road to Workers' Power' presented at the Empire Pool, Wembley, last Sunday to an audience of over 10,000.

The transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party, as a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is the only guarantee against the emergence of counter-revolution as a result of workers entering serious struggles without political preparation and leader-



TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

9.42 Schools. 12.20 Sunday debate. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45 High street. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Racing at Cheltenham. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter.. 5.15 John Craven's newsround. 5.20 Brady kids. 5.45 News. Weather.

NATIONWIDE.
TOP OF THE POPS.
Z CARS. Invention.
SOME MOTHERS DO 'AVE

THE BURKE SPECIAL. James

8.30 THE BURKE SPECIAL. James
Burke.
9.00 NEWS. Weather.
9.25 MISS ENGLAND, MISS SCOTLAND, MISS WALES.
10.15 LONDON BRIDGE SPECIAL.
Tom Jones, Jennifer O'Neill,
Kirk Douglas, Hermione
Gingold, Elliot Gould, The
Carpenters, Rudolf Nureyev,
Merle Park. Opening of
London Bridge.
11.00 MIDWEEK. 11.35 NEWS.
11.40 TAKE ANOTHER LOOK. The
Beginning of Life.
12.00 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 VAT (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Hickory House. 12.25 Witches brew. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Jokers wild. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Secret Mendips. 3.25 Hine. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 Barkleys. 5.50 News.

TODAY. 6.30 CROSSROADS.
FILM: 'THE HELICOPTER SPIES'. Robert Vaughn, David McCallum, Carol Lynley. Men from UNCLE.
THIS WEEK.
LONGSTREET. The Sound of Money Talking.
NEWS AT TEN.
A EUROPEAN JOURNEY.
From the Baltic to the Adriatic.
CHILDREN TO CHILDREN.
From the USA—In Your Hands.
SCOTLAND YARD MYSTERIES. Person Unknown.
WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.
WE SHALL OVERCOME. Luis Sebastian plays Flamenco and Argentinian folk music.

11.30



Kirk Douglas is Tom Jones' guest in BBC 1's London Bridge Special.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.10-4.35 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

6.40 SIXTEEN PLUS. 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

THEIR WORLD. Animal 7.35

EUROPA.

8.30 BEL-AMI. By Guy de Maupas-sant. Dramatization in five sant. Dramatization in five parts.

9.15 TIMES REMEMBERED.

9.25 HORIZON. Rail Crash.

10.15 PLAY: 'ATROCITY'. By David Rudkin.

10.59 THE KINKS. In concert.

11.20 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

11.45 REAL TIME.

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Film: 'The Adventures of Quentin Durward'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Anna and the king. 9.30 All our Saturdays. 10.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Film: 'A Cold Wind in August'. 12.35 Weather. HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.05 Film: 'Desire Me'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 10.30 Gallery. 11.00 Spyforce. 12.00 Weather. HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 2.30-3.00 Hamdden. 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35 Cantamil. 4.50 Rovers. 6.01 Y dydd. 10.30-11.00 Studio one. HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35

4.35 Cantamil. 4.50 Rovers. 6.01 Y dydd. 10.30-11.00 Studio one. HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Sport West.

ANGLIA: 9,30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Katie Stewart. 3.00 London. 4.25 News. 4.30 I and of the giants. 5.25 Cartoons. 5.35 Wind in the willows. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Crowhaven Farm'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Pathfinders. 10.00 London. 10.30 Bygones. 11.05 European journey. 11.35 Baron. 12.30 Living word.

word.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00
Programm guide. 12.05 London. 2.30
Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Julia. 5.50
London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads.
7.00 Film: 'The Crooked Web'. 8.30
London. 9.00 Persuaders. 10.00
London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 UFO.
Weather.

Weather.
ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.31 News.
1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00
London. 3.25 Women. 3.55 Harriet.
4.23 News. 4.25 Elephant boy. 4.55
Phoenix five. 5.20 General hospital.
5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 Cross-

roads. 7.00 Film: 'Calamity Jane and Sam Bass'. 8.30 London. 9.00 FBI. 10.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about? 11.20 Avengers.

about? 11.20 Avengers.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Jobs around the house. 3.00 London. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Dave Cash. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "The Rawhide Years'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Sport. 11.35 Theatre of Stars. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 5.15 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Film: 'Congo Crossing'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawk. 10.00 London. 11.00 What the papers say. 11.20 Nicholas.

11.20 Nicholas.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Only a dream. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Place in the country. 3.00 London. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 Sting ray. 5.20 F troop. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Captain Pirate'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sports. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 European journey. 11.35 News. 11.50 Monty Nash. 12.20 Greatest fights. 12.35 Lectern.

News. 11.50 Monty Nash. 12.20 Greatest fights. 12.35 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 4.25 Lost in space. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Scotch corner. 7.00 Cimarron strip. 8.30 London. 9.00 Pathfinders. 10.00 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Edgar Wallace.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.53 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women. 3.55 Harriet. 4.25 Skippy. 4.50 Merrie melodies. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Try for ten. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'King Kong v Godzilla'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Odd couple. 11.30 Frighteners. 12.00 Meditation.

Six face stiff sentences

South Africa show by our own correspondent trial opens

THE SOUTH AFRICAN authorities yesterday began their biggest show trial since the infamous Rivonia case which led to worldwide protests in 1963.

Six men, two white and four black, are charged under the Terrorism Act and face penalties that vary from death to five years in South Africa's jails.

The two white men, Australian Alexandre Moumbaris and Irishman John William Hosey, have already been held eight and five months respectively. The length of time spent in jail by the four Africans is not known.

This is quite legal under the Terrorism Act, which like the British Special Powers Act, gives police the right to imprison suspects for interrogation, without trial for an idefinite period.

It does not oblige the police to inform the prisoner's relatives—Mr Moumbaris' wife was herself imprisoned for four months before she was deported back to her home country, France, without the knowledge of her parents.

of her parents.

The South African Special Branch and police are clearly gearing themselves for a major propaganda campaign around the trial. Details of the charges have already been heavily leaked by Police Minister Lawrence Müller.

He told the mouthpiece of the apartheid regime in South Africa, 'Die Transvaler', that the six were part of a communist plot to subvert the authorities.

The plan, says Müller, was hatched in London by the African Communist Party with the

help of the Soviet CP. Six highly-trained terrorists were to be landed by steamship on a deserted stretch of the Transkei coast.

From there they were supposed to make their way through South Africa, keeping in continual touch with London. According to Müller the plan was changed when the steamship carrying the six from Somalia to the coast broke down. Instead the terrorists slipped into the country through Swaziland and Botswana with the help of 'a white man'.

Müller says the security police picked up four of the conspirators in Transvaal and two in Durban, but their arrests were kept secret until the white man who had played the key role of getting them into South Africa was detained near the Swaziland border last July.

Whatever the truth of these accusations, the police are claiming the arrests are a major blow against communism in the Republic. This comes at a time when South Africa is facing an unprecedented wave of unrest—the Durban clashes have passed for the present, but the black working class will not continue to exist on starvation wages for long without further mass protests.

The six—Theophilus Cholo, Justus Mpanza, Petrus Aaron Tembu, Gardner Kitchener Sejaka, Alexandre Moumbaris and John William Hosey—have no hope of justice. One apt description of a South African trial was given by Hilda Bernstein in 'The Terrorism of Torture':

'The courts remain, the judges remain, the ceremonies, titles, formalities, modes of address remain. There are no bribes. The corruption is much deeper, more subtle. The trial is played out with all formal etiquette and courtesy.

'Defence counsel will expose some witnesses as liars; others will confess that what they say is what they were told to say; it does not matter much.

'Counsel address each other and the judge with dignity and respect in the traditional terms. All the trappings and the props are there. The political trial lacks only one thing—the possibility of justice being done.'

Apart from the lack of justice there is torture. This is a constant feature of cases brought under the Terrorism Act and a total of ten people have died since September 1968 in detention.

These include Nichodimus Kgoathe and Solomon Modipane, who both died after three months' detention. The Special Branch said they 'slipped on soap while showering'.

Iman Abdullah Haron died after 'an accidental fall down a flight of stairs' and Ahmed Timol died in October 1971 when he 'fell' ten floors from the security headquarters in Johannesburg.

The six accused, all said to be members of the banned African National Congress, are clearly in the greatest danger from the savage apartheid regime. Their case must be taken up throughout the labour and trade union movement in Britain.



Students picketing Kingsway College of Further Education, London, in support of yesterday's national one-day strike for higher grants. Many strikers at the college called for stronger action from the National Union of Students' leadership.

Courtauld's man joins Pay Board

THE TORIES have appointed Mr Kenneth James Johnson, a member of the board of Courtauld's wholesale division, a deputy chairman of the Pay Board.

Johnson went to Wadham College, Oxford, and then to the London School of Economics and the School of Oriental and African Studies.

After a tour of duty in Africa with the Colonial Service, he became director of industrial relations of the CBI in 1967.

This week Courtauld's was named as one of the British companies which was underpaying its African workers in South Africa. The salaries are so meagre in many cases, 'The Guardian' reported, that families live in starvation.

When Courtaulds was asked to

comment on this, a senior executive said: 'If these people earn too much, they simply go on holiday.'

It is believed that Johnson's name was recommended to the Tories by Lord George-Brown, the former Labour Foreign Secretary, and one of the most consistent advocates of a legally-

RELATIONS between journalists and management in Dublin have become embittered after disciplinary sackings on two of the city's daily papers. The entire 180 editorial staff are sitting-in at the 'Irish Independent' following their dismissal for stopping production after union demands for details of a take-over bid had been refused. At the 'Irish Press', a strike has followed six journalists being fired for stopping work over articles in the Sunday edition written by non-unionist.

backed wages policy.

Brown is a director of Courtauld's and shortly after taking the job he paid a visit to South Africa to inspect the company's textile operations there. On his return, Brown did not mention that black workers in his company's employment were living on slave wages.

pocks delegates representing the two unions in the London enclosed docks are for the moment sticking to last week's mass meeting decision to withdraw co-operation because of the government's limit of £2.60 on their pay negotiations. The employers' threat to withdraw the offer if this happens has so far been ignored. From April 1, the dockers will insist on enlarged gangs and no shifting from job to job before completion.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

'Forward to the Revolutionary

WALTHAMSTOW: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Royston Arms. Chingford Road, E.4.

CROYDON: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe

BASILDON: Sunday March 18, 5.30 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshaw Avenue.

BRIXTON: Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Control Room, Brixton Training Centre.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Crisp Street Market, E14.

TOTTENHAM: Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Road, nr. White Hart Lane.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Castle, Powis Street, SE18.

WEMBLEY: Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Copeland School, High Road, Wembley. SOUTHALL: Wednesday Marchi 21, 8 p.m. The Library, Osterley Park Road.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters

HACKNEY: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opp. Town Hall, Mare Street.

LEWISHAM: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road.

SLOUGH: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road, Slough.

STEVENAGE: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town.

WILLESDEN: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10.

WANDSWORTH: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Road, SW18. 'The Fight against Stalinism'.

WATFORD: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall, Woodford Road, nr. Watford Junction Station.

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Ebbw Vale workers storm steel HQ

POLICE reinforcements were rushed to British Steel Corporation headquarters in London vesterday when 2,500 Welsh steelworkers tried to storm the building.

Scuffles broke out and two men were detained by police after workers pressed forward across Grosvenor Place chanting 'We want Melchett'
—the BSC chief.

Steelworkers and their wives travelled to London in a fleet of 50 buses to lobby the BSC against closing the Ebbw Vale steelworks with the loss of 4,500 jobs.

After nearly an hour with corporation vice-chairman Dr H. M. Finiston, action committee chairman Mr Colin Hudson told the crowd:

'It was not all negative. We have gained something. Dr Finiston has agreed to discuss the closure dates with us. We are very satisfied.'

Ebbw Vale MP Michael Foot twice interrupted discussions between the ten-man works deputa-tion and BSC officials to ask them to speed up discussions in order to avoid trouble from the angry steelmen waiting outside.

Commenting on the demonstration Mr Foot told me:

We went through all the orthodox channels, but neither the BSC nor the government were prepared to listen, so we had to come here and tell them more

'We want the closure dates lifted so that the whole matter can be discussed properly.'

At Ebbw Vale all 9,000 workers at the steel works struck for the day and many shops and offices were closed.

Mr Hudson said: 'Everything is shut in Ebbw Vale. We have got shopkeepers, local councillors and churchmen with us here today.'

over jobs

BY IAN YEATS

Earlier the steel workers had marched in a half-mile long column from Speakers' Corner to BSC headquarters chanting 'Heath out' and 'We want work'.

At a mass rally at Westminster Central Hall the demonstrators were joined by about 200 men from Cardiff's East Moors works

and Newport Tubes.

Mr Hudson told the meeting that although BSC officials were willing to discuss closure dates, they had warned him that overall strategy for the industry was the

responsibility of the government. Steel worker Mr Geoffrey Williams told me afterwards: 'With Heath in we have no chance. We

will definitely lose the steel-making at Ebbw Vale. They say its only 4,500 jobs to go, but with all those who depend on us it will be nearer

7,000.
'There is no other industry at Ebbw Vale and in two years they are not going to build anything. 'I think if we brought out all

the steel men we would have a chance. The trouble is our union leaders accept the BSC plans. They don't seem to care at all about us on the shop floor.'

Hospital stops second week

Vital vote to fight on

BY DAVID MAUDE OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

STRIKERS at St James' Hospital, south London, decided yesterday to stay out for a second week.

Despite severe doubts about their union leaders' selective strikes policy, and the attempts of a union branch secretary to force the Tories' £2 offer down their throats, they voted 184 to 62 to continue their action.

But their stormy, 75-minute meeting revealed clearly all the dangers of the unions' refusal to call all-out action against the Tory pay laws.

Union official Harry Barker convinced no one with his attempt to explain why selective strikes were, in fact, more effective than a total stoppage. His contribution to the meeting merely reinforced workers' fears that they would be isolated and cut down by the Tory

This opened the way for NUPE branch secretary Bert Crouch to try and persuade those who did not want to continue the strike to accept the £2 and take their case to the Tory Pay Board.

But shop steward Ivy Bailey, with a powerful speech, drew atten-

tion to the class character of the Pay Board.



By the time their case was considered, she said, the value of the increase would have disappeared because of the rising cost of living and since it was a Tory set-up, there was every likelihood they would not get anything even if their case was considered.

She drew the meeting's she drew the meetings attention to the Post Office workers' bitter experience with the Hardman inquiry.

With the gasworkers, the

civil servants and others behind them, hospital workers were in a powerful posi-tion, she said.

'But if you want to win, you've got to fight. If we go back now Heath will be laughing at us.'

Striking hospital workers St James's Hospital, south London, voting three to one to continue their action for a further week.

BRIEFLY BRIEFLY BRIEFLY •

PRINTING difficulties caused by the civil service strike may hold up publication of the govern-ment's White Paper on the future administration of Ulster. The strike has affected the Stationery Office and for two days makeshift Order Papers and other parliamentary docu-ments have had to be used so that Commons business could

MAINTENANCE engineers at British-Leyland's Lancashire bus and truck factories are on strike over anomalies in their bonus scheme, and lay-offs are expected amongst the 8,500-strong labour force over the next few days.

Shop stewards earlier this substantial increase on piecework rates. They have rejected a £2.50-£2.80 offer for change-over to Measured-Day Work.

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STOCK EXCHANGE dealings in the shares of BSA, the motorgroup, were suspended yesterday after the value of the shares plunged from 19p to 4p wiping more than £2m from their market value. ket value. The company was left valued at a derisory £700,000 in

cycle, guns and engineering share terms. BSA, which now employs 4,000 workers, has already sacked 4,600 since 1971. Chairman Lord Shawcross said yesterday that secret negotiations had been taking place for some time 'in regard to the future of

90-per-cent response to students' grants strike

STUDENTS' union leaders yesterday claimed a 90-percent response to their oneday strike. They want higher grants to be reviewed annually and an end to discriminatory treatment of some students because of the area they live in or their sex.

Half a million students took part in the strike, and yester-day afternoon thousands lob-bied parliament.

Besides pointing out that the existing maximum grant is totally inadequate because of the rise in the cost of living, the National Union of Students is discretionary fighting the awards system. the

OVER 1,000 students marched

through the city of Aberdeen chanting 'Grants up. Heath out'. At a rally speakers called for the removal of the Tory govern-

ABOUT 70 per cent of students in Salford and Manchester yesterday stayed away from lectures in response to the one-day strike call. John Pearson of Salford Uni-

versity, who led a march to Manchester, told Workers Press: 'It's ineffective to have one-day strikes. We need joint action with the unions. Our fight is with the Tory government.'

Coventry 2,000 marched round the city centre chanting 'Heath out' and 'Thatcher out. Fair grants in'.

IN LEEDS more than 3,500 took part in a demonstration. A meeting in Leeds University Union passed a resolution demanding the TUC call a General Strike to bring down the Tory government.

MARCH FUND £346.36-STILL A LONG WAY TO GO

WE SHOULD, by now, be half way to our £1,750 target-but as you can see, we remain a long way off.

We know that this month, so far, most of your efforts were turned towards making our Pageant on March 11 such a huge success. Now, from this enormous step forward, we urge you all to do everything you can to keep Workers Press right out in front.

It is vital that we do. Workers Press must provide a lead to gasmen, hospital workers, civil servants and railwaymen at a time when their struggles are in danger of remaining isolated.

Our paper must be used to build a revolutionary leadership to unite all workers in a com-

mon struggle to make the Tory government resign.

Immediately we need an all-out effort for our March Fund to pull our figure right up. Help us raise extra amounts to give our Fund a boost. Post all your donations right away to: **Workers Press**

March Appeal Fund 186a Clapham High Street London, SW4 7UG

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