

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY FEBRUARY 24, 1973 ● No 1006 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## DEFEND OUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

# CLOSE THE RANKS AGAINST THE TORIES

By G. HEALY

National secretary of the Socialist Labour League

THESE ARE the gravest days in the history of the British labour movement. The Tory government has set the stage for an inevitable and unavoidable confrontation with the working class. They are preparing the most monstrous attacks on the labour and trade union movement and must be forced to resign.

The object of their attacks is crystal clear: to preserve their corrupt, exploitative capitalist system, the Tories have to reverse history and take back all the basic democratic rights which the working class has won in two centuries of struggle.

Initially, this could involve the imprisonment of thousands of workers all over the country and the closing down of workers' newspapers.

One of the great dangers of the moment is that there is too much political sleepwalking going on. Stunned by the swift deterioration of the economic and political situation, workers are not grasping the enormity of the conspiracy which is being prepared against them.

Yet it is no secret that the political police are engaging in the most feverish surveillance of groups on the left and rank-and-file committees.

The Special Branch has already drawn up a two-stage contingency plan to attack the workers' movement.

First, there will be raids on members' houses in an attempt to intimidate supporters, particularly those in the provinces.

And, secondly, the known leaders will be arrested on trumped-up charges at a time when arbitrary state of emergency powers will be operating.

Workers Press has been in the forefront in exposing the activities of the police spies.

● We reproduced evidence from an ex-M16 agent that the political police secretly tape-recorded a conversation between miners' leaders and a senior Communist Party member during the miners' strike.

● We vigorously came to the defence of the International Socialism group when the homes of many of its members were raided by police last year.

● We have fought to expose the telephone tappers and mail-openers who continually harass our own activities in the workers' movement.

All these incidents demonstrate that the police

state is all but here. This repressive apparatus has been constructed without the approval—or the knowledge—of parliament or the public.

Now, finally, under another cloud of secrecy, it is learned that the British police are armed. And they have been operating 'shoot-to-kill' squads for the past two months.

Ulster has come to Britain.

There is only one force capable of repelling the violence being plotted by the Tories and their minions. That is the working class, united in struggle in defence of its democratic rights.

The Socialist Labour League has insisted and will always insist that a conflict over basic political differences is vital in the building of a genuine revolutionary Marxist movement.

Such a discussion can take place in Britain in public at the moment because of the centuries of struggle by the working class to win basic democratic rights, such as the freedom of speech.

No such democratic confrontation could be held in countries where there is dictatorship.

Make no mistake about it, the Tories are preparing such a dictatorship.

The responsibility for defending the rights of working class rests with the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the IS, the International Marxist Group, the SLL and others on the left.

Since the founding days of the Trotskyist movement the SLL has pledged itself to come to the defence of the rights of all groups and tendencies in the labour movement, irrespective of



## Builders urged to lobby the TUC: Demand General Strike

Building workers on strike at the McAlpine hotel site, Aldwych, London, hear federation steward Tony Crilly explain the latest position to them yesterday morning. The men say they will not return until a labour-only sub-contractor is removed from the site and are supporting a campaign against the lump organized by the Joint Sites Committee.

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What is now needed is a meeting of all these groups and parties to issue a joint declaration that, as an integral part of the defence of the basic democratic rights of the working class, they will provide the staunchest support for each other in the event of either of our organizations being singled out for attacks by the Tories.

The SLL is ready to proceed immediately with such a meeting and discussion.

The political differences between organizations concerned must go on being discussed as they are now.

We say, make your criticisms of the SLL as sharp as you like; we only ask the

right to reply in the same way.

All we are saying—and every serious worker will say—is that when the Tories attack our democratic rights, then 'an injury to one is an injury to all'.

We say to the Labour Party, to the Communist Party, to IS and IMG—the defence of the democratic rights of the working class means mobilizing the working class to bring down the Tory government.

That is our political perspective.

But it is not necessary to agree with us on that in order to agree to what we are proposing.

The political experiences of the coming period will clarify that question . . . and before very long.

DELEGATES from many London building sites have voted to lobby the special TUC Congress on March 5 to demand a General Strike against the Tories. The decision was taken on Thursday night at a meeting of the Joint Sites Committee. Lew Lewis, the secretary (seen above centre) proposed that as many sites as possible stop to lobby the TUC. Lewis said the lobby would be in support of the Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Unions' which was calling for the TUC to organize a General Strike to force the Tories to resign and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist principles. More than 30 delegates, many of them shop stewards, voted for the proposal and only one against.

CAMBRIDGE WEEKEND RALLY

THIS SUNDAY—FEBRUARY 25, 3 p.m.

Mawson Hall, Mawson Road

SPECIAL SHOWING OF  
'RIGHT-TO-WORK' FILM

Speaker: Maureen Bambrick (YS National Cttee)

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## Complete distrust of paper values: Huge boost in commodities markets

# Dollar is hammered

**THE RUSH** to buy gold continued unabated yesterday accompanied by another scramble to sell dollars, which brought the US currency to its floor level in most European money centres.

The Common Market central banks were forced to buy dollars to prevent their own currencies from rising above the rates fixed last week following the dollar devaluation.

In Germany the Bundesbank bought over \$10m, while the Swiss currency

floated up against the dollar to reach a point equivalent to a 17 per cent revaluation.

The flight from the dollar indicates that last week's devaluation has settled nothing. It is also part of a spreading lack of confidence in paper money of all forms.

The gold price again reached a new record level on the London market yesterday. Having closed on Wednesday night at \$87 an ounce it was selling at \$94 an ounce almost as soon as the market opened.

In an ineffectual attempt to calm the market, the price was fixed in mid-morning at \$89 an ounce—a new all-time record and \$47 above the official price set by the US Treasury.

The rush to buy gold, which began in

the wake of last week's dollar devaluation, is now widening into a general stampede to buy commodities rather than cling to rapidly depreciating paper money.

There have been spectacular increases in the price of silver, which is now close to the record level it reached in 1968. There were sharp increases in the price of copper, tin, lead and platinum as well.

Some dealers on the London Silver Exchange were reportedly in danger of being 'caught short,' having contracted to supply silver within a given period in the hope that the price would fall in the meantime.

There were other reports that what one commentator called 'pure speculators' had moved onto the scene. Taking advantage of the rapidly rising gold and silver prices they have borrowed from

banks or money-lenders in order to buy now and sell at a profit within a short time.

The sheer volume of gold-buying is higher than at any time in the past. Buyers include the big multi-national corporations, Middle East oil sheikhs and holders of dollars from all over the world.

The distrust of paper money was reflected yesterday in the columns of the Italian 'Corriere Della Sera,' which carried the headline 'There is no longer any really stable currency.'

The 'Financial Times,' more sedately noted the 'distrust of currencies in some quarters, sparked off by concern about the generally uncertain outlook.'

There is now talk of a general float of all currencies which would be the shortest route to trade recession and industrial and commercial collapse.

## Pre-poll air strike scares CP

**THE FRENCH** government will send in troops to man the control towers on civil airports if the four-day-old strike of air traffic controllers does not end today.

Airline pilots have threatened to stop flying if troops take over air traffic duties. Traffic has already been sharply cut, with 800 out of 1,200 air traffic controllers affected by the strike.

The strike was called by the small Catholic CFTC union and is not supported by the three

main unions. Its object is to win the right to strike, which was withdrawn from air traffic controllers in July 1964, and to back claims for wage increases and the incorporation of bonuses in the basic wage for purposes of calculating pension rights.

The Stalinist CGT and the reformist FO, while supporting the claims, say it is not the right time to call a strike because of the March 4 elections.

The suggestion is even made

that the strike was called in collusion with the government.

'L'Humanité' finds the attention paid to the strike by the government broadcasting service and Gaullist Press 'intriguing'.

'One wonders', the paper says, 'how the movement would have been treated in official propaganda if, for example, the CGT union had called a strike of this kind.'

In fact the CGT, on instructions from the Communist Party, has been putting a brake on all strikes in order not to alarm middle-class electors it is hoping to win for the support of the left coalition.

## Dayan's arrogance - the real face of Zionism

**GENERAL Moshe Dayan**, Israel's War Minister, has compounded the atrocity committed by his air force against the Libyan airliner shot down with the loss of 104 lives.

He refused any inquiry into the incident, completely backed up his pilots and blamed the plane's French pilot for the disaster, caused when the plane accidentally strayed over Israeli-occupied Sinai desert.

Dayan's arrogant statement makes absolutely no concession to the desperate anger aroused in the Arab states by the shooting down of the aircraft. It demonstrates once again the real face of Zionism and its brutal militaristic character.

Egyptian and Libyan officials are in conference to try and

decide what should be their reply to the Israeli attack. There is talk of a spectacular commando raid by Libyan forces.

But Libyan president Muammer Gaddafi has still not spoken on the question and his officials are also muted. So far Egypt has restricted itself to appealing to the United Nations and international aircraft authorities.

The airliner shooting was described in the leading Egyptian paper 'Al Akhbar' as 'a slap in the face'. 'The big powers will not stir so long as we are asleep,' the paper said.

In Libya demonstrators marched in Tripoli, Benghazi and other towns demanding action against the Zionists. The semi-official paper 'New Dawn' called on Arab nations to take vengeance.

It described the airliner shooting as 'premeditated collective genocide' and said it should serve as a lesson for all those who still dream of a 'just peace'.

This was an implicit attack on Hafez Ismail, the Egyptian envoy who began talks in Washington with President Nixon yesterday. The US supplies the Phantom jets with which the Libyan plane was shot down.



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## Shah picks £800m planes

**IRAN** has ordered hundreds of supersonic military aircraft from the United States in what is believed to be the biggest arms deal ever arranged by the Defence Department, US officials said in Washington.

The cost of the machines, to be delivered and paid for over several years, is more than £800m the officials said.

A senior official told Congress on Wednesday that major trans-

actions already concluded with Iran include sales of F-5E supersonic fighters, improved Hawk helicopters and 707 aerial refuellers.

Iran will also buy F-4 fighter bombers and C-130 cargo aircraft, according to other informed Defence Department sources.

The Shah of Iran personally selected many of the aircraft and weapons the country will buy.

## Moscow-Peking rush for US deals

**THE CHINESE** and Soviet bureaucracies are rushing to outbid each other in seeking the favours of US imperialism. This week has seen a congratulatory letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Nixon over the Vietnam cease-fire and the joint Sino-American communiqué marking a vast improvement in relations between the two countries.

Moscow and Peking want to extend the deal which they have done over Vietnam to the joint suppression of revolution all over the world. Both are seeking closer economic ties with imperialism to assist in dealing with serious internal difficulties which stem from adherence to the Stalinist policy of 'socialism in one country'.

This impels them to do a deal with imperialism on the basis of the existing division of the world and the abandonment of any pretence at supporting national liberation or revolutionary movements.

Brezhnev's letter said: 'On behalf of my colleagues and myself I wish to express our profound satisfaction in connection with the signing that took place in Paris of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam ...'

The letter concluded: 'We think there is no need to dwell much on the theme that such developments of events will have a positive effect on the relations between our two countries, as well, thus opening new possibilities for their further development and deepening, and we stand for such a course of policy'.

Nothing was said about the December heavy-bombing raids on North Vietnam which devastated large areas of North Vietnam's main cities and cost thousands of lives.

It is likely that Brezhnev is angling for an invitation to visit the United States later this year in order to conclude a deal comprising arms limitation and economic ties.

The anxiety of the Soviet bureaucracy to put forward its own proposals in Washington is increased by the results of Dr Henry Kissinger's latest mission to Peking, marking a rapid improvement in Sino-American relations.

The setting up of official liaison offices by the two countries in each other's capitals is a prelude to the full restoration of diplomatic relations.

Agreement has already been reached on a wide-ranging pro-

gramme of expanding trade as well as scientific, cultural and other exchanges.

No time is to be lost in getting down to details. The Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei will begin discussions with US Secretary of State William Rogers in Paris next week when the International Conference to guarantee the Vietnam peace accord meets.

Kissinger told a Press conference that the object was to see whether it would be possible to establish with North Vietnam a similar relationship to that which the US now had with China.

While in Peking, President Nixon's man discussed the political situation for two hours with Mao Tse-tung himself in an unprecedented meeting, said by Kissinger to have taken place in a cordial atmosphere.

But Hanoi's mayor Vu Dinh described Nixon as 'the most cruel, base and ignominious man. He changed his mind repeatedly, he sought to enforce agreement by force and he was a man of great obstinacy and violence'.

Vu Dinh's city was repeatedly battered by B52 bombers in the December raids with the loss of thousands of lives. The Soviet bureaucracy did not provide the surface-to-air missiles which would have made such raids impossible.

# PAGEANT DIARY

The Road to Workers Power



MERTHYR

## Outstanding Pageant meeting packed out in South Wales

IN AN outstanding Pageant meeting of 120 in Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales, 30 people signed the All Trades Unions Alliance call to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.



Roy Battersby receives the £10 cheque from the Dowlais AUEW foundry branch.

The audience packed Merthyr's AUEW hall on Thursday night to hear speakers from the South Wales Pageant campaign and SLL national secretary Gerry Healy talk about the revolutionary tasks facing the working class.

The extreme seriousness of the meeting and the discussion afterwards was proof of the enormous potential for building a revolutionary leadership in this valley's centre.

The keynote was the revolutionary confrontation between the Tory government and the working class.

Healy said that the working class was 'within speaking distance' of revolutionary struggle



and the pay laws under Phase Two would set the spark to the powder.

Revolutionary upheaval came when life could no longer go on under the old conditions, he said.

'This government has tied the hands of the working class. It

has legislated for price increases, especially in food.

'A series of laws have been passed in parliament which threaten all the basic rights of the working class.

'The Industrial Relations Act has had the effect of repealing the 1906 Trades Dispute Act and reactivating the Taff Vale decision of 1901 under which a union in this very valley was fined £25,000.

'When Heath talks about controlling the unions, he talks about smashing the working class, for what is the working class without its unions?

'This government is determined to turn the clock back 200 years. The conditions of living have fundamentally altered. You cannot bring these kind of changes in Britain without facing a revolutionary situation.

'The working class has no alternative—it will have to fight whether it likes it or not.'

Healy appealed to the audience to help build the revolutionary party and support the Pageant.

'We are saying to workers—come forward with your history and be proud to present it.

'Show workers what kind of struggles made them what they are and the revolutionary struggle that lies ahead if they are to defend their basic rights.'

Jim Bevan, member of the mid-Glamorgan district of the AUEW,

Clive Bunce, Jim Bevan and Roy Battersby on the Merthyr platform listen to SLL national secretary G. Healy.

spoke in a personal capacity of the challenge that faced the trade union movement.

The alternatives posed by miners' leader Joe Gormley was a challenge to the lefts in the trade union movement.

'Men like Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones must now put action where their mouths are, or shut up for ever.'

He urged workers to come forward and support the Pageant campaign.

'If we do not build this revolutionary party, we will face conditions far worse than those faced by our forefathers.'

Clive Bunce, a Merthyr painter taking part in the Pageant, urged workers to come forward and join in the campaign.

'I have learned things about history in the last few weeks that I never learned at school.

'They told us about squalid living conditions and children down the mines, but they never told us how the working class fought to change these conditions and win their basic rights.'

A total of £21.70, which included a £10 donation from Merthyr AUEW foundry branch, was raised at the meeting.

## £4 less than roadsweepers: Hospital workers to strike

HAMMERSMITH Hospital, west London, will be hit by a total strike of its ancillary staff next Thursday. All 600 staff are expected to back their union's call for action against the Tories' state pay laws.

The hospital has only recently been organized by the National Union of Public Employees, but leaders of the various sections of staff make clear that feeling over pay is running high.

As Dolores Thomson, a young diet orderly, says: 'It's time this kind of action was taken. We've got to make them pay up.'

'It's impossible to get a decent wage here without working very long hours of overtime.'

'The Tories are always talking about the suffering strike action will cause. But what about our families' suffering?'

Gate porter Terry Finlay pointed out that many of the patients in the hospital had expressed full support for their industrial action.

'They know that the wages we get wouldn't even keep one person in food for a week these days, never mind a family.'

'It's diabolical,' he adds. For a 50-hour week on days, Terry is lucky if he takes home £19.

Ivy Pauleel, who represents theatre domestics taking home £16 for 40 hours, understandably feels the Tories should be shot for the wages they were paying hospital workers.

She says: 'At today's prices they're killing us.'

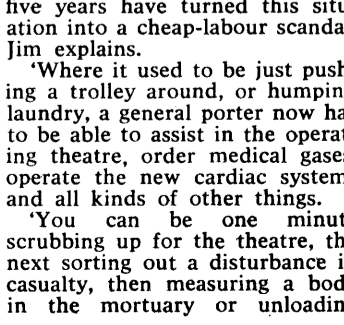
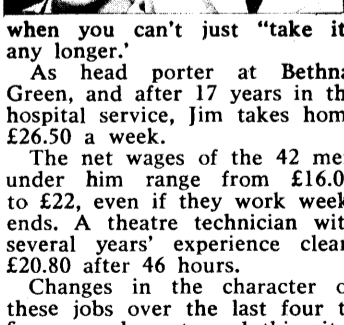
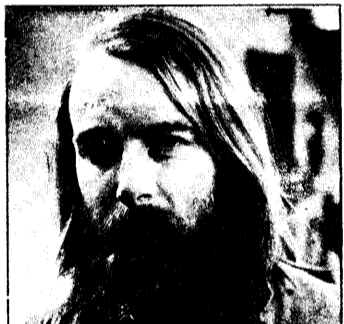
'I think most people here would agree that the executive's response to the government's attack is inadequate,' comments NUPE branch secretary Tony Gibney.

'We would have preferred everyone out. But I believe there will be full support here for the action that has been called.'

'WE'RE DEALING with life, but we get paid £4 a week less than a roadsweeper. And they expect us to sit back and go on taking it!'

Jim Ewing, National Union of Public Employees' shop steward at Bethnal Green Hospital, east London, is more bitter than surprised at the Tory attack on hospital workers' pay.

But his bitterness in no way implies resignation. 'We've been too moderate, too long,' he says. 'There comes a time, however,



Above: Gate porter Terry Finlay. Left: Tony Gibney, NUPE branch secretary; Ivy Pauleel, representative of theatre domestics; Dolores Thomson, diet orderly (right), with fellow steward Fena Mendez.

furniture. It's responsible and demanding work . . . for which you get paid in peanuts!

The employers' miserly, Tory-inspired £1.88 reply to their £4 claim has made the hospital workers see red.

Says Jim: 'The philosophy's spreading that the reason we get what we do is because we've never taken industrial action in the past.'

'Now we've realized that the only way any section of workers has got theirs is by taking industrial action, and that we've got to do the same.'

'Not that I think the present policy of our union leaders is enough to force payment of the full claim.'

'My branch voted for total strike, as did a majority of NUPE. The T&GWU also voted for total strike. But the union leadership in their infinite wisdom decided to go for something much less.'

'I've written to Fisher [NUPE general secretary] telling him this is ineffectual and bad management.'

'A total strike would be much more effective; it could be won in two or three days.'

'This way the people who'll really feel it is the doctors and nurses, and the Tories will use this against us.'

'But we're in our executive's hands in this. It's difficult to ask a bloke with 20 years' service to put his pension on the line and come out without union backing.'

'The old "Board of Guardians" attitude you used to have in the service is dead and buried, though, because the younger element we've got in now won't stand for that kind of treatment.'

INTERVIEWS BY DAVID MAUDE

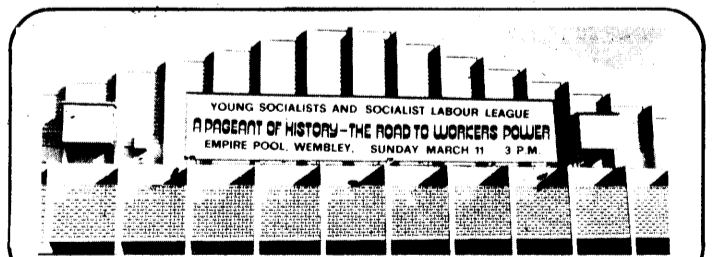
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# HOW THEY SLASHED JOBS IN THE GAS INDUSTRY

The second of four articles on the Gasworkers' struggles. By Bernard Franks.

If the Tories have been able to launch a systematic attack on jobs and wages, it is because the way was paved for them in large measure by the previous Labour government, helped by the TUC, to bolster the flagging capitalist system.

Pay increases were cut and deferred, all manner of job-cutting and speed-up 'productivity' systems introduced and a policy outlined in the notorious 'In Place of Strife' which the Tories used as a basis for their Industrial Relations Act.

Six times between 1966 and 1970 the gas industry was referred to the National Board for Prices and Incomes for examination.

For example, following a six month deferment of a miserable 11s 8d rise for manual workers, the Board's report of March 1967 (No. 29), demanded that in future all gas pay be tied to productivity.

This involved the introduction and extension of work-study, job-evaluation and possibly Measured-Day Work, the abolition of craftsmen's mates, the breakdown of demarcation between crafts and the introduction everywhere of incentive bonus schemes. Failure to accept these schemes would mean no more rises.

Subsequently, all working activities were timed and rated alleged 'standard performance' times laid down for every action. The gasworkers were told of the positively enormous amounts they would be able to earn 'with no extra effort'.

In fact, many workers found their total pay decreasing because, at that time, overtime was being cut back. The management was thus getting more work in eight hours than in eight hours plus overtime before . . . and paying less for it.

Job-evaluation was introduced, a system which demands full flexibility and mobility of labour, yet imposes the most rigid demarcation and strait-jacketing of pay levels.

This is reckoned to fix 'scientifically'—in reality by guesswork—the relative importance of grades, thus preventing pay moving up by workers comparing one job and wage with another.

All types of productivity measures were devised, re-hashed, or borrowed from the US. McKinsey & Co., the US consultants, were called in. Union leaders entirely backed this swindle. The TUC published booklets on how to force employees into allowing productivity deals, then joined with the bosses in running

the British Productivity Council.

This body specialized in devising ways of separating men from their jobs in any industry.

Lists of 'successes' were published every month in its magazine 'Target'. One chairman and enthusiastic supporter of this organization was Lord Cooper, the then general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

In October 1968, the staff side of the gas industry, involving 49,000 workers, was dealt with. The Incomes Board's report No. 86 decided that although gas sales since the last pay increase—3½ per cent in 1966—were up 19 per cent and sales per employee by 17.5 per cent, that nevertheless a 5-per-cent increase in pay 'cannot be justified'.

An offer by the Gas Council of 4.2 per cent could be allowed eventually if it was tied to productivity.

## TIMED WITH A STOPWATCH

The report urged the drawing up of an agreement for gas staff which . . . should include a clause in which management expresses its determination to press on with the development of modern techniques such as method-study, work-measurement and job-evaluation, while at the same time the unions agree to continue to co-operate fully with the development and extension of such techniques wherever they are applicable.

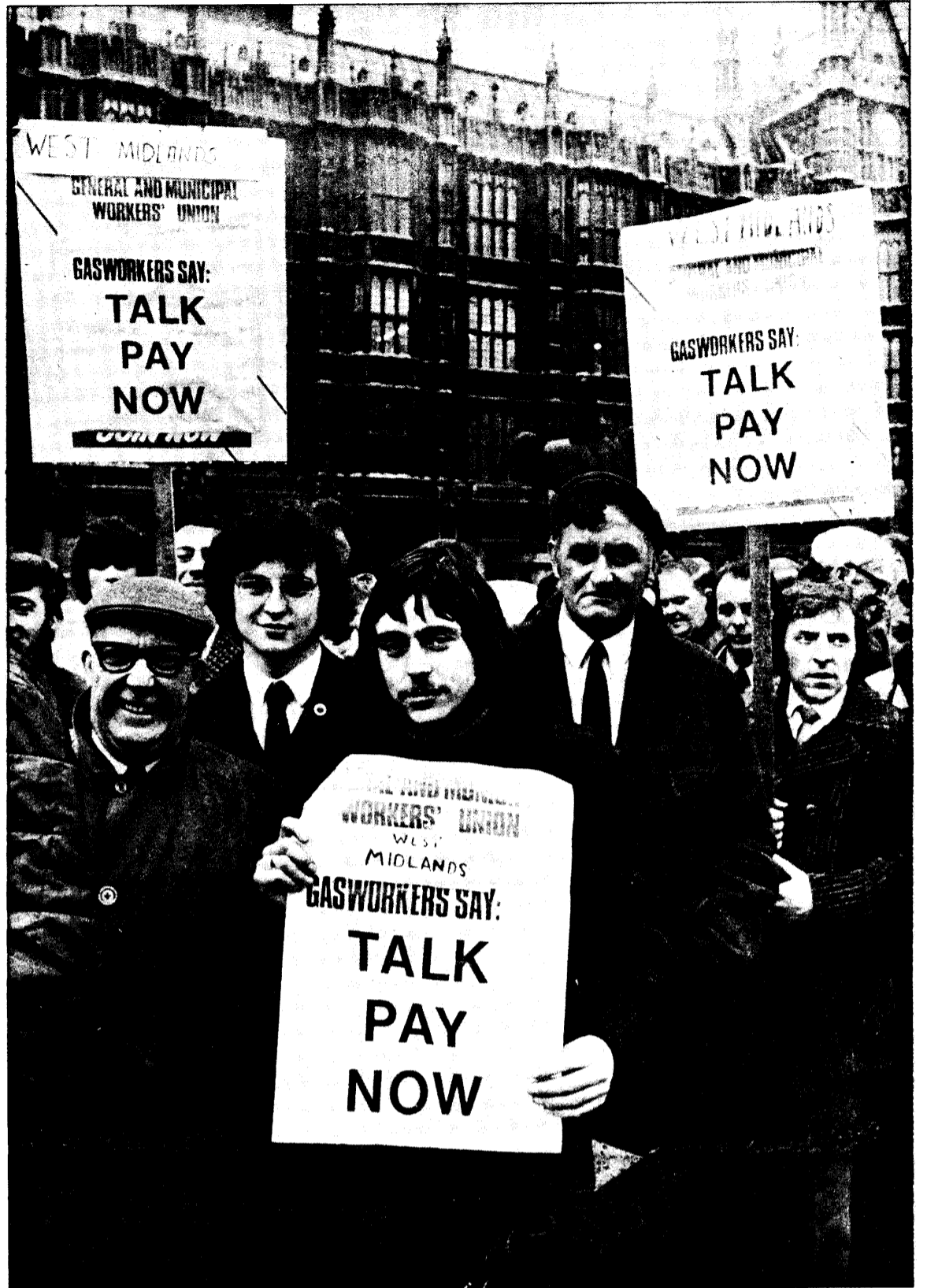
For workers who didn't fancy being timed by someone with a stopwatch, the report had an alternative: ' . . . the worker may be given a time sheet which divides the day into equal periods—for example two minutes for an invoice-checker—on which he records the duration of his activities.' In other words he could time himself.

The Incomes Board's final report on the gasworkers: 'Costs and Efficiency in the Gas Industry' (No. 155, August 1970) was devoted solidly to the subject of productivity. A four-year target for 'saving' £78m and increasing profits by 7 per cent a year was to be implemented which required rapid extension of the work-study schemes.

By April 1970 there had only been 22 per cent of manual workers on the Work-Studied Incentive Payments (WSIP). By 1973 there must be 65 per cent.

The report explained: 'The real value of work-study is the production of meaningful control information designed to achieve a more effective performance, and the discipline this provides for management.'

It was claimed that workers not on WSIP reached levels



Gasworkers from the West Midlands lobby Parliament over their pay claim last week. They face the destruction, through productivity schemes, of another 11,000 jobs by 1977.

of only 48 and 50 on the 0 to 100 scale on which 100 was 'standard performance'. The inference was obvious. They must work twice as hard to reach the level that the Gas Council considered to be 'normal working'.

On the other hand, even workers on the WSIPs were reckoned to be reaching only 87 and 92 on the scale. They were, it was true, producing 80 per cent more work but this was ' . . . partly as a result of greater effort, but mainly as a result of better planning and organization'.

Use of 'synthetic times' were advised—the made-up times arrived at by stringing together the actions that a worker should in theory make to do a job, and how long each ought to take. Also recommended was the setting up of a central Data Bank of times for jobs which could be available to all Gas Boards.

The collaboration of the union leaders to police the work force had been guaranteed earlier in the year, with a pay increase ' . . . coupled with an undertaking by the trade unions to continue to promote the co-operation of employees in measures designed to achieve maximum efficiency of operations'.

It is significant that this 1970 report of the Board referred to the '60,000 manual workers in the industry,' while the 1967 report had been about the '75,000 manual workers' involved.

One in five jobs had been eliminated during less than three years. This was basically all the Board or the Gas Council meant by 'efficiency'

and the real use by management of the work-study departments' 'meaningful control information'.

However, the Board also hinted that all was not going well and the time for the 'stick' rather than the 'carrot' might be at hand: 'In some areas it is open to individual workers to refuse to join a scheme—there had been about 1,000 refusals by April 1970; there is a case for group decisions which, once taken, apply to all the workers concerned . . . better training of union officials and shop stewards could do much to solve the problem.'

In fact, it was the union not the employers which took the brunt of the task of selling the scheme to the workers.

The part of this report dealing with staff workers advocated more centralization, rationalization and use of computers. Also further extension of staff Productivity Measurement (SPM), the staff workers' incentive scheme.

## 11,000 JOBS WILL GO BY 1977

One Gas Board had 'saved' 264 staff in this way. Another had cut down from 120 to 30 by introducing a computer 'despite a heavier work-load'.

This section ended: 'We estimate reductions of up to 1,900 can be made in the outside sales staff and some 850 can be made in staff employed in showrooms as a result of our recommendations; and that there is a prospect of reductions of a further 200 showroom staff as a result of the closure of showrooms

which cannot attain viability.'

The millions of pounds spent on new equipment, for the largely-automated distribution of natural gas, pointed to a continuous rundown of the labour force which, as far as the main employer is concerned—now the Tory government—is nowhere near finished. Sales of natural gas in 1969-1970 were only 15 per cent of the total. They are expected to be 90 per cent by 1974.

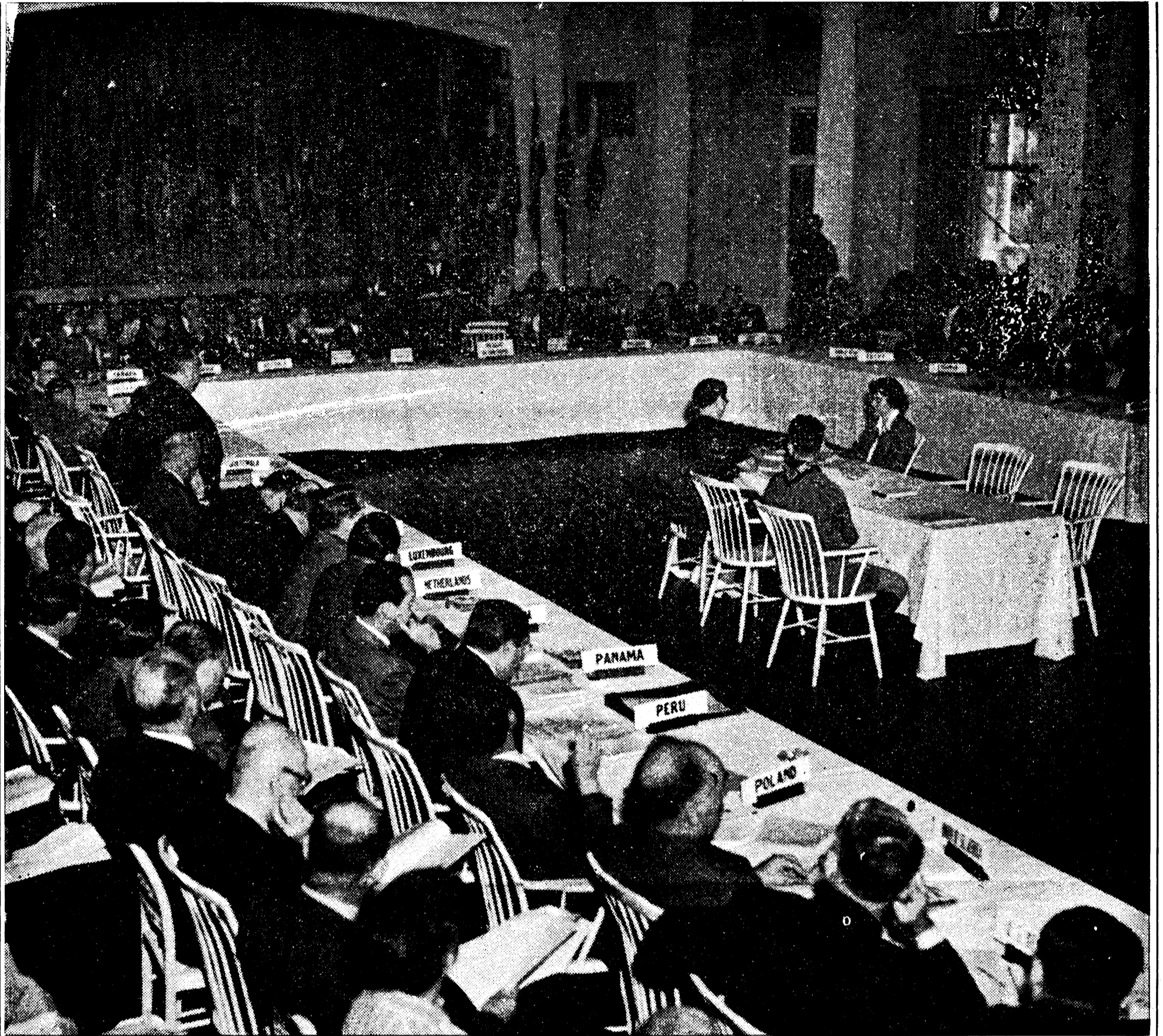
The distribution of natural gas is as highly automated as electricity supply and the Tories have no plans for retaining one single worker that it is at all possible to get rid of. It is now said that 11,000 jobs will go by 1977.

Such a low figure is hardly to be believed if past estimates are anything to go by. For example, the Gas Council's forecast in 1970 was that in the year 1974 there would be 55,615 manual workers in the industry, a figure reached in 1971 on the way down to the present 47,000.

Today, as well as facing the sack, many gasworkers are still suffering the effects of last year's acceptance by the unions of a pay award which left them trailing even further behind the rocketing cost of living.

It can be seen that behind the gasworkers' opposition to the Tory measures stands years of promises, threats, and wholesale destruction of the livelihoods of tens of thousands of workers who have sought only to earn a reasonable living while conscientiously supplying a high-quality service.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POSTWAR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISIS

Draft resolution presented by the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League

The latest moves by the Nixon administration in devaluing the dollar mark a rapid acceleration of the capitalist system towards a breakdown and crisis deeper than at any time in its history.

All the political work of the Socialist Labour League must start from a grasp of the profound nature and utter insolubility of this crisis. The building of a mass revolutionary party is no longer a propaganda demand, as it has always been for the revisionists. It is the urgent, burning question of the hour.

Either the working class, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, takes the power and puts an end to capitalist anarchy, or the ruling class will be forced to impose brutal dictatorship on the European, Japanese and American working class.

What is at stake here is the training of workers in a revolutionary party, workers who start, in everything they do, from the nature of the epoch as one of wars and revolutions.

As the working class now moves into its decisive and historic struggle with the capitalist enemy, it will need to combat every reformist, centrist and Stalinist, with their opportunist recipes for once again adjusting the relations between the classes.

But these relations cannot be adjusted. Fundamentally, the period requires revolutionary action to smash the state power of the bourgeoisie and establish socialism.

Only the international betrayals of Social Democracy and Stalinism have permitted the capitalist powers, for longer or shorter periods, to obscure this nature of the epoch. But now the contradictions have once more accumulated so explosively under the surface of the boom that the choice is starkly revealed once again: the crisis of humanity demands the removal of capitalism; but capitalism survives because of the crisis of working-class revolutionary leadership; therefore this crisis of revolutionary leadership must be resolved as the primary task. In that lies the essence of the nature of the epoch. Only the Trotskyist movement has been built in struggle on this basis.

## 1. The revisionists and the crisis

The latest stage in the break-up of the world capitalist money and trade relations is a vindication of Marxism and the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International against all brands of revisionism and Stalinism. The revisionists, more than anybody, stand nakedly exposed by the rapid development of the crisis.

Throughout the last 20 years and more, it has been the revisionists, led by the so-called Unified Secretariat, who have preached the theory of 'neocapitalism'. According to this spurious, anti-Marxist theory, capitalism in the post-war period had changed fundamentally.

It was no longer capitalism of the old type, as analysed by Marx. No longer was it prone to crisis and breakdown. Through the action of the state, combined with a series of 'science-based' industries which in turn provided the foundation for a 'Third Indus-

trial Revolution', capitalism was now more or less permanently stabilized.

Instead of the preparation for social revolution, this clique of revisionists, deserting everything Trotsky and the Fourth International had fought for, advocated 'structural reforms' as the basis for their political activities.

Of essentially the same nature were those theories of the 'permanent arms economy' advanced by the petty-bourgeois 'state-capitalist' International Socialists group. This was the tendency which announced in the late 1940s that Russia was 'state capitalist' and could no longer be defended against imperialism. It was this blatantly anti-communist theory which led to their desertion from the Trotskyist movement at the outset of the Korean war.

Like all revisionists, both these trends displayed a deep hatred of the revolutionary power of the working class and a firm belief in the strength of capitalism. Their thoroughly false analysis of capitalism was but a thin cover for their scepticism about the working class, a scepticism which made them willing tools of the Stalinist

Above: The Bretton Woods conference of 1944 which set up the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to overcome balance of payments difficulties and established the privileged position of the dollar—to be convertible at \$35 an ounce for gold.

and Social Democratic bureaucracies.

It has only been through the most tenacious struggle against these ideas, for long periods under difficult objective conditions, that the Socialist Labour League has been able to analyse the unfolding of the present crisis and, on the basis of this analysis, train and educate a cadre of revolutionary fighters in the working class who now have the historic responsibility, in this entirely new situation, of transforming the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

## 2. The basis of Bretton Woods

The hallmark of the revisionist method is that it is governed entirely by surface

Economic Crisis continued on Page 6.

Economic Crisis continued from Page 5.

impressions. It is this method which dominated the response of these groups to developments in post-war capitalism. For both Pabloism and the International Socialists, the ability of capitalism to avoid a major slump over the last 30 years was a sign of renewed strength and vigour. In fact the very opposite was the case.

The ruling class felt completely unable to impose the kind of solution to its crisis after 1945 that it had done after World War I. The fact that after the Bretton Woods 1944 conference it was forced to establish a series of agencies through which the economy was artificially stimulated by means of inflation was its recognition that the working class was too strong to be dealt with at that stage.

**Inflation represented a retreat before the working class.** This retreat was a reflection of the decline of the capitalist system and the losses it had sustained in 1917 and in eastern Europe and China in the immediate post-war period. Capitalism survived the convulsions at the end of the war only through the betrayals of Stalinism and Social Democracy, both of which collaborated openly with imperialism in the restoration of capitalism in western Europe.

This overall decline of capitalism must be stressed when considering the present crisis. For it is not one which takes place in the system's growth and expansion, but one in its death agony. This theoretical conception has always stood at the centre of the work of the International Committee and is one for which it has fought against all the revisionists.

This historic decline of capitalism can be seen in the very nature of the Bretton Woods agreements. Their basis was the setting up of the International Monetary Fund (which commenced operations in March, 1947). The IMF was to be provided with a pool of gold and currency, contributed according to an agreed plan by the member nations. This pool was to be used to allow any country suffering balance-of-payments difficulties to overcome them without precipitating a major international crisis.

The second element of Bretton Woods was the privileged position given to the dollar. The cornerstone of post-war monetary arrangements—until President Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement—was the fact that the dollar was guaranteed at a fixed rate against gold for the purpose of international trade and capital movements. It was only because dollar holders could, if they wished, exchange their holdings into gold at the fixed rate of \$35 to a fine ounce of gold, that the dollar could become the main reserve asset throughout Europe during the post-war period.

But these arrangements were not like the old Gold Standard which existed for much of the 19th century during capitalism's expansionary period.

Bretton Woods had to allow the use of substantial quantities of paper money alongside gold. The contributions which each country made to the IMF pool consisted of 75 per cent in local currency and only 25 per cent in gold. On this pool any debtor country could draw, in return for the promise that currencies would fluctuate by only 1 per cent either side of their 'par' value against the dollar.

### 3. The growth of the American balance-of-payments crisis

The inexorable growth of the post-war crisis can be seen in

the steady increase in the American balance-of-payments deficit when compared with the continual reduction in the American gold reserve. There have been several factors behind the growth of this payments crisis. But they all reflect the ever-growing unevenness of capitalist development in its period of decline.

After 1945 only American capitalism could shoulder the overall responsibility for the future of the entire world system against the threat of both the working class and the challenge to its future which was implicit in the existence of the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and China.

But the eruption of the present crisis has proved once more the soundness of Trotsky's judgement that no matter how strong American capitalism appeared, the contradictions of imperialism were even stronger.



James Callaghan who as Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to negotiate considerable loans from the IMF, in return for promises to halt wage increases.

In the first place America had to make considerable loans to Europe after the last war in order to prop up a number of near-destitute regimes and preserve the capitalist social structure intact. Following the war-time Lend Lease programme, the 'aid' programme initially took the form of Marshall Aid (the European Recovery Programme) which came into operation at the end of 1947.

The Americans had also to make ever-greater overseas military expenditures to preserve their strategic and economic interests. Again this was never a purely 'economic' question. War and the preparation for war can never be divorced from capitalism as the theories of 'permanent arms economy' imply.

These military expenditures were to gain in importance with the outbreak of the 1950 Korean war. In the 1960s the Vietnam war also had a major impact as a source worsening the US payments deficit. Much of the means to fight the war were purchased outside America and this meant either a loss of gold or a further piling up of external dollar balances. Spending on armaments were financed almost entirely out of budget deficits and have thus been one of the major causes of inflationary instability with which capitalism must now deal so ruthlessly.

Finally, the American payments deficit has been considerably worsened by the vast outpouring of private capital from the US. Here again we are dealing with no 'accident' which an earlier change of policy might have corrected. For the outflow of capital was testimony to the powerful operation of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. It was in an attempt to avoid the consequences of this law that the American monopolists sent their capital abroad.

The net result of all these developments was a constant piling up of external debt along with a steady decline in the US gold holding. At the outbreak of the 1950 Korean



After breaking the dollar-gold link on August 15, 1971 and burying the Bretton Woods agreements for ever, US President Nixon

war the US held roughly three-quarters of the world's mined gold. Today the figure has fallen to under a quarter.

### 4. Gold and the dollar

In the post-war period, the dollar replaced sterling as the major international currency which, along with gold, provided the major source for the finance of world trade and payments. But once more, we should be clear that the dollar was unable to occupy the powerful position enjoyed by sterling for much of the 19th century.

During the Gold Standard's operation down to 1914, sterling was used as the main means of financing capitalist investment throughout Europe and north America. But so powerful was British capital and so overwhelmingly important was sterling that this did not lead to crises of anything approaching the depth of those after World War II.

This was so because although considerable capital flowed out of London throughout the 19th century, Britain was able, in the main, to force those countries which borrowed it to purchase British goods. In other words, a considerable capital outflow did not lead to a serious balance-of-payments crisis.

Although by far the most

powerful capitalist country since the last war, the US has never been able to achieve the relative dominance which Britain achieved for much of the last century. American capital has moved into Europe and has, in part, been used to build up local industry which was later able to compete against American firms in world markets. Japan and West Germany are classical examples of this development.

So, although the Americans tried to make the dollar 'as good as gold', it was an aim which could never be accomplished. For capitalism, only gold can constitute money. There can be no new 'international currency' which detaches itself from gold. The truth of this was established once more in 1943 when John Maynard Keynes proposed a new world paper currency, Bancor, to replace gold. The Americans were forced to reject such a scheme; the world capitalist system had to remain firmly tied to gold which, unlike paper money, represents real value, that is the expenditure of human labour.

Since the IMF started operations in 1947, the growth of the American payments' deficit has developed alongside a decline in the proportion of gold, as against paper, in the world monetary supply. In the early 1960s, gold constituted around 60 per cent of total world 'liquidity' (that is gold

plus foreign exchange); today the figure has fallen to a little over a third. In other words, roughly two-thirds of world trading assets no longer have any value because they are no longer convertible into gold.

When this decline in relative gold holdings is measured against the expansion of world trade, the extent of the crisis and the tasks which it presents to the capitalist system are immediately apparent. In the early 1960s, as the present crisis was beginning to gather momentum, gold held as reserve assets within the capitalist system represented around 30 per cent of total world imports. Today that figure is a little over 10 per cent. Here again are the seeds of a catastrophic collapse of world trading relations.

### 5. Development of the crisis

From the late 1950s onwards, the first signs of the contradictions of capitalism as analysed by Marxists began to assert themselves. From this point onwards the US payments deficit was growing at an alarmingly fast pace as against its reduced gold holdings.

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After breaking the dollar-gold link on August 15, 1971 and burying the Bretton Woods agreements for ever, US President Nixon speaks at an international monetary conference.





ever, US President Nixon speaks at an international monetary conference.

tain the convertibility of the dollar into gold. Several European governments, most notably the French, began to convert their dollar and other currency holdings into gold. This further accelerated the loss of gold in the American reserves and, in turn, forced other governments to follow the French lead.

The first response of the American administration, under President Kennedy, was to slash the 'aid' programme to the colonial and semi-colonial world. Expenditure abroad to countries like India and several African states was reduced by as much as 25 per cent and restrictions imposed on the export of private capital to these areas were considerably tightened.

The political results of this move are a warning to the whole of the European working class today. For the result of the Kennedy move was a sharp swing to the right in countries like Ghana, Algeria and Indonesia. 'Left' national-bourgeois governments which had managed throughout the 1950s to balance between the State Union and imperialism were removed and replaced by reactionary regimes immediately subordinate to the direct needs of American imperialism.

But the results of the crisis could not be confined to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This was

the 'theory' of Ernest Mandel and the Pabloite revisionists. Impressed by the upsurge of the struggle in the colonial countries, they wrote off the revolutionary potential of the working class in Europe and north America.

Indeed the present crisis will expose mercilessly the Pabloite 'theory' of the 'Three Sectors' of the revolution. It was this theory which allowed Mandel and his fellow renegades from Trotskyism to reject the role of the working class in the metropolitan countries, while at the same time prostituting Trotskyism by lending their uncritical support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

But now the crisis is joined throughout Europe and north America. The workers of the big capitalist countries are moving into revolutionary struggle along with workers and peasants in the colonial countries. This is bound to have a direct impact on the working class and intellectuals of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Once more the unity of the international working class is reasserting itself as the most powerful force in history.

Developments in Britain were to establish the utter bankruptcy and counter-revolutionary nature of such 'theories'. In 1961, sensing

the changed international economic situation, the Tories, with Selwyn Lloyd as Chancellor, introduced their 'pay pause' designed to reduce wages and halt inflation. At this stage they were forced to retreat. On the one hand they faced determined and widespread opposition to their unemployment policies (unemployment rose to above the million mark in the winter of 1962-1963) and the government was plunged into a first-rate crisis in the form of the 1963 Profumo scandal.

It was under these conditions that the Tories, from the spring of 1963 onwards, began their reflationary pre-election boom. Working-class opposition to the Tory unemployment policies and determination to preserve all their gains of the 1950s produced a Labour victory in October 1964, although with only a small majority.

It was a government which came into power in the midst of a balance-of-payments crisis, produced directly by the Maudling inflationary boom. The payments deficit for 1964 was a record £800m. At this stage, however, the Labour leaders were able to turn to the Americans for financial assistance. James Callaghan was able to negotiate considerable loans from the IMF and directly from the Johnson administration in return for promises to introduce legislation to halt wage increases.

For three years after taking office help continued from the Americans in a desperate attempt to avoid a sterling devaluation. Here again is revealed the basic instability of the capitalist system, despite all appearances of prosperity during the 1950s.

At Bretton Woods, although the Americans rejected Keynes' Utopian plan for a 'new money', they could not dispense entirely with sterling's role as a reserve and trading currency. Despite the dominant position of the dollar, sterling still accounted for over a quarter of world trade in the immediate post-war years, a legacy from its 19th century position. And although continuing to decline, it was still the second most important trading currency after the dollar.

Johnson and the American ruling class knew that if the pound was devalued again (it had already been devalued under Stafford Cripps in 1949) the spotlight of the crisis would inevitably fall on the dollar. The fight to save the pound was therefore a fight to defend the dollar.

## 6. The sterling devaluation

The forced sterling devaluation of November 1967 was therefore a defeat not merely for the Labour government's economic policies, but, much more important, a defeat for the strategy of American imperialism. From this time onwards, the world crisis of capitalism has developed at an ever-increasing pace. From November 1967 the Americans have had no choice but to prepare for economic and financial warfare against the rest of the capitalist world, and particularly against Europe.

The next stage of the crisis came with the March 1968 run on gold. So great was the demand for gold and the loss of confidence in the dollar that the Americans were driven to introduce the 'two-tier' system. This ended dollar-gold convertibility other than for 'official' (that is government) purposes. From that date there were in fact two gold markets, an official one, in which the dollar-gold price was held to its Bretton Woods level, and a 'private' market which saw the gold price continuing to rise.

Despite the fond hopes of

all the reformists and revisionists, such a two-tier system was inherently unstable and could not hope to survive. It was a mere holding operation on the part of the American ruling class while the 1968 presidential elections were dealt with. All attempts even to arrest the development of the crisis could only aggravate it. This was already clearly the case with the creation of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs or 'paper gold') which was designed to ease the liquidity crisis. In fact it only made worse a situation where paper debts were accumulating and gold declining in the world money system.

## 7. The meaning of August 15, 1971

The most decisive turning point in the whole crisis came with Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement that the dollar-gold link was broken for all time. Bretton Woods was dead and could never be resurrected.

From this point onwards a vast pool of money was in circulation outside the United States, with no gold backing. Estimates now place this pool of paper at around \$70 billion.

In no way could the implications of the crisis after August 1971 be likened to those of 1931. Despite the depth of the earlier crisis, it was one in which the world's major trading currency, sterling, was replaced by another currency, the dollar. The blunt fact today is that nothing can replace the dollar. Here, once more, is expression of both the enormity of the uneven development of world capitalism, which has concentrated all economic and financial power in the hands of American capital, and at the same time the historic decline of this system. The fact that in August 1971 Nixon took the dollar 'off gold' means that he destroyed the basis whereby the vast proportion of world trade has since the war been conducted.

All measures taken since August 1971 to alleviate this crisis have collapsed almost as soon as they were introduced. This has been the case of both the Washington 'currency realignment' negotiations of December 1971, as well as all attempts to hammer out a unified European financial strategy in response to the American declaration of economic war.

Significantly the latter agreement was broken first by the Tory government in Britain, which was forced to 'float' (in effect devalue) sterling in June 1972. This, in itself, was the clearest indication that Bretton Woods, with its agreement on 'fixed parities' was now finished. The efforts at a common European financial policy are also doomed to utter failure. As the trade and financial war intensified, the conflicts between the capitalist states—economic, financial and military—controlled during the period of capitalist expansion since the war, are bound to sharpen enormously. This must call into question the immediate future of the Common Market, to which the Stalinists and the Pabloites in all countries are giving their increasingly enthusiastic support.

The revolutionary wave of 1943-1947 was betrayed by Stalinism and social-democracy, especially in western Europe. US imperialism, in its role of world policeman, poured in masses of paper dollars and dollar credits to rehabilitate European capital and enable the bureaucracies to hold back the working class. Military loans to NATO to 'contain communism' in the Cold War were part of the same process in which the framework of the post-war boom was constructed.

The decisions forced on US imperialism today by the fall in the rate of profit are thus the direct negation of the basis on which revolution was avoided at the end of the war. The contradictions of imperialism, built up beneath the surface for 25 years, now mean the rapid and ruthless transformation of the relations between the capitalist states and between capital and the working class into their opposites.

## 8. Not merely a trade war

The implications of the present stage of the crisis, of course, involve the immediate start of a trade war between all the major capitalist countries. This is the meaning of the latest Nixon dollar devaluation and the threat of a 15 per cent tariff wall if the Europeans and Japanese do not at once step into line with his requirements. In such a war, all the devices of the 1930s—price-cutting, dumping, etc.—will be employed in an even more ruthless manner.

But the crisis must extend far beyond that of a trade war, important though this undoubtedly will be.

For it is one thing to conduct a war under conditions where there is a stable means in which to conduct trade; it is quite another to engage in such a war when all the rules of international trade and payments, created at Bretton Woods, have been destroyed.

With gold now supporting perhaps only 10 per cent of the value of world trade, the implications of the crisis must be a collapse of much of the other 90 per cent. For no matter how much the revisionists sneered at the analysis of the monetary crisis made by the SLL, gold and commodities are tied together inseparably. This was the whole purpose of Marx's analysis in 'Capital', a work which all these gentlemen said was now 'out of date'.

Now the correctness of its analysis haunts every capitalist financial centre and banking house throughout the world. Money grows out of commodity production as the means by which the particular values of all commodities are expressed in some universal form. Money is not, as Mandel and others think, merely a device for overcoming the problems of barter. It is the necessary base on which commodity production alone can take place and it can never be replaced by paper, despite all the technical devices which the capitalists try to invent to dislodge it from its pre-eminent position.

The crisis of the capitalist system, in any case, is not fundamentally a crisis of commodity over-production, but one involving the over-production of capital. All the institutions of Bretton Woods have for the last 25 years and more been employed to build up a huge superstructure of credit. The vast majority of trade has not been carried out with either gold or dollars but through credits arranged against the dollar. These credit institutions have in turn been used to invest in machinery and equipment on a huge scale through the capitalist world. In this process, share values have been inflated beyond their remotest connection with their real value.

Now this hugely inflated volume of capital must seek to earn its rate of profit through the exploitation of labour power. But not even the most brutal increase in the rate of exploitation of the working class of Europe and America can solve this crisis for the capitalists, although of course, they must be driven to Economic Crisis continued on Page 8.



Chinese soldiers aid the North Koreans in 1953. The International Socialists refused to defend the Koreans, USSR, China, or eastern Europe, against US imperialism.

Economic Crisis continued from page 7.

attempt a solution in this direction.

Only the violent elimination of capital values on a vast scale can now restore the 'correct' proportions between the pool of constant capital and the available surplus value extracted from the working class.

A destruction of capital along these lines must take the form of stock price collapse, bank failures leading in turn to the forcible closure of many of even the largest European and Japanese monopolists who will be totally incapable of meeting the American financial war.

It is in this context that the American devaluation—following that after August 15, 1971—must be seen. For each devaluation, at a stroke, reduces the value of the \$70 billion pool outside the US, much of it held by governments or used by the European monopolists to finance capital expansion.

What we are witnessing in short is the operation of the law of value. As an objective law which asserts itself against both classes, it is, in a sense, seeking its violent revenge for the last 25 years in which the capitalist class and its revisionist and reformist hangers-on have tried to ignore it or wished it away. And, like all laws of social development, it does not operate in a smooth manner, nor in one which can be anticipated beforehand, but only in the most convulsive way.

## 9. Defence of the USSR, China and eastern Europe

The great depth of the capitalist crisis also raises as an immediate and vital question the defence of the USSR, eastern Europe and China. Despite the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which becomes more naked as it moves closer to the imperialists in their crisis, the gains of 1917 and those which followed after the last war have not been lost. In these countries, property and the means of production remain nationalized and the state, through its monopoly of foreign trade, regulates all economic relations with the capitalist world market.

It is these gains which the 'state capitalist' International Socialists reject. Under the

direct pressure of imperialism they abandoned the Trotskyist movement on the outbreak of the Korean war, exposing themselves as a thoroughly anti-communist group. Their 'theory' leads them to write off not only the revolutionary potential of the British working class, but the whole of the international working class which alone made October 1917 possible. The role of such groups as International Socialists can only become more reactionary as the crisis deepens and imperialism seeks to regain the great losses it has sustained in the USSR, eastern Europe and China.

For us, the defence of all rights and gains made by the British working class over the last 200 years is inseparable from the defence of all the gains of the international working class, the greatest of which have been the Russian and Chinese revolutions. Only those who defend these gains will be able to lead the struggle to defend the rights of the British working class.

This is a vital question, because the depth of the crisis must involve the drive to war by the capitalist class. To destroy capital on the scale now required means to destroy vast quantities of surplus labour. Under such conditions, imperialism cannot for long tolerate a position where a large area of the world is closed to its plunder and exploitation.

Every worker and serious socialist must ask himself the question: would the reconquest of the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and China strengthen capitalism all over the world? Clearly it would. It is for this reason that we reject utterly the anti-communism of the Cliff 'state capitalist' group and reaffirm the unconditional defence of the USSR as the cornerstone of the revolutionary party.

## 10. The position of Britain

British capitalism and the British ruling class are at the very heart of this crisis. This poses enormous tasks before the ruling class as well as the working class. We have entered a period of intensive revolutionary struggles. In the outcome, either the capitalist class will impose a bloody dictatorship on the working class, or else the working class, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, will smash the capitalist state, establish its own power and use that power to eliminate

capitalist anarchy and chaos.

The crisis is not at all merely a 'loss of competitiveness' by British capital. The relative decline of British industry and finance has been a common theme for all the reformists and revisionists. But the crisis is infinitely more serious.

The chaos into which the capitalist international economic and financial arrangements are now plunged finds the most direct reflection in class relations in Britain. The armoury of legislation which the Heath government is now assembling is not just for the purpose of wage-cutting, as the revisionists naively imagine. It is designed to put an end to trade unionism and working-class rights as they have been established in struggle over the last 200 years.

Only the SLL has warned the working class of this situation and roused the advanced workers to the enormous dangers inherent in it.

Any stability retained by the declining British capitalism of the last 28 years depended entirely on the maintenance of the international inflationary boom and the Bretton Woods arrangements. The rapid deterioration of Britain's relative position in the capitalist system has been obscured. But now the decline must become absolute.

For such a situation, wage-cutting is hopelessly inadequate. To survive, capitalism is faced with the destruction of every basic right of the working class, of every historical gain through which the workers have organized themselves into a class. When the revisionists reject the political implications of the fight against the Tory government, this is not just a 'mistake' on their part. What is at stake, we repeat, is the whole nature of our revolutionary epoch. The crisis once again lays bare this fundamental problem.

The revisionists are carrying out the class role historically assigned to centrism. Centrism feeds only on the defeats of the working class. In attempting desperately to tie the working class to purely syndicalist horizons, the revisionists, Stalinists and centrists are working for the defeat of the working class, just as their predecessors did in the 1930s.

The fact that the capitalist crisis now takes the form of an unprecedentedly severe financial crisis also has the gravest implications for British capital. The self-satisfied revisionists throughout the boom of the 1950s and 1960s

poured scorn on Lenin's theory of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism dominated by a financial oligarchy centred on the banks.

But the great power of this theoretical conquest is more apparent every day. The fact that world capitalist finance is in crisis must create a crisis for all the merchant banks, which in turn must react back on industry as the banks ruthlessly destroy capital in order to enforce repayments of their debts.

Britain was able to avoid the consequences of her loss of industrial hegemony at the end of the last century only because of the position of the City of London as the leading centre for world trade and finance. The City was able to bring in a huge income which offset the losses sustained by industry. With sterling's role finished, and the Empire a thing of the past as a means of escape, all the powerful contradictions of British capitalism accumulated over the last century are now erupting in the most violent and decisive manner. What the working class now faces is not another stage in the steady decline of British capitalism, but the social revolution.

The purpose of our analysis of the contradictions of post-war capitalism is no way merely to 'prove' who was right on all the main questions. In any case that is abundantly clear and beyond argument. The crisis of the capitalist system has exposed the theoretical and political bankruptcy of every reformist and revisionist tendency in the working-class movement in a manner which until now would not have been possible. The purpose of a re-examination of the nature of the present capitalist crisis is to warn the working class and the revolutionary party of its implications and the tasks which it imposes on them.

The time has come to arm the movement with a real conception of the revolutionary nature of the period in which we are living and fighting, and to combat every vestige of reformist and middle-class pressure which encourages scepticism about the urgency of the situation or the capacity of the movement to re-arm and transform itself in time to defeat the capitalist enemy. There can be no middle-of-the-road solution to this crisis. At stake is the preparation for the struggle for working-class power. It demands the immediate fight to build the revolutionary party, to transform the Socialist Labour League into that party.

## A chronology of crisis

1943 Keynes' proposals for Bancor, a new international paper currency, rejected.

1944 Bretton Woods talks. Dollar as major currency for capitalist world trade and finance.

1947 (June) IMF and other Bretton Woods institutions begin operation.

1947 (November) Marshall Plan (European Recovery Programme) launched.

1950 (June) Outbreak of Korean war.

1950 Cliff deserts Trotskyist movement via 'theory' of state capitalism.

1958-1959 Growing fears expressed in Europe at American ability to maintain dollar convertibility. French begin to swap their paper money for gold.

1961 Tory (Selwyn Lloyd) 'Pay pause'. Unemployment begins to grow.

1962 US slashes aid to colonial and semi-colonial countries.

1963-1964 Tories retreat in Britain. Maudling pre-election boom.

1964 (October) Labour government elected. £800m payments deficit. Large borrowings from IMF. 'Strings' willingly accepted.

1966 (March) Labour re-elected with large majority.

1966 (July) Savage credit squeeze in an attempt to save pound. From this time onwards 'basic' unemployment trend is upwards, despite temporary fluctuations.

1967 (November) Sterling devaluation. Immediate run against the dollar.

1968 (March) Gold crisis. Gold market closed for several weeks. Two-tier system introduced. Creation of Special Drawing Rights later that year.

1971 (August) Gold-dollar link broken. Bretton Woods now finished.

1971 (December) Currency realignment talks. Dollar devalued against gold.

1972 (June) Sterling 'floated' by Barber. Currency agreements of previous December in ruins.

1972 (November) Nixon re-elected for second term.

1972 (December) Italy and Britain refuse to repay EEC debts in gold.

1973 (January) US decision to get out of Vietnam in order to concentrate on economic war against Europe.

1973 (February) Share prices slide on all leading stock exchanges US announces second dollar devaluation in less than two years and prepares for world-wide trade war.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

# A HARD DAY AT THE OFFICE

TV REVIEW BY ANNE BLAKEMAN

'One Day in the Life of Jack Jones': Directed by Tim King. Produced by Roger Mills. Edited by Richard Key. BBC 1.

'General secretary of the biggest union... Head of the organization which represents one-tenth of the British workforce... an administrator who never used two words when one would do... 60 years of age... wounded in the Spanish civil war.'

So ran the admiring and deferential introduction to Tim King's programme 'One Day in the Life of Jack Jones'.

Some fine photography took us into the daily routine, the early morning meeting with ICI shop stewards (worried about the amount of capital being invested in Europe); the union's legal secretary—'We won a House of Lords case for the first time last week,' he says with pride.

Fleet Street pursues Jones for his golden words; old friends are hustled out of the way after calling in; the Master slips and slides his way in and out of a dozen

meetings and prepares for the major event of that particular day—a rally of old age pensioners with 'organization stretched' to cope with the numbers pouring in from all over the country.

Jack Jones has a word for everyone. He gives them a fighting speech. He promises them all efforts will be made for their rights.

The finances look good: 'The freeze won't hit us this quarter,' says a colleague comfortably.

'Unions are pressure groups,' says the commentary and Jones agrees.

'The Tories aren't going to give it away,' he says, 'we have to pressure them to get anything out of them.'

It all looks impressive. He's a man with power and confidence. He's one of the boys. But even in a film which sets out to do a fine public relations job on him the sham shines through it all.

The vital talk with the minister on old age pensions is, of course, 'not filmable'.

Jones wheels and deals: 'It's hard for the minister to see your problems in the same light,' he tells the old people. Europe, he says cautiously, 'is quite a danger to us'.

And the answer to em-

ployers who are difficult is to give them 'an educated and enlightened trade union such as we are trying to set up in Britain'.

There are no harsh words. Only a bureaucrat going through the motions of someone who can no longer keep pace with the demands of the crisis.

All the left-wing talkers, the reformists within the trade union leadership, are now exposed in their total bankruptcy.

Jones may say to the steelworkers in complete abdication 'I am going to mount an official campaign on Ebbw Vale and Shotton' (to do what? how? and with whom?). But the steelworker was heard on this film in different vein: 'We'll stop making steel in its entirety until we've got what we want.'

Jones and the rest of the union leadership find their militant talk falling on deaf ears these days. The working class is far ahead of this, looking for the leaders who will take them not into petty reforms, but to power.

Below: Jack Jones (left) is lobbied by dockers at Smith Square on the day last year's national dock strike was sold out.

## NIXON INTERFERES WITH NEWSMEN

A number of people connected with American radio and television are becoming more and more outspokenly concerned about President Nixon's blatant interference in news and current affairs programmes.

Walter Cronkite, a CBS newscaster who has been described as 'the most trusted man in America', has called the White House Administration 'basically evil' because of its attempts to get advertisers to put pressure on news programmes put out by local stations.

Cronkite has revealed that Nixon expected many newsmen to 'gag' on the phrase 'peace with honour' when speaking about the Vietnam settlement, and has urged advertisers, who largely finance all local and national broadcasting companies, to threaten to withdraw funds unless the news is put out as the White House wants.

At the same time, a survey of broadcast journalism drawn up by Columbia University has found that radio and television news and current affairs programmes have been 'caught in the crossfire between the national networks and the Nixon Administration' and are 'endangered as never before in [their] 50-year history'.

It accuses 'the adversary in Washington' of often seeming 'more intent upon emasculating than reforming the broadcaster's vast enterprise'.

Peter Davis, who produced the controversial programme 'The Selling of the Pentagon', and who is now on 'extended leave' from CBS, is quoted in the survey as charging network executives with having 'latched on to the New Journalism term "advocacy journalism" to excuse their rejecting anything they consider too tough'.

'It is unfortunate that the New Journalism coined a phrase that everyone can use as an excuse for avoiding controversy,' he said.

## PoWs



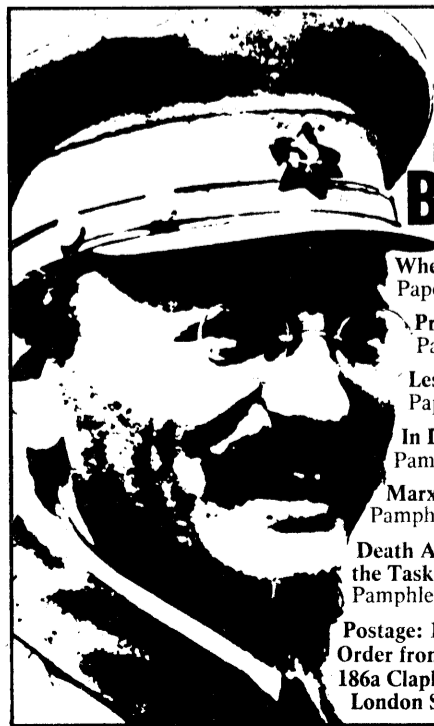
Above: The first PoWs come home to a luxurious welcome.

American businessmen are losing no time in making money on the return of American prisoners of war from Vietnam. Already Ford's have offered all of them a brand new car and another large company is arranging for all the men and their wives to have a luxury holiday in Florida.

Not to be outdone, other firms are making their own well-publicized offers.

Perhaps the most intriguing is the Continental Baths in New York. With a notorious history of Gay orgies, it has become the 'in' place for a Saturday night out among the young — and older — wealthy swinging set. The Continental Baths is offering 50 per cent discounts to all Vietnam veterans and free admission to PoWs.

It is thought that the US Defence Department, which is vetting all the publicity offers being made, is not going out of its way to advertise this one.



## BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Where is Britain Going? Paperback 37p

Problems of the British Revolution Paperback 35p

Lessons of October Paperback 60p

In Defence of the October Revolution Pamphlet 15p

Marxism and the Trade Unions Pamphlet 25p

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International Pamphlet 10p

Postage: 10p per book, 5p per pamphlet.  
Order from: NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS  
186a Clapham High Street,  
London SW4 7UG

## SATURDAY TV

### BBC 1

10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30-10.55 Aventura. 11.00-11.25 Croesi'r bont. 11.40 Weather. 11.45 Herbs. 12.00 Motor mouse. 12.20 Outa space! 12.45 Grandstand. 12.50 Cup review. 1.20, 1.50, 2.20 Racing from Kempton Park. 1.40, 2.10 Boxing. 2.50 International rugby union. England v France. 4.40 Final score. 5.05 We want to sing. 5.35 News. Weather. 5.50 Dr Who.

6.15 **WONDERFUL WORLD OF DISNEY.** Hurricane Hannah.  
6.45 **FILM: 'RIVER OF NO RETURN'.** Robert Mitchum, Marilyn Monroe, Rory Calhoun. Adventure set during the 1875 Gold Rush in Canada.  
8.15 **CILLA.** Cilla Black: with Cliff Richard singing all six possible Songs For Europe.  
9.05 **A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE.** Licence to Kill.  
9.55 **NEWS.** Weather. 10.05 **MATCH OF THE DAY.**  
11.10 **PARKINSON.** Michael Parkinson with guest Duke Ellington.  
12.10 **Weather.**

### BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 2.30 Film: 'The Harvey Girls'. Judy Garland. Musical set in New Mexico in the 1890s. 4.10 Play away. 4.35 Man alive.

7.00 **WESTMINSTER.** 7.20 **NEWS AND SPORT.** Weather.  
7.30 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** Scotland v Ireland, England v France.  
8.15 **WEIR OF HERMISTON.** Part 2.  
9.00 **FACE THE MUSIC.**  
9.30 **FULL HOUSE.** Special programme on Kurt Vonnegut Jr, American science fiction writer.  
11.25 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.  
11.30 **FILM: 'CHAD HANNA'.** Henry Fonda, Dorothy Lamour, Linda Darnell. A boy becomes infatuated with the circus.

## SUNDAY TV

### BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00-10.25 Aventura. 11.00 Seeing and believing. 11.35 Cut and thrust. 12.00 Handling materials. 12.25 Seventy plus. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Parents and children. 1.55 News. Weather. 2.00 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 2.15 Animal game. 2.45 Ask Aspel. 3.10 Bird's eye view. 4.00 Film: 'Harvey'. James Stewart. Comedy about an invisible six-foot rabbit who is the constant companion of a suburban alcoholic. 5.40 A little princess.

6.05 **NEWS.** Weather.  
6.15 **THE SUNDAY DEBATE.** Immigration and Race Relations. Including Mark Bonham Carter and Enoch Powell.  
6.45 **NEW BEGINNING.** 7.00 **CHOICE IS YOURS.**  
7.25 **THE BROTHERS.** Declarations of Independence.  
8.15 **FILM: 'THE TREASURE OF THE SIERRA MADRE'.** Humphrey Bogart, Walter Huston. Three Americans go prospecting in the mountains of Mexico.  
10.15 **NEWS.** Weather.  
10.25 **THE NAME GRIERSON—THE WORD DOCUMENTARY.** Omnibus tribute to John Grierson who gave documentary its name.  
11.15 **FIRING LINE.** William F. Buckley Jr, Right-wing American commentator and Lord O'Neill of the Maine. 11.55 **Weather.**

### ITV

9.30 Sung Mass. 10.35 UFO. 11.30 Weekend world. 1.00 Thunderbirds. 1.50 Skilful rugby. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Persuaders! 4.15 Junior police five. 4.25 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius.

6.05 **NEWS.** 6.15 **ADAM SMITH.** 6.40 **SUNDAY QUIZ.**  
7.00 **SONGS THAT MATTER.** 7.25 **WHO DO YOU DO?**  
7.55 **FILM: 'THE HONEYMOON MACHINE'.** Steve McQueen, Brigid Bazlen, Jim Hutton, Paula Prentiss, Dean Jagger. Comedy about two sailors on a spree.  
9.30 **THE UPPER CRUSTS.** Decline and Fall. New series with Margaret Leighton and Charles Gray.  
10.10 **NEWS.** 10.15 **COUNTRY MATTERS.** An Aspidistra in Babylon.  
11.15 **THE FROST PROGRAMME.** 12.15 **ANYTHING TO SAY?**  
12.20 **SCALES OF JUSTICE.** Position of Trust.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 11.30-1.00 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Battle Taxi'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Danger Route'. 9.30 London. 12.15 Epilogue. Weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 Gus Honeybun. 11.05 Tomfoolery. 1.00 Talking hands. 1.15 Branded. 1.45 Farm and country news. 1.55 Acres for profit. 12.15 Faith for life. 12.20 Weather.

**SOUTHERN** 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm Progress. 10.55 Weather. 11.00 World War I. 11.30 London. 1.00 Superman. 1.20 Primus. 1.50 Jimmy Stewart. 2.15 London. 3.15 Fenn street. 3.45 Cartoon. 3.50 Golden shot. 4.40 Aquarius. 5.30 News. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Two on a Gullotine'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather. Guideline.

**ANGLIA:** 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Circus. 10.55 Doris Day. 11.20 Cartoon. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.25 Film: 'Gasbags'. 3.45 Football. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Paris When it Sizzles'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Epilogue.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 Farming world. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Soccer. 3.00 Film: 'The Best of Enemies'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Alexander the Great'. 10.00 London.

**ULSTER:** 11.00 VAT 11.30 London. 1.00 Foreign flavour. 1.30 Jobs around the house. 1.55 Pebbles and Bamm Bamm. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Great Guns'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black

Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'The Night of the Generals'. 10.00 London.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Untamed world. 11.00 Hogan's heroes. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'Anna Karenina'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Hill'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Shirley's world. 12.35 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 10.35 Untamed world. 11.00 Time to remember. 11.30 London. 12.55 Saint. 1.55 On the line. 2.25 Football. 3.20 Film: 'The Immortal'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Under the Yum Yum Tree'. 10.00 London.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Jobs around the house. 11.00 Doctor in charge. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming. 1.25 World War I. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 1.55 Shoot. 2.50 Film: 'The Forsyte Saga'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Oceans Eleven'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Dr Simon Locke. 12.35 Lectern.

**SCOTTISH:** 10.10 World War I. 10.35 Women only. 11.00 A place in the country. 11.30 London. 1.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 2.00 Scotsport. 3.25 Theatre. 4.25 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Highway 301'. 9.30 Comedians. 10.00 London. 12.15 Late call.

**GRAMPIAN:** 11.00 Farm progress. 11.30 London. 1.00 Foreign flavour. 1.30 Jobs around the house. 2.00 Sport. 3.25 Film: 'Traitor's Gate'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders'. 10.00 London.

### ITV

9.00 Time off. 9.55 Return to Peyton Place. 10.20 Sesame street. 11.20 Cartoon. 11.35 Osmonds. 12.00 Partridge family. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Stratford. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Teesside. 3.10 International sports special. Swimming from Hollywood. 3.50 Results, scores, cup news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 News. 5.15 Black Beauty. 5.45 Doctor at large.

6.15 **SALE OF THE CENTURY.**  
6.45 **FILM: 'PROBE'.** Hugh O'Brien, Elke Sommer, John Gielgud, Burgess Meredith. A private eye is sent to recover a collection of jewels taken by Hermann Goering during the war.  
8.30 **THE JULIE ANDREWS HOUR.** Guests Keith Michell, Tony Randall, Rich Little, Alice Ghostley.  
9.30 **NEWS.** 9.40 **MADIGAN.** The Midtown Beat. Richard Widmark.  
11.00 **RUSSELL HARTY PLUS.**  
11.50 **NO MAN'S LAND.** Women and Education. Juliet Mitchell.  
12.40 **ANYTHING TO SAY?**



The BBC's make-up department has been working overtime again to provide tasteful teatime viewing. The Ogrons, that's one of them above, are the latest companions for Dr. Who in his new adventure, 'Frontiers in Space.'

### BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 4.00 Man at work. 4.25 Money at work. 5.25 Horizon.

6.15 **NEWS REVIEW.** 6.55 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather.  
7.00 **DOUBTS AND CERTAINTIES.**  
7.25 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau.  
8.15 **THE GOODIES.**  
8.45 **SYMPHONY 'PATHETIQUE'.** Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 performed by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra.

9.25 **THE VIEW FROM DANIEL PIKE.** Four Walls.  
10.25 **THEY SOLD A MILLION.** Young Generation and Vince Hill with Lulu and Peter Noone.

11.10 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 11.40 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.20 Tarzan. 6.15 London. 6.45 Film: 'Three Guns for Texas'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.20 Weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 9.55 Jobs around the house. 10.20 Foreign flavour. 10.45 Joe 90. 11.10 Cartoon. 11.35 Gus Honeybun. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 All our yesterdays. 10.35 Stingray. 11.05 Merrie melodies. 11.35 Cowboy in Africa. 12.25 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Persuaders. 7.45 Film: 'Valley of Mystery'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 News. 10.45 Spyforce. 11.40 London. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.

**ANGLIA:** 9.00 London. 10.00 Hammy hamster. 10.15 Rovers. 10.40 Film: 'Gidget Goes Hawaiian'. 12.30 London. 5.20 Riptide. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'The Greatest Show on Earth'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Man in a suitcase. 12.25 Epilogue.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 A place in the country. 10.40 Thunderbirds. 11.35 Jackson five. 12.00 Skippy. 12.30 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'Never Say Goodbye'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Gordon Bailey. 11.35 Film: 'Paper Man'. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 10.30 Sesame street. 11.30 Thunderbirds. 12.30 London. 5.15 Sports. 5.45 Beverly hillbillies. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 On the buses. 7.15 Film: 'The Charge of the Lancers'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Kreskin.

**GRANADA:** 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.05 You and your golf. 10.35 Sesame street. 11.35 Follyfoot. 12.00 Huckleberry Finn. 12.30 London. 5.20 Big valley. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'One-Eyed Jacks'. 9.20 Bugs Bunny. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Boris Karloff presents.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.15 Late stand. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Osmonds. 10.35 Elephant boy. 11.05 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.20 Riptide. 6.15 Persuaders. 7.15 Film: 'The Sons of Katie Elder'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews hour. 10.40 No man's land. 11.25 A place in the country.

**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 10.35 Untamed world. 11.00 Time to remember. 11.30 London. 12.55 Saint. 1.55 on the line. 2.25 Football. 3.20 Film: 'The Immortal'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Under the Yum Yum Tree'. 10.00 London.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.15 Wild life theatre. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Osmonds. 10.35 Joe 90. 11.05 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.15 Riptide. 6.15 Persuaders. 7.15 Film: 'The Seventh Dawn'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Challenge. 12.20 Lectern.

**SCOTTISH:** 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Funky phantom. 10.35 Black Beauty. 11.05 Joe 90. 11.30 Osmonds. 12.00 Cavalcade. 12.30 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 Protectors. 6.40 Film: 'In Harm's Way'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 O'Hara.

**GRAMPIAN:** 11.15 Jackson five. 11.45 Ron and friends. 12.30 London. 5.20 UFO. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'One Man Mutiny'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 O'Hara.

## Socialist Labour League Public Meetings UNITE IN ACTION TO DEFEND BASIC RIGHTS

**OXFORD**  
TUESDAY FEBRUARY 27  
8 p.m.  
Clarendon Institute  
Walton  
Speaker: G. HEALY  
(SLL National Secretary)

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

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

**SOUTHAMPTON**  
THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 8 p.m.  
Joiners Arms Hotel  
St Mary's Street  
Speaker: ALAN THORNETT  
(Deputy senior steward,  
Morris Motors, in a personal  
capacity).

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

**HULL**  
THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m.  
'Windmill Hotel'  
Witham

Speaker: CLIFF SLAUGHTER  
(SLL Central Ctee)

**WEST LONDON**  
THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m.  
Lyndhurst Hall  
Grafton Road, NW3  
Speaker: M. BANDA  
(SLL Central Committee)

**LUTON**  
FRIDAY MARCH 2, 8 p.m.  
Assembly Hall  
Town Hall  
Speaker: M. BANDA  
(SLL Central Committee)

**TOTTENHAM**  
TUESDAY MARCH 6, 8 p.m.  
Lord Morrison Hall  
Chesnut Grove  
Speaker: G. HEALY  
(SLL National Secretary)

# Shootings stun Pakistani community

The suburban Pakistani community in Watford is stunned. Two of their young members were shot dead in the Indian High Commission this week. Workers Press reporters IAN YEATS and PHILIP WADE visited the town yesterday to investigate the reaction of the boys' relatives and friends.

SHOCKED and choked with emotion, Mr Mohammed Bhatti, cousin of one of the two boys shot dead at the Indian High Commission on Tuesday, told us yesterday: 'I don't understand why they had to kill them.'

Basharat Hussain (18), Mohammed Hanif Hussain (19), and a 15-year-old friend went to the Commission on Tuesday armed with two toy pistols and a sword.

'It was a stupid thing the boys did, stupid,' said Mr Bhatti. 'What was the use of killing them?'

Basharat Hussain, Mr Bhatti's cousin, bought the weapons from a Watford toy shop last week with £20 he drew from his bank account.

The dead boy's father, Mr Jan Mohammed (55), was too grief-stricken to speak when we called at the family home in Brighton Road, Watford, on Thursday night.

Mr Bhatti said: 'He is very upset and speaks little English.'

## Kashmiris

The families of all three boys come from the disputed territory of Kashmir where the Muslim population has a long tradition of hatred towards India.

The treatment of Pakistan's 90,000 prisoners held in India since the Bangla Desh war ended 14 months ago is a common topic of conversation among Pakistanis at Watford and throughout Britain.

Said Mr Bhatti: 'The boys would have heard

talk and they decided to do something.

'But there was nothing behind it. They weren't members of any organization. They did it from their own spirit.

## Afraid

'They wanted to show the world what was happening to Pakistani prisoners. They did not even tell their friends what they intended to do. They were afraid that if they told anybody they would be stopped.'

The unprecedented shooting of two of the three boys by police gun squads has rocked Watford's Pakistani community to its foundations.

Mr Bhatti is a school teacher steeped in the tradition of English 'fair play' and 'democracy'.

He told me: 'I have been a school teacher in England for 16 years. I have always believed in the police, but I am deeply shocked and surprised by what has happened.'

'I believe in the rights you have under the law. If you do something unfair, the law is there.

'But I was sickened by the Indian High Com-



mission thanking the British government for protecting them.'

Mohammed Hanif Hussain came to Britain six years ago with his family, leaving the Kashmir Province to work in England. Each week Mohammed



Above: At Mohammed Hanif Hussain's home—(l. to r.) a friend; a workmate Ahmed Zaffar; his uncle Sheikh Abdul Hannan; and his cousin Sohabet Ali. Left: Basharat Hussain's cousins, S.M. Bhatti (right) and Ahmed Mushtaq.

(19), lived with relatives and friends in a small terraced house near Watford town centre.

His friend Basharat lived just around the corner.

Mohammed's relatives and friends were still stunned by the shooting when we spoke to them.

With grief filling his face, Sheik Abdul Hamman, the boy's uncle said: 'None of us can understand what the police did.'

'If they went there it was because over 90,000 Pakistani prisoners are still in India. They went there only to protest—to show what India is doing.'

## Bitter

Another of Mohammed's friends—a factory worker—talked quietly about the aspirations of those Pakistanis who came to Britain.

'We all came here to work, not to get mixed up in politics. But the boys felt bitter about the prisoners of war and went to make a protest.'

'Before this happened we had respect for the British law and I still cannot be-

lieve what has happened,' he said.

Like everyone else we spoke to, he ruled out the suggestion that a group calling itself 'Black December' had organized the protest.

## Clear

'No one knew what they were going to do,' he explained, and then made the point clear:

'If there had been a political organization behind it they would not go there with toy guns but with the real weapons.'

Declining to be named, the trade unionist, a metal mechanic, issued the following warning:

'This is the first time something like this happened here. And if it can happen to our boys it can happen to anyone.'

Mohammed's young cousin, Sohabet Ali, worked in the same factory as the dead boy.

'It is a terrible shock to all of us. We never thought this would happen to him.'

'He was a quiet boy and everyone liked him,' he said.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight rising rents and prices  
Defend basic democratic rights  
Force the Tories to resign

**SCUNTHORPE:** Sunday February 25, 7.30 p.m. The Kingsley Hall, Cole Street.

**CENTRAL LONDON (Press and Entertainments branch):** Sunday, February 25, 7 p.m. London Film School, Langley Street (off Long Acre), Covent Garden, WC2 'The Pageant of Working-Class History—The Road to Workers' Power'.

**BASILDON:** Sunday February 25, 5.20 p.m. Barnstable Community Centre. 'Road to Workers' Power'.

**WANDSWORTH:** Monday February 26, 8 p.m. 'King's Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Defend the right to work'.

**WATFORD:** Monday February 26, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall, Woodford Road, near Watford Junction Station. 'Rise of fascism in Italy'.

**CLAPHAM:** Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, S.W.4. 'Defend Democratic Rights'.

**PADDINGTON:** Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', corner of Harrow Road and Great Western Road.

**KIRKBY:** Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. Southdene Community Centre, off Broad Lane. 'Crisis of capitalism and the future of the trade unions'.

**CAMDEN:** Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Lessons of fighting the Housing Finance Act'.

**HARROW:** Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Wealdstone. 'All out for Wembley Pageant'.

**TOOTING:** Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. 'Selkirk Hotel', Selkirk Road, Tooting Broadway. 'The

rise of Italian Fascism'.

**ABERDEEN:** Wednesday, February 28, 8 p.m. Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi.

**COVENTRY:** Wednesday, February 28, 7.30 p.m. Woodend Community Building, Hillmorton Road.

**EDINBURGH:** Wednesday February 28, 7.30 p.m. Graphic Club, 15 Brunswick Street, 'Workers' rights and the fight against the Tory government'.

**GLASGOW:** Wednesday February 28, 7.30 p.m. Woodside Hall, St George's Cross.

**DERBY:** Thursday, March 1, 7.30 p.m. Metal Mechanics' Premises, Charnwood Street.

**CROYDON:** Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Support the gasmen'.

**HOLLOWAY:** Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road (near Finsbury Park Station). 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

**KINGSTON:** Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. 'Liverpool Arms', Cambridge Road. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

**GLASGOW:** Sunday, March 4, 3 p.m. Partick Burgh Hall, near Merkland Street Underground. 'Hospital workers and the Tory government'.

**BRIXTON:** Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. Brixton Training Centre, Control Room, Effra Road, SW2. 'Forward to the Pageant'.

## Socialist Labour League Lectures

**SHEFFIELD:** Monday March 5, 8 p.m. YS PREMISES, Portobello (near Jessops hospital). 'The Revolutionary Party in Britain'.

**DAGENHAM:** Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Common Market Conspiracy'.

**EAST LONDON:** Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street, E14. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

**TOTTENHAM:** Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Road, nr White Hart Lane. 'Forward to the Pageant'.

**WOOLWICH:** Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, SE18. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

**SLOUGH:** Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

**STEVENAGE:** Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town. 'Forward to the Pageant'.

**LEWISHAM:** Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opp New Cross Station. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

**WILLESDEN:** Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10. 'Support gasmen and civil servants'.

**HACKNEY:** Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opp. Town Hall, Mare Street. 'Support gasmen and civil servants'.

**GLASGOW:** Sunday, February 25, 7.30 p.m. WOODSIDE HALL, St George's Cross. 1933-1938. From the German defeat to the Fourth International. Speaker: Tom Kemp.

## North Devon Council of Action formed

A NORTH Devon Council of Action has been formed to campaign against the Tory government and to defend the basic democratic rights of the working class.

The decision to form the Council was carried overwhelmingly—only two votes against—at a meeting called by the Barnstaple and District Trades Council this week.

The successful meeting was attended by about 70 people belonging to the local labour and trade union movement.

Barrie Evans, the chairman, said: 'The trade union movement

today faces its most serious situation since the General Strike of 1926.

'No one should underestimate the significance of the further devaluation of the dollar. We are careering headlong into an international trade war between the USA, western Europe and Japan.'

● A full report of the discussion will appear in Monday's Workers Press.

## Will union rap Phase Two Lloyd?

TAL LLOYD'S recommendation that Hoover workers negotiate on the Tories' Phase Two pay ceiling flies in the face of every trade union principle—and the policies of his own union and even the TUC.

Lloyd, a South Wales district official of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, recommended that workers at the domestic appliance giant's Merthyr Tydfil factory accept £1 plus 4 per cent as a basis for talks.

This would give them a possible maximum increase across the board of only £2.40. Yet the recommendation was made the same day as Hoover announced a £6.8m increase in its profits and a handsome dividend for its shareholders.

The AUEW is committed to a policy of resisting all forms of statutory wage control.

## Two Lloyd?

How does this square with Lloyd's recommendation? And where does the union's national executive stand on this question? Will they, at their next meeting on Tuesday, demand that Lloyd resigns?

Lloyd is also completely out of line with the TUC, whose General Council has circularized unions telling them to reject Phase Two and fight for increases which breach it.

Will next Monday's meeting of the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee come out clearly against the AUEW official's position? And will the Communist Party members, Labourites and nationalists supporting the Welsh TUC, of which Lloyd is inaugural chairman, repudiate his recommendation?

**Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND**

**FEBRUARY FUND £991.48 ONLY 5 DAYS TO GO**

THIS weekend is crucial. We must make the biggest effort so far to complete the final £785.52 towards our target. Let's not waste a single moment.

It is vital that we raise our £1,750 total. With the price of gold now at a record high of over \$90 an ounce, the economic crisis has never been so sharp.

Even greater attacks therefore lie in store for the working class. The Tories have no solution to this enormous crisis but to hit back in every way.

As thousands of workers move into action to defend their living standards, Workers Press must be used to prepare them for the struggle ahead. Only our paper has warned of the dangers that exist for the working class today. The only way to fight back now is to mobilize this great strength of the labour movement and force the Tory government out of office.

Help us with a huge last-minute fight for our February Fund. Raise extra amounts. Try and give something more yourself. Go all out and show the enormous determination to fight back. Rush every donation immediately to:

**Workers Press February Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.**

# Army printed 'don't strike' letters

THE CIRCULAR letter sent to all civil servants this week asking them not to strike was masterminded by a brigadier in the Ministry of Defence.

The letter was written by Sir William Armstrong, head of the civil service, who was recently elevated to the Privy Council. When Sir Burke Trend retires later this year, Armstrong is due to become Whitehall's first 'supremo' directly responsible to Edward Heath.

Copies of the circular were included in the pay packets of Britain's 250,000 civil servants on Thursday.

In some areas this arrogant intervention by the government

caused walk-outs.

It has now been revealed that the printing of the letter was not carried out by the government printer. In fact, it was done at the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall.

A member of the Civil and Public Service Association who works at a Ministry of Defence establishment has told his union

how the letters were printed.

He says that an army officer told him and his colleagues to 'lose themselves' for an hour because a 'top secret' document had to be printed.

He hovered about, however, and discovered that the document was Armstrong's letter to be delivered throughout the country in the next 24 hours.

## Powell blames both parties for inflation

ENOCH POWELL blamed both major political parties for the roaring inflation in a speech at Nuneaton in the Midlands last night.

'There is nothing obscure about inflation, its causes or its cure; there is only obscurantism.

'Government, which knowingly causes inflation; parliament, which knowingly demands inflation; trade unions, which knowingly acquiesce in the false charge of being to blame for inflation—all these, in their respective ways, are pushing the nation towards the brink of futile and mutually-destructive conflict.

'Surely there must be men, in all those walks of life, with sufficient authority and sufficient sense of duty to speak before the edge is reached.'

He warned that Britain's troubles were threatening 'something perilously close to the structure of an orderly law-abiding society'.

His speech contained a clear appeal to the trade unions as the 'victims' and 'prisoners' of the situation.

Powell is sniffing the crisis. He is also sniffing the chance to become Prime Minister following a right-wing backlash in the Tory Party.

His appeal to the trade unions should be utterly repudiated. This is the same Powell who said in 1969 that firms would not be free of trade union 'terrorism' until the closed shop was abolished.

He accused unions of 'black-mail' and 'tyranny' in 'forcing' people to join trade unions. In a more recent speech he demanded that the police and the courts use tougher action against pickets.

# Strike benefits for single men are cut

SUPPLEMENTARY Social Security benefits for strikers without dependants have been axed.

In a letter to the TUC, Lord Collison, chairman of the Supplementary Benefits Commission, says that if a single striker's income from all sources—including his last pay, pay in hand, strike pay, income tax rebates, and any other moneys—amounts

to £48, he will be expected to live on it for eight weeks.

Even if he has less than that, he will not be regarded as being in 'urgent need' if he has 'parents or relatives to whom he could reasonably look for help'.

It is the Commission's officers who will decide what constitutes 'urgent need' and what 'reasonable' sources of help a striker may have.

And even if urgent need is proved, the maximum which will be allowed will be the amount necessary to bring other income and resources up to £4.50 a week.

That is £1.50 a week less than the Commission itself considers the minimum on which a single man can exist!

The Lord Collison of Cheshunt, CBE, is a Labour Peer. He was a member of the TUC General Council from 1953-1968, and chairman of the TUC in 1964-1965.

He was general secretary of the agricultural workers' union from 1953-1969.

Farmworkers—who get a basic wage of £16.20 for a 42-hour week—had their £3.30 pay award blocked under the Tory pay laws.

Lord Collison became a part-time member of the North Thames Gas Board in 1961. Gasworkers are locked in struggle with the government over their claim for a 'substantial' wage increase in the region of £5.50 to £6.

Collison's statement is one more example of the total collaboration of the right-wing Labourites with the Tory offensive against the working class.

The Supplementary Benefits Commission's ruling is another attack on the basic rights won by workers over the last 200 years.

It represents the first step in a Tory campaign to withdraw benefits from all strikers.

## INDUSTRIAL BRIEFS

**GAS UNION** leaders opened the way to more treachery when they called on Maurice Macmillan, Employment Minister, yesterday to discuss taking their members' pay claim to the Tory Pay Board. By collaborating with corporatism in this way, Basnett and Edmonds of the G&MWU give credibility to the pernicious idea that workers can get 'fair' treatment out of the disintegrating capitalist system.

A MASS meeting of 350 boiler-makers voted to continue their unofficial strike now in its third week over the dismissal of a colleague at the giant Llanwern steel works, Newport, Mon. The £200m plant is facing imminent shut-down as a result. Steel production is cut by half and 8,000 employees will be laid off if the dispute is not settled.

**LEADERS** of Ford's 50,000 workers are indulging in dangerous delaying tactics by holding yet further negotiations with the Motor Company on Monday, just three days before the all-out strike is due to begin in rejection of Ford's government-dictated offer. There is no chance of an improved offer and the men's leaders are merely using the talks as a way of avoiding organizing effective industrial action. Works committees discussed the situation yesterday.

**TRAIN DRIVERS'** pay dispute was still unresolved after a further five hours' negotiations, and the work-to-rule and next Wednesday's one-day strike are still on. Another meeting has been fixed for Monday after ASLEF leader Ray Buckton turned down a British Rail proposal to write to the union with new suggestions. 'If the proposals are not an improvement, it will be too bad,' Buckton warned. Train delays continue to mount. A Tory MP has asked the government to intervene.

**INDUSTRIAL** action by gasworkers is having a rapidly-increasing effect around the country. The number of factories which have had supplies cut off totally is growing and gas pressures are reduced nearly everywhere. A further 230 firms and other establishments will be cut off from today in the north west, and the disruption in supplies to 600 firms in the West Midlands may hit car production by next week.

**THE STRIKE** by 550 T&GWU workers at Rolls-Royce's Hillington factory Scotland is to continue, causing 3,500 employees to be laid off and the plant to close. The union wants representation on the joint negotiating committee for Rolls-Royce's Scottish factories, at present composed solely of AUEW representatives.

**VAUXHALL** carworkers yesterday put in a claim for £7 to £10 more a week, a 35-hour week, a fourth week's holiday, and other fringe benefits. The company have promised to reply to the 26,000 workers by March 23. The old agreement expires April 6.

## Clydebank levy for £5,000 fine

CLYDEBANK councillors have postponed a decision on whether to pay a £5,000 fine because they are confident the sum can be raised by 'sympathizers' in the next four days.

The announcement came a day after a conference of 1,000 trade union delegates in Glasgow, organized by the Stalinist Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, agreed to raise a levy to help pay the fine.

The fine was imposed ten days ago by the Court of Session at Edinburgh after the council disobeyed an order instructing them to implement the Tory rent Act.

On Thursday the Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr Gordon Campbell, asked the Court for four new orders against councils at Cowdenbeath, Saltcoats, Alloa and Cumbernauld which are still refusing to implement the Act.

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### Special ATUA meetings

**ANCILLARY WORKERS and CIVIL SERVANTS**

No state control of wages! Support the gasmen, hospital workers and Civil Servants! Make the Tories resign!

**Tuesday February 27 7.30 p.m.**

Norfolk Room Caxton Hall Caxton Street, SW1.

**POSTAL WORKERS**

The crisis of capitalism and the future of the trade unions.

**Sunday March 4 10.30 a.m.**

Conway Small Hall Red Lion Square Holborn.

**BUILDING WORKERS**

The crisis of capitalism and the future of the trade unions.

**Tuesday March 6 7.30 p.m.**

Norfolk Room Caxton Hall Caxton Street, SW1

## TUC must call a General Strike to make the Tory government resign

### LOBBY THE TUC MONDAY MARCH 5

9 a.m. Central Halls, Westminster (opposite Houses of Parliament)

Report back meeting: 2 p.m. Friars Halls, Sheetmetal Workers Union, Blackfriars Bridge (nearest tube Blackfriars).

Unite in action to defend basic rights

**SLL PUBLIC MEETINGS**

**BIRMINGHAM**

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 25 7 p.m.

Digbeth Civic Hall Digbeth, Birmingham Speaker: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee)

**CASTLEFORD**

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 25 6.30 p.m.

Castleford Civic Hall Ferry Bridge Road Speaker: C. SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Committee)