

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY FEBRUARY 14, 1972 ● No 688 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Answer the TORY lockout—LABOUR must

FORCE A GENERAL ELECTION

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Behind this ruthless decision are all the plans the Heath government has been preparing to destroy living standards and working conditions which have been gained through trade union struggle since the war. It is now class against class—no holds are barred.

Listen to Heath speaking to a Tory rally in Liverpool on Friday night: 'From next Monday a great part of British industry will be on half time. Millions of men and women will be put out of work as their factories close down. Some jobs will be permanently at risk.'

'The miners' leaders are now preparing to put literally millions—yes, millions—of their fellow workers and fellow trade unionists out of work.'

He concluded with all the Tory menace he could muster: 'They could go back to work. They should go back to work. But every family in the land will suffer if they do not.'

The class clarity of this completely new situation has taken the reformists and class collaborators by surprise. They've spent the past 48 hours in concert with sections of the employers bemoaning the fact that the government had not amassed sufficient coal stocks to defeat the strike.

If the government had been better prepared, the reformists would have been the very people who would have stood by while the Tories attempted to economically suffocate the strike. But this reformist treachery has been knocked on the head by the rapid development of class-consciousness over the past year.

The miners have learned well the lesson of the postmen's defeat. They are not prepared to stand by idly and watch the government organize scab herders to deprive them of their living. They instinctively grasp the life-and-death nature of their strike and have waged their picketing accordingly.

Heath and his Cabinet, it must be said, have replied in kind. They are not immediately concerned with the state of the economy, the balance of payments or British capitalism's position in world markets. They are prepared to endanger everything—even to the extent of wounding company profits and dividends and forcing bankruptcies—to carry through their single, vital historical task—to defeat the miners.

If the miners can be smashed, the Tories will feel they are strong enough to go ahead with the Industrial Relations Act, entry into the Common Market and the creation of pre-war levels of unemployment.

THIS SAME class ruthlessness was behind the Londonderry massacre.

THE SAME political guns that claimed 13 victims on Bloody Sunday are now being pointed at the heads of the miners.

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

THE SAME Cabinet which took decisions on Londonderry, took decisions to shutdown power supplies throughout the country, endangering people's lives. **THE SAME** government that deprives miners of social security benefits, also deprives the relatives of Magilligan and Long Kesh internees of benefits.

The gravest mistake would be to underestimate this government's determination. For them, everything is at stake. Saturday's main editorial in the 'Daily Telegraph' shows the thinking in powerful Tory circles:

The confrontation with the miners, however it turns out, should teach the government a sharp lesson. It is to be hoped that it will lose no time in taking the necessary steps to ensure that when the next trial of strength occurs the issue will not be in doubt. Action must be taken, and quickly, to amend the law with regard to the payment of supplementary benefits to strikers and their families.

There must be strong penalties in future for obstructive and violent picketing, which also needs to be more rigorously defined. We have called the government unprepared. It would be wrong to do so without drawing attention to further dark possibilities for which it must also be ready.

Indeed, it is not mere panic to see looming in the future the ingredients of something like a second General Strike. Are we prepared for this?

Here we have the leading Tory newspaper in effect calling on the government to prepare a General Strike.

Now contrast this language of class conflict, this exhibition of the cold, brutal language of the ruling class, with the

backsliding of the leadership of the trade union and labour movement. Engineers' leader Hugh Scanlon has denounced the power cuts as 'blackmail'. But if Heath and company are 'blackmailers', Scanlon could swiftly be arraigned for aiding and abetting!

Was it not on his recommendation that the engineering unions retreated from the national wage claim? Didn't this seriously weaken the miners in the early stages of their fight?

Frank Chapple of the electricians' and plumbers' union excused his retreat in the power pay settlement (7.75 per cent) saying that this left the way open to treat the miners as a 'special case'. Heath has obligingly accepted Chapple's gesture by treating the miners as a 'special case'—on the wages chopping block!

Harold Wilson's only contribution so far has been to complain bitterly that Heath doesn't stage the traditional class-collaboration summit at No. 10 Downing St with the miners' leaders. But Wilson's appeal to class compromise totally ignores today's economic realities.

In reality, the Tory Cabinet is the high command of the bankers, brokers and businessmen of the City of London. Its task is all-out war on the working class. Like all general staffs, it does what it likes. It is not responsible to any electorate.

This government lost its mandate to remain in office almost as soon as it was elected. It did so when it betrayed the housewives and allowed prices to skyrocket; it did so when it created more than a million unemployed when its election manifesto promised to reduce the number out of work; it did so when it stampeded the country into Europe after promising not to do so if it was against

the wishes of the people; it has introduced the Industrial Relations Act in the face of the overwhelming opposition of the trade union movement; it has taken away school milk, increased the price of school meals, increased dental and optical charges despite its promise of 'A Better Tomorrow'.

In deciding to shut down half of British industry three days a week and attempting to beat the miners into submission, the Tories have absolutely no mandate. They are now ruling in Britain and Ulster in an extra-parliamentary way.

There is only one answer to such arrogance: we call upon the Labour and trade union leaders to launch an immediate campaign to make this government resign. The government's threat to the jobs of millions of workers and the demands of the miners can only be met by a General Election.

In this sharpening political situation the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches now assume a paramount importance. As a direct challenge to the government, they have already received wide support from the labour and trade union movement. The mass rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12 must become the biggest anti-Tory gathering held since they came to power in June 1970.

The demands of the hour are clear:

- Make the Tories resign!
- Replace them with a Labour government pledged to restore the basic right to work!
- Nationalize the major industries without compensation and under workers' control!
- Repeal the Industrial Relations Act!
- End internment and withdraw the troops from Ulster!
- No to Common Market entry!

SLL Central Committee
February 12, 1972

'NO SMITH DEAL'—8,000 MARCHERS

NO INDEPENDENCE before Majority Rule



EIGHT THOUSAND demonstrators marched from different parts of London to a rally in Trafalgar Square yesterday against the settlement with the Rhodesian racist regime.

The demonstration was organized by the Rhodesia Emergency Campaign Committee, embracing organizations from the Methodist Church and Liberal Party to the Communist Party and International Socialism.

CP steward from UCS James Reid—introduced by chairman the Rev Colin Morris as the third most popular man in Britain—welcomed the presence of churchmen at the rally.

'All those who claim to be Christians in the Conservative Party should remember that the Lord is described in the Bible as OUR Father,' he said.

'In Rhodesia they are violating the basic premise of their own theology.'

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B-52s IN NEW WAVE OF ATTACKS

AMERICAN B-52 bombers carried out 13 waves of attacks against suspected National Liberation Front and N Vietnamese positions in the Central Highlands of Vietnam at the weekend.

It was the biggest single bombing attack in Vietnam for more than two years.

The attacks, aimed at points around Kontum city, took place from Friday noon until dawn on Sunday. With President Nixon's Peking visit only a week away

(see p. 11), the American command claims the NLF is preparing a major offensive in S Vietnam. But there is still no sign of the offensive actually taking place.

The New China news agency stated yesterday: 'The fact that the Nixon administration is accelerating the preparation for a new military adventure while talking glibly about a peaceful settlement furnishes added proof that its profession of peace is fraudulent.'

Driving a hard bargain on economic unity

FINANCE Ministers from France and W Germany hope to draw up a joint position on the economic and monetary union discussed by Chancellor Willy Brandt and President Pompidou at the end of last week.

This would later be put to other Common Market members.

But though Bonn and Paris were satisfied with the two leaders' talks, it was emphasized that there would be much hard bargaining before any concrete steps or closer financial and economic integration could be announced.

In a statement after his two-day talks with Brandt, Pompidou claimed: 'W Germany and France are more united than ever in their policies, both bilaterally and with respect to the construction of Europe.'

He stressed Britain's important role in a closer EEC union.

The next European summit will be next weekend's Pompidou-Heath meeting.

An enlarged EEC summit will also be called to meet in Paris.

Last week's talks revealed France's anxiety to reduce the margin of fluctuation permitted between European currencies. In return it is ready to see taxes, capital markets and budgets included in common policies.

In the French view, these closer ties are the only way in which Europe can resist the United States, a question given greater urgency by the fear of a further early dollar devaluation.

Franco-German relations have been none too good over the past year, mainly because of conflicts over monetary questions. In Paris, too, W Germany has often been seen as a US satellite, too dependent upon the American nuclear umbrella and ground troops for its defence to play a genuinely European role.

But on both sides of the Rhine it is felt the US will no longer support European capitalism.

So the talks took place in the shadow of the US and with the growing strength of the working class in the background.

With this in mind Pompidou also declared that there was agreement between the two countries on Bonn's E European policy and that they wanted the proposed European Security Conference to be held as soon as possible.

With this present E-W detente, European union becomes more definitely a protection society for the ruling class against the working class. And they want to drag the Stalinist bureaucracies into this policing job.

As Heath told the United Nations in 1970, the principal danger is not international (between capitalists) but civil war (between classes).

Spanish students attacked

MASS MEETINGS were held in many faculties in Madrid university at the end of last week in support of locked-out medical students and university reform.

Armed police have broken up these meetings in their usual brutal fashion. Within half an hour they forced all students out of the Philosophy Faculty.

Driving a hard bargain on economic unity

SOVIET STAFF TOLD TO LEAVE PARIS

THREE MEMBERS of the Soviet embassy staff in Paris have been ordered to leave France, according to 'France-Soir'.

It claims that the embassy's No. 3 man, Alexei Krokhine—said to be a KGB general—and two secretaries were asked to leave following information divulged by Oleg Lyalin who defected from the Soviet embassy in London.

There is no official confirmation from the French government and Soviet officials were not available for comment.

BANKERS WARY OF CURRENCY CHANGE

FEW international bankers are happy about the French proposal for a 2 per cent fluctuation in European currencies against the dollar.

At present they can fluctuate within a 4½ per cent band, making the maximum range for any two currencies 9 per cent.

Central bankers in informal discussions in Zurich before today's routine Bank of International Settlements meeting

heard that narrower margins might make the systems more unstable than at present.

If a 2 per cent change proved inadequate to correct an unbalance and a bigger devaluation was necessary as a crisis step this would throw the system into confusion. But some think that greater rigidity in currency movements can be achieved by technical means.

BIGGER EEC WILL DAMAGE INDIA

A TOP Indian official has complained that the enlargement of the Common Market will have an adverse effect on the trade of developing countries.

Mr H. Lal, secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Trade in New Delhi, pointed out that they would be robbed of trade preferences under the Generalized Scheme of Preferences put

into operation by the Common Market six, Britain and Japan last year.

He charged that restriction on exports from developing countries were often imposed in violation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. India had had trouble in this respect with items like cotton and jute manufactures.

PERON CONTESTS FOR PRESIDENT

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that Juan Peron is willing to run for the Argentine presidency, which he held from 1946 to 1955, is seen as a tactical move to try to unite his badly-split followers.

The Peronistas are still an important force in Argentine politics and will be permitted to run on their own ticket in the March 1973 elections, the government says. The last time they contested, in 1962, they won a landslide victory, but the elections were annulled when the army took over.

The 76-year old ex-president's willingness to enter the election was expressed by his personal representative, Hector Campora, when he arrived in Buenos Aires after a two-week visit to Peron in his Madrid exile.

Campora is secretary-general of the Justicialist Party, the main Peronist organization. He said that Peron wanted the elections to be brought forward to this year. Neither he nor Peron's third wife, a 40-year old ex-night club dancer, have been able to unite the warring factions claiming to support Peron.

Argentine is ruled at present by an army group led by General Lanusse, which took over in June, 1966. It has undertaken to restore 'democracy' and last year lifted the ban on political parties. It is unlikely that it will change the date of the elections, especially as this will improve the Peronists' prospects.

BRANDT FOR POLAND

A EUROPEAN security conference will top the talks list when W German Chancellor Willy Brandt visits Poland later this year to see Communist Party leader Edward Gierek.

Polish leaders want closer economic and technical links with W Germany to assist in overcoming serious internal problems.

UNION BRANCHES AND TRADES COUNCILS BACK YS MARCHERS

RESOLUTIONS in favour of the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches have been received from the following AUEW organizations (donations in brackets):

South Shields' AUEW No. 1; Hebburn No. 2 (finance promised); Glasgow District Committee; Dundee; Kilbowie (Clydebank); Aberdeen No. 9 (£3); Pilton, Edinburgh (£10); Erith District Committee; Enfield District Committee; Tottenham No. 6; Charlton (£2.50); Dagenham No. 3 (£5); Plaistow (£2); Gladstone Park No. 1 (£2); Dartford No. 8 (£2); Ilford No. 3 (to organize collections in the factories it covers).

Mitcham; Deptford (£1); Bermondsey (£2 and a delegation to Wembley); Camberwell (£1.52); Erith technical and supervisory section (DATA); S London Junior Workers' Committee (pledged to raise at least £25); Watford DATA (£2); Balham 290 (£1); Harrow, shop section (£10 and accommodation); Harrow, technical section (£7 and accommodation); Sunderland DATA (finance promised); Slough No. 4 (£5); Swindon 350se (£5); Portsmouth Leigh Park No. 2 (£5); unanimous support from 100 Portsmouth AUEW shop stewards; Swindon District Committee AUEW; Swindon 'New' (£1); Swindon Penhill (£3.20); Swindon Walcot (£4 and a special meeting on the march); Swindon No. 8 (£3.55); Watford DATA (£2); Adefield and Garston AUEW branches are organizing collections; Liverpool 21; Bradford No. 4 (£1); Bradford No. 5 (£1); Bradford No. 8 (£2); Bradford District Committee; Shipley No. 1 (£1); Thornbury (£1).

Acocks Green, Birmingham (£4.60); Washwood Heath No. 1; Shelwood No. 2; Coventry No. 5 (£3); Stratford No. 2 (£5); Birmingham No. 27; Solihull (50p); Stopsley, Luton (£5); Warwick 249 (£2); Bury Park, Luton, covering Vauxhall car workers; Coventry 322 (£1); Coventry 49, 59, 73, 74, 75, and 45; Coventry District Committee AUEW. Coventry AUEW 25 has sent £2.25 and will collect at each meeting till the end of the marches.

Warwick No. 2 and Lutterworth, Warwickshire. (providing meals); Nottingham No. 1 DATA. Leamington Spa No. 2 and No. 8 (£5 each). Leamington Spa No. 9 support the march and two other AUEW branches there are donating £1 each.

Trades Councils are not only sending money, but undertaking responsibility for assistance, particularly accommodation.

Trades Councils offering help with accommodation include: Sunderland, South Shields, Newcastle, Barnsley (also arranging a concert to raise funds and a reception), and York (also holding a collection).

Several Trades Councils will take part in stages of the march. Lancaster will send delegates and a banner to the Liverpool rally. Wigan, as well as donating £5 and providing accommodation and food, will send a contingent to Wembley.

Watford Trades Council will provide accommodation and a reception in its own hall and has donated £5. Hounslow, Middlesex, and Hemel Hempstead Trades Councils have promised money and Trades Councils from whom donations have been received include:

Croydon (£10), Hayes (£5), Ealing (£2), Lambeth (£5), Todmorden (£5), Walsall (£4). Oxford Trades Council is sending a delegation to meet the main body of the S Wales march, as is Bracknell (Berks) Watney and District is circulating its affiliated branches for support.

Coventry, Harringey and Leamington Trades Councils have voted to support the march and the Walsall Trade Union Activists' Committee has offered accommodation as well as a reception and entertainment.

Nottingham busmen's T&GWU 5/92 branch has sent £10 and a

delegation from the branch will greet the marchers. Renfrew's 79/4 T&GWU has donated £10. The Vale of Leven Protest Committee on Unemployment has voted £10 and £3.60 was collected at the Larkfield garage in Scotland.

Bus workers at the Byker depot in Newcastle have collected £7.85 and the S Croydon T&GWU 1/338 branch has donated £5. New Cross bus garage in London sent £20. The T&GWU chemical branch at Dagenham (1/1805) has sent in £2 and is collecting more.

The 1,000-strong Liverpool T&GWU 6/599 supports the march, and the Nottingham District Committee of the T&GWU has appointed a sub-committee to handle arrangements for helping the marchers in the town and provided it with £25.

Gatwick T&GWU sends £25; Thornton Heath T&GWU bus branch donates £5 and London's 5/104 T&GWU is to hold a collection.

Embattled miners are in the unemployment fight, too. Wheldale NUM branch is sending miners to join the march as it passes through Barnsley, the Yorkshire headquarters of the NUM.

Monkwearmouth NUM lodge, Sunderland, is allowing marchers free use of its hall and men from Eppleton NUM lodge, Co. Durham, will carry their banner with the marchers through Hetton-le-Hole, between Sunderland and Hartlepool.

Murton lodge Colliery Mechanics Association, Co. Durham, is supporting the march and Crompton NUM branch in Lancashire has donated £5.

And so it goes on. £5 was collected at Lissan Rd Labour Exchange in London. ASTMS branch at LSE has sent £10. BOC workers at Tottenham collected £3.50. Leeds 507 ASTMS branch is providing £15 to sponsor a marcher. Leeds No. 1 UPW has collected £1.60. Sheffield No. 1 ASW (Painters' Branch) sends £5.

The Head Office Branch of the Overseas Telegraphists UPW (London) support the march. So do the Garrick International Exchange and Paddington UPW branches.

The list goes on and on. Croydon ASTMS 617 donated £5. Hemel Hempstead EETU/PTU supports the march. So do Brixton firemen. And the Central London branch of the NUJ. And the Coventry Aero branch of the EETU/PTU.

McAlpine workers at the Gloucester Hotel site, in London, have sent £11.50 and the McAlpine works committee at the Bloomsbury site has pledged at least £25.

Luton Co-op sends £2. Luton CEBG workers £6.50. Leeds No. 1 Tailor and Garment Workers are in favour of the campaign.

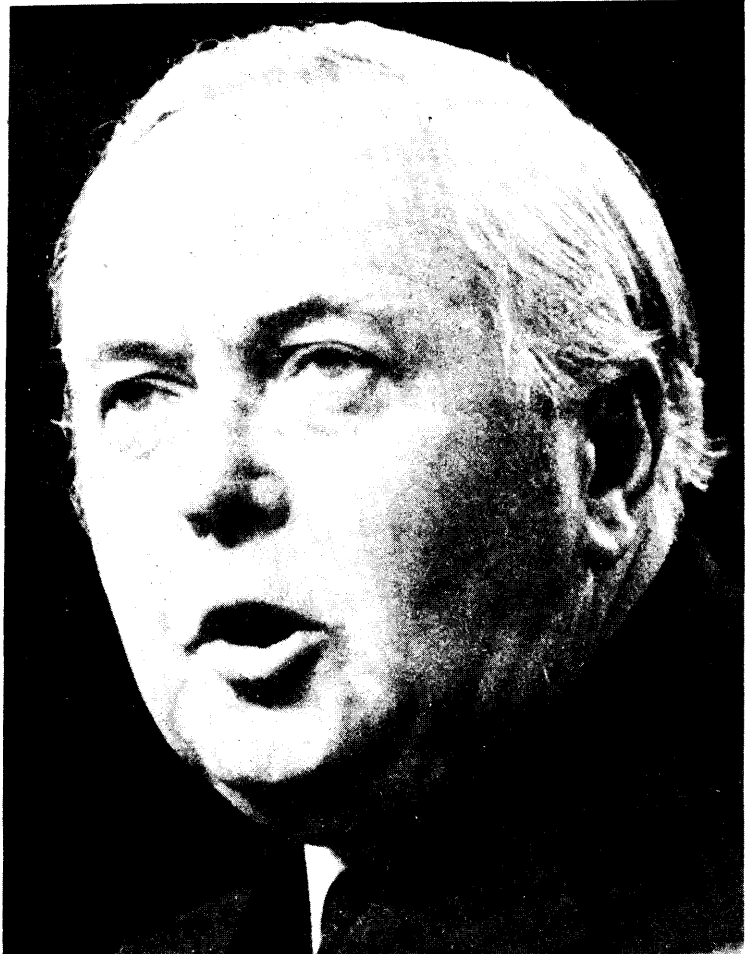
The London Divisional Council of ASTMS has agreed to sponsor one marcher with £25. Southfield NUPE has sent £2.50. Croydon NUFTO sends £7.50 and Tottenham NUFTO No. 9 £2.

EETU/PTU members employed by Speke Corporation have collected £1.83. Wigan AUBTW donates £9.50.

Manchester EETU/PTU (lift and crane) branch members collected £2, as did electricians from Winsford. Southampton boilermakers have donated £10 and Southampton shipwrights another £10.

Railwaymen at Swansea No. 1 send £5, Paddington Railwaymen have donated £15 and are holding weekly collections, while West Brompton ASLEF is sending a delegation to Wembley.

● We thought we would be able to complete the list today, but it keeps on growing. More details tomorrow.



Wilson: a question of how to make capitalism work better

A RECIPE TO SAVE CAPITALISM

BY AN ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT

Star economist of the Labour Party's 'left', Thomas Balogh, has addressed himself to the unemployment problem in a recent 'New Statesman' article.

His first point is that, 'full employment fundamentally altered the relative power of the classes but without any change in class stratification'. It did this by abolishing the 'industrial reserve army' and increasing trade union bargaining power.

At the same time the growth of monopoly power enabled the big firms to pass on higher wage costs in price increases. By this means, he says, 'the whole balancing mechanism of the economy is paralysed'.

Again, according to Balogh, this was not recognized by Tories in this country and Republicans in the USA; they hoped to 'restore the balance through a slight increase in unemployment'. Instead, their policies made matters worse.

Balogh assumes that the ruling class wanted 'full employment'.

Not only was this not the case—he should go back over the files of a journal like 'The Economist' or examine past writings of the economic pundits—but the Tories were always determined to change 'the relative power of classes' and drive back the working class.

Labour leaders supported the same policy between 1964 and 1970, beginning with their attack on the seamen's strike and continuing through the wage freeze and the attack on the trade unions set out in 'In Place of Strife'.

Along with the rest of the Labour Party intellectuals, whether they stand on the right, like Crosland, or on the 'left' like himself, Balogh is only interested in a reformed capitalism.

Their differences, reflected in his article, are only about the means to make the system work better. Indeed, he spells out a policy of class collaboration in which workers will have to give up their improved bargaining power in order to permit British capitalism to deal with the crisis.

'In my opinion,' he writes, 'the achievement of a balanced and steady but more intense expansion depends on the deliberate creation of a national consensus not merely on incomes but on social ambience in general. This can only be achieved if the trade unions are conscious of steadily advancing social justice and accountability.'

Such nauseating stuff is, of course, meat and drink to the sentimental left intellectuals for the 'New Statesman' is the fount of all wisdom. But what nonsense it is and what third-grade economics!

Has Dr Balogh forgotten that there are now over 1 million registered unemployed, that the days of 'full employment' under capitalism are definitely over and that the system is plunging into a world-wide depression?

True, the conditions under which capitalism's usual reserve army of labour virtually disappeared were very unusual and represented more than a cyclical phenomenon. Those conditions were in fact linked with the increased power of the working class as a social force, and not merely a reflex of 'full employment' as Balogh makes out.

Fear of the working class, i.e., of revolution, led to so-called 'full employment policies' being adopted, very reluctantly, by the ruling class after 1945. Dr Balogh and his friends in the Oxford Institute of Statistics did not have as much influence on the course of events as they may believe.



Keynes

Furthermore, capitalism's whole inflationary drive after 1945, made possible by the Bretton Woods agreement, was fundamental to the process. The results of the break-up of the Bretton Woods arrangements are now visible all over the world and can be seen in unemployment statistics in every country.

Like many others, Balogh is concerned with finding a recipe for saving capitalism, once again with the help of a right-wing Labour government.

He proposes tax reform, an extension of public ownership, social accountability and 'workers' participation in decision-making and profits'. All good 'left' stuff, but all to be done within the framework of capitalism.

This kind of programme has nothing to offer the working class. And, modest as it is, when Balogh was advising Harold Wilson in the last Labour government, it was not even attempted. Dr Balogh, who received a life peerage for his efforts, should indulge in a little self-criticism and even begin to teach himself some political economy.

REFORMIST ADDICTED TO KEYNES

BY TOM KEMP

'How Quickly is Capitalism Dying?' asks last week's 'Tribune' in what it proclaims as 'the first in a unique dialogue between socialist economists on the future of the capitalist system'.

The first contributor, Michael Barratt Brown, does not even agree with the way in which the question is posed. 'I do not see capitalism as an old man dying—either fast or slowly—' he opines, 'but as a system of production which is very much alive.'

DESTRUCTION

It is true that he adds that 'it can no longer contain the forces that it has generated and is increasingly turning those forces towards man's destruction'. But if that does not mean that this is an expression of crisis and decline which could well be described as a mark of senility, then words have no meaning.

Far from being alive and well, capitalism is a system which has long outlived its historical usefulness. It entered, at the time of the First World War, an epoch of wars and revolutions, the epoch of imperialism which is, at the same time, the eve of the proletarian revolution.

As befits a revisionist economist, Barratt Brown writes about capitalism without mentioning the labour theory of value (which he presumably thinks is out-moded), the exploitation of the working class or the class struggle. He sees the problems of capitalism as being essentially technical, and thus leaves as an open question the possibility that it can find some way to overcome the ailments which he admits afflicts it.

He fails to examine capitalism as a world system, in the epoch of imperialism where it becomes a fetter on the development of the productive forces and can accurately be described as senile or in decay. He sees it very much as an insular Englishman who thinks that British capitalism may be given a new lease of life by laws passed in parliament.

THREAT

He does not examine the political conditions under which capitalism was able to survive two imperialist wars and the world economic depression of the 1930s. This would involve the role of Stalinism and reformism in betraying the working class and creating conditions salvaging a system whose continuance is a threat to humanity.

What he is saying is that capitalism has not collapsed and he does not believe it will—it is, after all, 'very much alive'. He does not see the scope and nature of the crisis—which was only postponed by the intervention of the state and by so-called Keynesian policies of the past 25 years.

He is unwilling to admit that these policies are now no longer able to overcome the contradictions of capitalism (a phrase he carefully avoids using).

Barratt Brown's reformist assumptions prevent him from making a scientific analysis of capitalism. He writes like a petty bourgeois, and essentially British, reformist who is trying to avoid accepting any responsibility for overthrowing capitalism.

If future contributions to this 'Tribune' series succeed in maintaining this standard, they will prove, at any rate, one thing: the bankruptcy of these reformist economists, themselves surprised and thrown into crisis by the failure of the Keynesianism to which they had become addicted during the boom.



Ferdinand Marcos

QUEST FOR TERRITORY

The Philippines appears to have embarked on a new territorial quest—its second in the last seven years.

With its claim to the E Malaysian state of Sabah (formerly N Borneo) still unsettled, the Philippines has now turned its attention to the United States island territories of Guam and the Marianas.

Foreign Secretary Carlos Romulo has ordered a study into the possibility that Manila has a claim to the American territories.

More than 7,000 islands, stretched across the S China Sea, form the Philippines archipelago.

Romulo's move follows recent disclosures by the national archives director, Dr Domingo Abella, that he had found documents suggesting that Guam and the Marianas formed part of Philippines territory.

One such document was the Treaty of Paris in 1898 in which Spain ceded the Philippines and Guam to the United States, according to Dr Abella.

This will be the second time the Philippines has dug up centuries-old documents to lay claim on new territory.

In 1963, it claimed Sabah as its own territory based on what it described as historical documents. It said that Sabah was 'leased' to the British government in 1878 by the then Sultan of Sulu, Jamalul Agham.

The Sabah claim erupted into

an open diplomatic rupture between Malaysia and the Philippines, but the two countries later agreed to restore normal relations.

The Philippines insisted on a world court settlement, but failed to get Malaysian agreement for a judicial solution.

Diplomatic sources say the claim is now being worked out 'at the highest level of diplomacy' between Manila and Kuala Lumpur.

Abella's sudden discovery from the archives could be the beginning of a controversy between the Philippines and the United States, which maintains a major air base on Guam.

At a public hearing conducted by a committee of the constitutional convention assigned to re-write the country's 36-year-old constitution, Abella said Guam was specifically mentioned in the Treaty of Paris.

Guam and the Marianas were at one time under Spanish rule, and the Catholic priests there were under the direction of the Bishop of Cebu province in central Philippines.

The 'Daily Manila Chronicle' said in an editorial that Dr Abella had made a 'sensational disclosure that deserves further study, research and documentary evaluation'.

The English-language newspaper added, however, that if the Philippines could not recover Sabah from Malaysia, it would seem 'doubly difficult' to recover Guam and the Marianas from the United States.

It is believed that Dr Abella's testimony could add new troubles for the country, apart from the resultant embarrassment should the government fail to prove its claims.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!

Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!

WILLESDEN: Monday February 14, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd, NW10. Unemployment and the capitalist crisis.

SOUTHALL: Tuesday February 15, 8 p.m. Indian Workers Association, 18 Featherstone Rd 'Victory to the miners'.

W LONDON: Tuesday February 15, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, Kings Cross. 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

SW LONDON: Tuesday February 15, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

ACTON: Wednesday February 16, 8 p.m. 'Mechanics Arms', Churchfield Rd, W3. 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

LUTON: Thursday February 17, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. World economic crisis.

SE LONDON: Thursday February 17, 8 p.m. Room 2, Deptford Engineers' Club (opp New Cross Stn). 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

N LONDON: Thursday February 17, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. Reformism and trade unions.

Socialist Labour League
Special lecture
Common Hall, Hackin's Hay
(off Dale St)

LIVERPOOL, 8 p.m.

Tuesday February 15

given by
C. Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

LAST SHOW OF STRENGTH

PART 5

BY JACK GALE

IN addition to the 10 per cent cuts in the dole, the National government changed the benefit rights regulations.

Statutory benefits were limited to 26 weeks in a benefit year and a Means Test was imposed upon all claimants for transitional benefits.

Under the 1931 Economy Act, 852,000 people immediately came under the Means Test which was administered by Public Assistance Committees, appointed by the Borough or County Councils. (The old Poor Law Boards of Guardians, which at least had the small merit of being elected, had been replaced by the Tories in 1929.)

PERSONAL

The Means Test took the form of printed questionnaires about family resources, personal investigations before administrative committees and visits of Means Test officers to the home.

Among items which the claimant had to reveal were wages of other members of the family, the names and addresses of their employers, income earned by the claimant or other members of the household from service or war disability pensions, workmen's compensation, trade union or club benefits, sick benefits, old age, widows and orphans pensions, deposits in savings banks or National Savings certificates, income from lodgers and a host of other questions.

Means Test investigators were empowered to follow claimants and members of their families to check on the statements given.

The general practice was to assess the total family income and to deduct from the scale of the applicant all income which exceeded 10s for each member of the family over sixteen and 3s for children. Obviously, this meant that some people received no benefit at all.

Hundreds of thousands of people were cut off from benefit in the three months between November 1931 and February 1932.

No wonder that 1932 was a year of incessant street battles between the unemployed and state forces.

London, Glasgow, Dundee, Manchester, Castleford, Bristol, Tyneside and Liverpool all experienced repeated pitched battles on the streets.

In September, a fight between unemployed and police in Birkenhead lasted for three days.

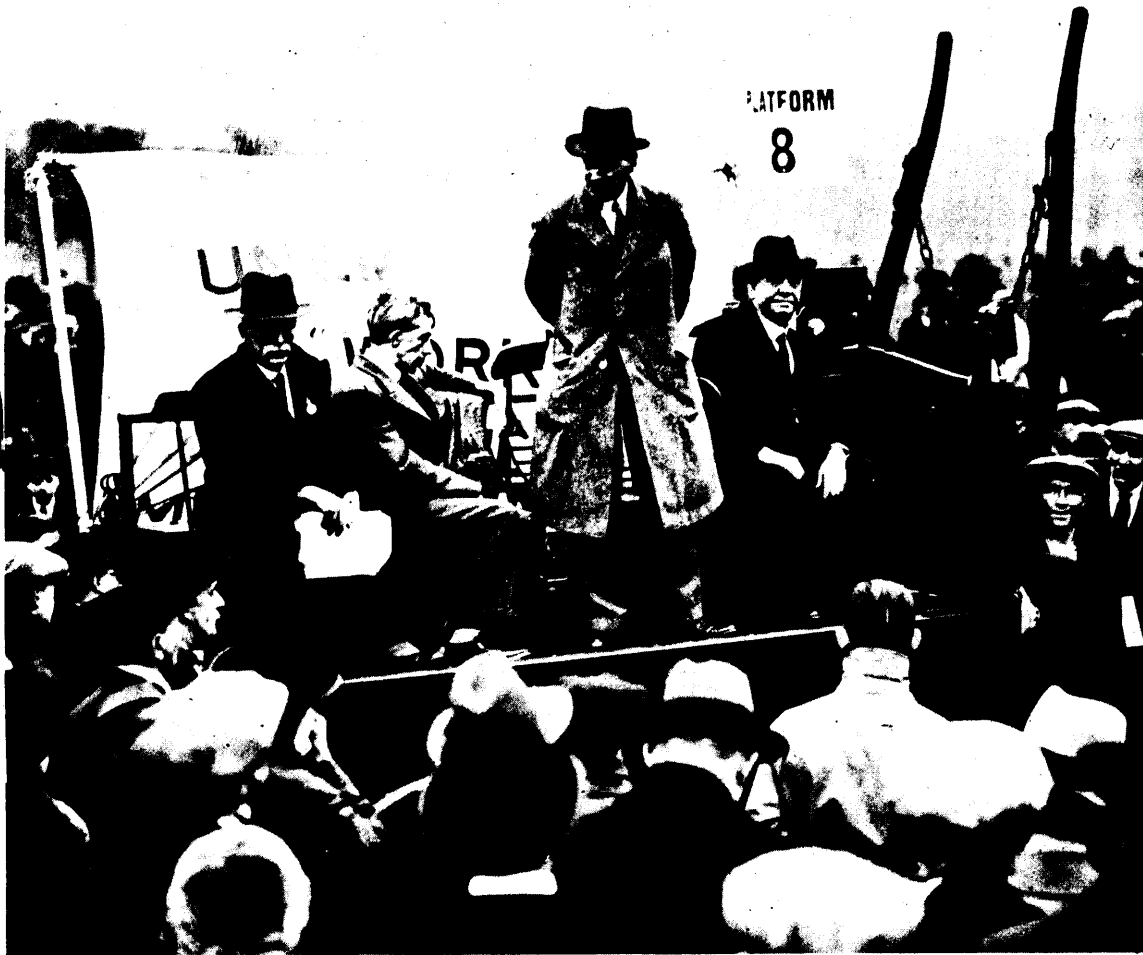
Lorry-loads of police repeatedly attacked working class tenements in the middle of the night, beating up the occupants and dragging them off in police vans. One block specially picked out was Morpeth Buildings. Over 100 workers were treated in hospital.

Forty-five workers were put on trial and received sentences of up to two years' imprisonment.

In Belfast, workers fought with stones and pickshafts for days on end against mounted police and armoured cars. Troops of the King's Royal Rifles were called in and two workers were shot dead.

While this was going on the NUWM organized another hunger march on London.

Over 2,500 marchers reached London on October 27 and over 100,000 gathered in Hyde



Attlee speaking at the Hyde Park rally on November 8, 1936 when the Hunger March reached London.

Park. This time fighting with police broke out in the vicinity of Whitehall and many leaders were arrested.

At the end of November, the Royal Commission on Unemployment published its report which recommended further reductions in benefit, the shortening of the statutory benefit period to 13 weeks, the reintroduction of the 'not genuinely seeking work' clause, and compulsory unpaid labour for the unemployed.

1932 ended with 2,840,000 registered unemployed—plus hundreds of thousands unregistered.

By January, 1933, the figure was up again—2,903,000 registered unemployed. This was the time the National government chose to stop the Public Work Schemes.

The condition of the working class was getting worse daily. The School Medical Officers Association reported 'a definite increase of malnutrition is shown for 1932. The economic depression has undoubtedly lowered the standard of living in many homes and has contributed to the above increase, partly directly, but mainly by aggravating other causes of malnutrition.'

Throughout 1933 the NUWM organized a series of County Hunger Marches, the biggest being in Scotland when 2,000 unemployed marched on Edinburgh, and in Lancashire where 1,000 marched to Preston.

This did not prevent the government from implementing most of the recommendations of its Royal Commission—they became law in May, 1934.

What was done to the unemployed was shown by the statement made in parliament by the Minister of Labour, Sir Henry Betterton, in November, 1933. In the two years from October, 1931 to October, 1933 cuts in unemployment benefit totalled £26,750,000. In addition, the operation of the Means Test had saved £27,750,000.

A total of £54,500,000 taken from workers without jobs!

This was the background to the Hunger March of 1934. 500 marchers left Glasgow on January 24. Joined by others on the way they arrived in London on the weekend of February 24 to coincide with the opening of the Congress on Unemployment called by the NUWM.

But the Stalinists had long since abandoned the anti-capitalist demands of the early 1920s. Instead, they presented a petition to Ramsay MacDonald's National government.

The petitioners as representatives of the unemployed men and women of the country and of the thousands of hunger marchers who have now arrived in London humbly desire to represent that great suffering has been caused to the unemployed and their dependants by the Means Test, Anomalies Act and the cuts in unemployment benefits, and the declared intention of the Government to continue those hardships through the Unemploy-

ment Bill at present before parliament, and even to worsen the present miseries of the working class thereby.

'Wherefore your petitioners pray that some of their number should be heard at the Bar of this honourable House to set forth their grievances and to urge on behalf of the unemployed men and women the withdrawal of the Unemployment Bill, and in its stead the introduction of a Bill to give decent maintenance or provide employment at trade union rates for the unemployed who are enduring such great hardship; and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray etc.'

In October, hunger marches took place in Monmouthshire, Forfar, Maesteg, the Rhondda and Glasgow. In December, under Part Two of the Unemployment Insurance Act, new cuts in UAB benefits ranging from 1s. to 9s. were imposed.

In the 'Distressed Areas' (South Wales, Tyneside, Cumberland and the West of Scotland), where whole families were unemployed, the effect was catastrophic.

For example, if two sons and one daughter were unemployed and living at home with their parents the reduction would be 23s. per week. If there were three sons and one daughter, it would be 32s. If the father was out of work as well the reduction would be 34s. per week.

DAILY

By mid-January thousands of unemployed were marching daily throughout Britain in protest at these cuts. On January 20, 60,000 marched in the Rhondda Valley. Two days later 40,000 were on the streets in the Merthyr Valley.

On January 26, 1,600 delegates attended a South Wales conference on unemployment called by the South Wales Miners' Federation, but the leadership resisted calls for strike action.

On January 28, the London unemployed invaded the House of Commons and the Cambrian Combine miners in the Rhondda declared for strike action if the government did not withdraw Part Two of the Act.

On January 31, 10,000 unemployed in North Shields defied the town's ban on marches and proceeded to the docks where they called for strike action by the dockers.

Meanwhile, the TUC and the Labour leaders were as cowardly as ever. The TUC even threatened to disaffiliate Trades Councils which took part in the marches.

The weekend of February 2 and 3 saw some of the largest demonstrations ever held in Britain. In South Wales 300,000 people were on the march. On February 4, women in the Merthyr Valley smashed up the offices of the UAB.

The same day, the unemployed in Llanelly stormed the Town Hall. In Tyneside 30,000 marched through the night. Scotland, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, Cheshire, Yorkshire and the Midlands were ablaze with similar demonstrations.

On February 5, the government capitulated and withdrew the cuts imposed under Part Two of the Act, and repaid retrospectively those that had been in effect since January 7.

To save face, the government proposed a delay of two weeks, but mass demonstrations forced them to climb down and start repayments immediately.

The defeat of the 1934 Act discredited and demoralized the National government. There can be no doubt that had the Labour and trade union leaders sought to do so, they could have brought the government down.

The support was there. A national day of demonstrations called on February 24 resulted in huge rallies in Aberdeen, Bolton, Cowdenbeath, Glasgow, Hull, Kilmarnock, Kirkcaldy, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Maryport, Newcastle, Nottingham, Port Talbot, Sheffield, Southampton and Workington.

On February 26, 8,000 marched in Wigan and on March 9, 3,000 set out from Aberdeen on the Scottish hunger march to Glasgow.

On March 24, the unemployed demonstrated in London 160,000 strong.

But the crucial question was leadership and it was not forthcoming. By the beginning of 1934 the Stalinists had abandoned the ultra-left 'Third Period' and were on the path of the Popular Front.

Not even the plight of the unemployed could be allowed to disrupt friendly relations with the church, the Liberals and the trade union bureaucracy.

All these people were alarmed by the 'excesses' of the unemployed, so the heat had to be taken off.

Stalinist Wal Hannington simply states: 'From the end of March 1935, the struggle of the unemployed rapidly subsided'.³ Not a word more!

But much more has to be said.

The unemployed had marched time and time again. The call for strike action had come from unemployed and employed alike. Workers had fought police and soldiers. They had stormed UAB offices and town halls, even the hallowed ground of Westminster itself. They had forced the government to retreat and had thrown it into panic.

What else was there to do?

If those at the head of the movement had been prepared to lead a fight to bring down the government, if they had lived up to the original aim of the NUWCM 'not to cease from strife until capitalism is overthrown' (see first article in this series)—then, and only then, the movement could have gone for-

ward. Without that, there was nowhere else to go.

So, in Hannington's cynical phrase 'the struggle subsided'. It is more correct to say that the unemployed were abandoned by their leadership.

That is the reason — and the only reason — for the National government being returned again in the General Election of November 1935.

On July 10, 1936, the National government announced revised UAB scales and regulations. Due to come into effect on November 16, these changes gave inadequate increases—never more than 2s per week—to some categories of unemployed but imposed severe cuts on others.

It was this scale which provoked the world-famous Jarrow Crusade, a march on London of 200 men organized by the Jarrow Town Council.

At the same time, the NUWM organized another national hunger march to London. The government issued a statement condemning the marches and saying no Minister would meet them.

Instead of denouncing this NUWM, headquarters instructed all contingent leaders to read out the government proclamation to the marchers and take a vote on whether to proceed!

UNANIMOUS

The fact that every contingent voted unanimously to proceed reflected the determination of the ranks, rather than the leaders' strength.

The Hunger March reached Hyde Park on November 8, 1936, and was greeted by a demonstration a quarter of a million strong. But the main speaker was Clement Attlee, leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the Labour Party, had refused to support the march!

Due to the intervention of Labour MPs, the Minister of Labour, Mr Ernest Brown, met a delegation of marchers but all that could be gained, with a quarter of a million people on the streets behind them, was a promise — subsequently broken — to spread the introduction of the new rates over 18 months.

This was the swan-song of the inter-war unemployed movement. Hannington attributes the decline to an 'improvement' in unemployment figures. It is true that in 1936-1937 unemployment fell slightly due to a general recovery in world trade. By August 1936 unemployment was down to 1,613,940 and by June, 1937, it was 1,356,598.

But by August, 1938 unemployment was up again to 1,759,242 and by January, 1939, it had reached 2,039,026.

Yet in these years the mass demonstrations and class actions of the unemployed—particularly the turn to the ranks of the employed workers through their unions—was replaced by stunts and gimmicks.

The leaders had the unemployed lying down at traffic lights, invading posh hotels, holding mock funerals, chaining themselves to railings, running onto football pitches with banners, disrupting Crufts dog show, etc.

They even submitted a petition (for Winter Relief, not for jobs) to His Majesty King George the Sixth.

Amidst these futile activities, the movement withered and died and in September, 1939, the employed and unemployed alike were herded into the forces to fight for the glorious Empire which had starved their families since the last great patriotic conflict.

The truth is that the trade unions and Labour Party leaders had never had any heart for the fight against unemployment.

And the Stalinists, by 1937, were well trained. For them, everything was subordinate to the diplomatic requirements of their masters in the Kremlin.

Stalin sought friendship with the leaders of the 'democracies' (as he later sought it with the leaders of fascism). Mass action of the working class had no place in this scheme of things.

So the great march of 1936 was the last show of working class strength. 'Diplomacy' took over. The unemployed were allowed to rot. And in the Second World War, they were allowed to die.

1. Wal Hannington 'Ten Lean Years' p. 100.
2. Wal Hannington 'Ten Lean Years' p. 109.
3. Wal Hannington, op. cit. p. 140.

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



Coventry toolroom workers on September 6, 1971 at a mass meeting during the series of one day strikes which took place last year to protect the 'Tool Room Rate'

DISCUSSION ON THE ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE DRAFT MANIFESTO

On November 6 last year a national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance decided to adopt a draft manifesto to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Since the conference a country-wide discussion has been initiated in League branches, in the ATUA, in the Young Socialists and among Workers Press supporters. Until the Right-to-Work rally at Empire Pool, Wembley on March 12, we intend to carry a full page each day devoted to your comments on the Draft Manifesto. We have received more than 100 contributions to this vital discussion. Now we want at least another 100.

Workers and their families, youth, students and the unemployed are all invited to join in this discussion. If you haven't got a copy of the Draft Manifesto write to Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch.

LEN FARMER
EEPTU shop steward, London Electricity Board, Stratford, E London (in a personal capacity).

A priority for the working class is the question of the Labour leadership.

Those Labour MPs who voted for the Common Market must be removed; there is no case for defence of this treachery.

They are a party to the Tory conspiracy against the working class. If such people are allowed to continue, they could repeat their action on other important issues.

In the trade unions, many of the leaders who have done a good job in the past, now want to compromise a principle. They have outlived their usefulness as representatives of union members and must make way for more progressive young men.

I think that the right to organize comes before the right to strike and that only a General Strike, called by the TUC, can defeat the Industrial Relations Act.

In the nationalized industries, no compensation should be paid to the previous owners. Most of

these industries were bankrupt and in a state of decay, with run down stock.

In the Charter of Basic Rights, section five, the third paragraph adequately expresses my feelings on the Tories' welfare policy.

C. EDGE
Unemployed. Ex-BSA and ex-Lucas worker, Birmingham

I agree that it is an illegal government. Every opinion poll has shown that most people are against the Common Market but despite the fact that this is supposed to be a democracy Parliament has taken the decision to go in and 69 Labour members have voted with them.

Jenkins and the others should be expelled and not allowed to stand for Labour in any constituency in the British Isles.

It's because the Tories are waiting for Market entry that there is no investment. The Market is a conspiracy against the working class: they will have to push the clock back until workers are virtually owned by the capitalists.

They need a mobile working force. If you're over 40 years and not able to move around Europe, you'll be unemployable.

We have to defend our basic rights. But protest and letter-writing will never get anywhere because this government takes no notice of protest. A General Strike is the only way to change things.

It is different from 1926 because the middle class, especially the students, will support us much more.

We have to call for a Labour victory, though the Labour

leaders have always sold out because they have done well out of the capitalist system.

They are not a majority, however, and they will have to be thrown out. The mood of the Labour Party is against the leadership, but they have to keep unity when facing the Tories. If a Labour government was elected, the traitors would soon be thrown out.

We need our own independent organization to fight for the working class, but the working class is frightened—that is what holds them back. I can't see the immediate prospect of an international working class party, since I have a hard enough job surviving myself and the majority of the working class is the same.

They aren't interested in the plight of workers in other countries when they have enough problems of their own. But I agree that we don't need reforms—we need a revolution.

BEN JUMAH
T&GWU convenor, Vitamol Precision Ltd., N London

I don't agree with the word illegal because the Tories were duly elected but I think they have misused the trust the electorate gave them.

I agree about throwing out the Labour traitors but let's not forget Wilson himself was in favour of going into Europe and he only changed his mind because of pressure from working-class people.

As a worker from a colonial country I definitely agree that the only way to fight capitalism is on an international scale.

Workers in Britain are now going to face hardship and attacks on their rights which the workers in the colonies have been suffering for years. This means there are going to be big opportunities to link up the fight against capitalism internationally.

I also agree with the building of a revolutionary party which must win and educate the mass of the workers, especially at shop-floor level. This will help them understand the problems facing them and the solution to them.

DAVID HEITMAN
ASLEF driver, Cricklewood rails depot

This Tory government is definitely illegal.

It has attacked the working class on all sides and taken the country into the Common Market. As far as I know, the majority of people are against this. But I do not think that the majority of people realize yet that the Tories have planned the attack on basic rights.

The Labour traitors who voted with the Tories on the Common Market should be expelled from the Labour Party along with any abstainers.

The Manifesto calls for the launching of the revolutionary party.

This is absolutely necessary now. The Tories are driving down living standards, with the Industrial Relations Act behind them. Workers have to have a leadership that shows them the way. We'll never achieve socialism through the ballot box.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY MACHINE

DEREK'S DOLE FIGHT

There are two dates which are important to Derek Dalrymple. One is his birthday—he will be 18 on February 28. The other is March 10, 1969. On that day he left school and took a job.

It was a big day because Derek was none too fond of school. Like the majority of working-class children, Derek simply wanted to get out of the classroom and the chance to earn a living.

He wanted to become an apprentice electrician. Why an electrician? Derek was handy at mending electrical appliances and had been relied upon more than once to repair sound systems and radios belonging to his friends. 'And anyway,' says Derek, 'electricity fascinates me. I wanted to work with it.'

But after answering a number of advertisements and visiting dozens of employers, Derek discovered that there was little chance of getting an apprenticeship. In the end he took a job as a page boy at the Basil St Hotel, Knightsbridge.

It was a big come-down for Derek, but he figured if he got a start somewhere at least he would be keeping abreast of his classmates who were all out searching for work.

He started on £10 a week. His main duty was to open and close the front door for the tourists staying there.

'It was a rotten job,' says Derek. 'I just stood around all day doing nothing. It was the most boring job in the world. I lasted eight months before I checked it in.'

Derek's next job was marginally more interesting. He became a shop assistant in a store near Clapham Junction with a starting pay of £9 a week.

After three months Derek contracted bronchitis—he's suffering from it again and it has been a recurring illness since he can remember.

He sent the medical certificate to his boss and assumed that his absence would be excused. But when he returned to work three days later, the boss acknowledged he had received the certificate but said he wouldn't accept it. Derek was fired.

The incident had a curious bonus: Derek was taken on by an electrical firm in Battersea. It wasn't an apprenticeship, but it gave him the chance of entering the trade.

It was an unhappy place to work. Derek was given the most menial tasks to do and the other young workers were all heavily exploited. After an argument with the foreman Derek was dismissed. This was last October. He has since learned that all his workmates have been fired too.

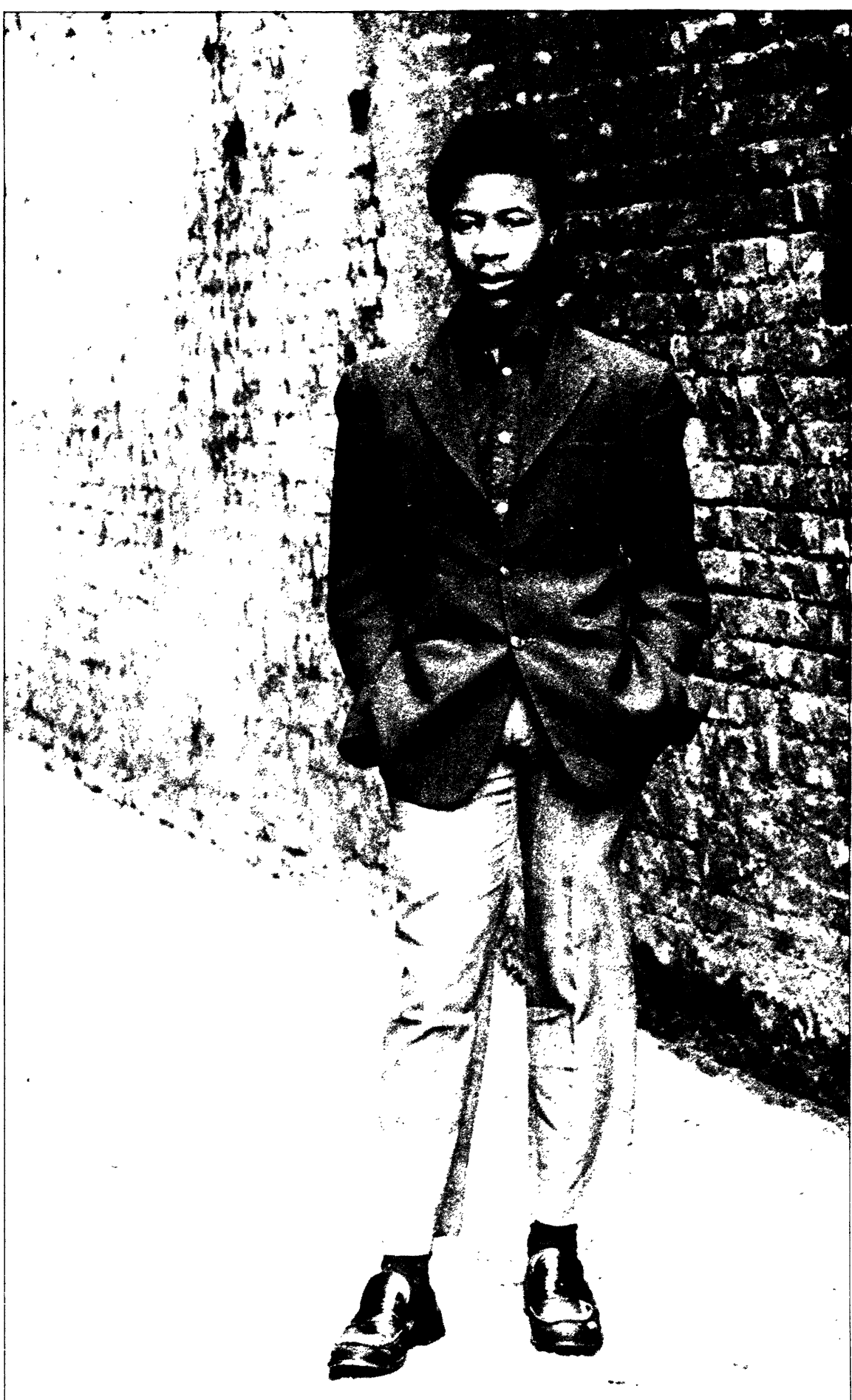
When he left the electrical firm, Derek assumed that he would pick his next job from the newspapers as he'd done before.

But as he went from one S London factory to the next he discovered that job opportunities for youngsters in the area were non-existent.

But while Derek was experiencing one bitter disappointment after another, his landlady was pressing for the rent—£3 a week. He reluctantly decided to do what he'd been dreading—he signed on the dole.

The first week he received £2.55. As this amount was patently insufficient, Derek applied for supplementary benefit. Subsequently he received £5.85, which just about enabled him to make ends meet.

But after a month, the local social security manager intervened and cut his weekly payment to £3.06. Once the rent was taken out, this left Derek with 6p to live on. He appealed to the Supplementary Benefits Tribunal.



Derek appeared before an Appeals Tribunal. 'With rent £3 and dole £3.06, you'd think I had a watertight case.'

They told him the appeal would take four weeks to arrange. Derek asked for an increase in benefit until the tribunal heard his case. After two weeks they gave him an extra £1.60 per week. But they took £1 back to cover the cost of the tribunal. And although they said his hearing would be arranged in a month, it took five weeks.

The scene at the tribunal is best described in Derek's own words. 'They held the tribunal in a church hall down at Brixton. I was told to be there at 11.30 a.m., but I never went in until after 2 p.m. The waiting room was really scary. It was like going to the dentist's. There were about five other—mainly old people—and we talked in whispers about our claims. Everyone seemed very scared.'

'I was with a representative of the Lambeth Trades Council. Before we were called in, the treasurer of the tribunal came out and gave us 20p each to cover our bus fares to Brixton. We had to sign for it. When we went in I was shaking all over. I remember the room was fully carpeted.'

'It was like a court. Four of them were sitting at a table at the top of the room and we sat facing them. I don't know how to describe it. It was just like being with the Tories.'

'The chairman was the most incredible man. He had a striped suit and he wore a monocle. He did most of the talking.'

'We explained how my rent was £3 and the local social security was only prepared to

give me £3.06. You'd think I had a watertight case. 'But then a Scottish bloke said, "Have you tried the van boy's job at the laundry next to the social security office?" I said "No" and that I didn't know there was a job going at the laundry. Then he asked if I'd tried another job somewhere else. I said I hadn't heard of that one either.'

'When I said I didn't know about these two jobs, they came to the conclusion that I hadn't been trying. It was obvious immediately that I wasn't going to get any proper assistance. The one with the monocle said: "You've got to go out and prove yourself. You've got to go out and look. You've got to be a man."

'I felt like saying to him, "Why don't you go out and try and get a job around Brixton or Battersea?"'

'When we walked outside I felt very depressed. I could tell you then what their answer would be. As I was standing on the pavement, the one with the monocle came out of the building, hopped into a Rolls-Royce and drove off. Now what does he know about unemployment and living on the dole?'

Three days later Derek received an official letter from the clerk of the Supplementary Benefits Appeal Tribunal.

The tribunal rejected Derek's appeal for an increase in supplementary benefit. Under the heading 'Reasons for decision' the clerk wrote:

'The tribunal was of the opinion the appellant had not

been making serious efforts to find employment and considered work was available if diligently sought which could provide the appellant with resources.'

For the last two weeks Derek has been drawing his £3.06 a week. He's been giving £3 to his landlady and keeping fed by borrowing from his friends.

'Borrowing—it's a terrible thing to have to do,' said Derek. 'I hate having to ask for money. Derek may be financially in bad shape, but he's not demoralized. He's secretary of the local Right-to-Work campaign being organized by the Young Socialists.'

'This time last year I was a bit sceptical of the YS policy on jobs,' Derek says.

'But now the Tory policies are starting to really show. 'The only way out for young people today is to fight to put an end to capitalism. If capitalism is allowed to flourish we are finished. There is nothing for us under capitalism. We might as well kill ourselves.'

'In the fight to get rid of capitalism, our first task is to get rid of the Tories.'

'And the next Labour government must be told to restore full employment so that the working class has a chance to live decently.'

In the final stage of the Right-to-Work march, Derek will be joining in.

'This march will show the monocle brigade that we mean business,' he added.

● See tomorrow's Workers Press for the first part of a series on workers' rights.



'They are trying to bleed us back to work, but we are going to stick it out.' Above: miners picking coal at Abertysag colliery in Wales. Below: miners from Deal, Kent during the 1970 strikes, collect their tax rebate from the local office



MINERS SHUNNED

As the miners' strike hardens and money gets scarcer, some of the single men are becoming bitter at the refusal of the Social Security officials to use their discretionary powers to make allowances in cases of hardship, and at the refusal of their union to give them any financial help.

Of course, no striker receives any National Insurance benefit for himself, but the married men and those with families do get something for their dependents and can sometimes manage to have a few shillings in their pockets.

In the Welsh valleys today, single men often cannot even buy a glass of beer. In one miners' welfare institute, the officers scraped together enough money to provide hot soup for those who had had no food.

Gwyn Roderick and Barry Edwards, both from Garw colliery, related how union officials had told the single men to go to the nearest Social Security office in Pontycymer and ask for money.

'When they got there,' Gwyn said, 'they were told if they wanted money they would have to walk the roads for it. Traveling to and from Pontycymer cost about 30p, and who is going to repay that?'

Barry is receiving compensation for injuries received in the



mines, but he has a friend still living at home with his parents who is getting nothing. His father is disabled with the dust disease, but the boy is having to rely on his parents to keep him.

'The union says it can't afford to pay strike pay,' Barry said bitterly, 'yet we haven't had an official strike since 1926. What's happened to all the money we have paid in since then?'

Terence Williams (27) lives in Ebbw Vale. He is in digs and is afraid that, although his landlord has been very understanding up to now, he may turn him out if the rent is not paid after several weeks of strike. On the advice of his union officials, he also spent precious shillings travelling to the Social Security office, only to be turned away empty-handed. He hates having to rely on help from his friends, who are also going short, but without that he would not even have enough money to buy food.

He has no intention of going back to work defeated, though. 'If they saw how we have to work,' he said, 'they wouldn't go underground for £50 a week. It's not living, it's existing. You don't know when you go down whether you are going to come up again. My brother-in-law went down and the next thing he knew he woke up in hospital.'

'They are trying to bleed us back to work, but we are going to stick it out. We deserve our claim. You go into a supermarket and everything goes up from week to week. If all the unions got together and brought down this government, that would stop the prices rising.'

David Montgomery Elias (28) is luckier. He lives at home in Abertysag, but his father is also out on strike. The only money coming in is £7 a week for his mother and half of the rent. 'They told me my mum and dad wouldn't chuck me out, and of course they won't. But they have to go short to keep me,' he said.

David was one of the 15,000 miners who marched through Cardiff last week. After the demonstration he confronted his union's secretary Lawrence Daly and asked him what help the union was going to give to the single men.

'He told me there wasn't enough money to pay everyone,' he recalled, 'so it had been decided to pay no one and we should force the Social Security to pay out.'

'I said that if they won't pay we should get 30 or 40 boys and stay in the office until we get something. He said we should do that, but if we do and the police come down and arrest some of us, he'll just say it's our hard luck. He won't fight to fetch other unions out. If the whole country came out, the strike wouldn't last long and we would get the Tories out, too. We all shouted "Heath out" on the march and we meant it.'

Glyn Jones, Ron Webb and Spencer Luffman all work in Blaenserchan colliery. The last time they had any money was on January 14. Their parents are keeping them, although Glyn's father is also on strike and Spencer's father is ill.

'The government expects our

parents to go short for us,' they said. 'But we are grown men now and want to look after ourselves. We pay tax and National Insurance and now can't get anything back. The government is trying to split the single boys from the rest of the married men by starving us.'

Ron was emphatic, and the others nodded in agreement as he said: 'Carr is trying to get our leaders to call another ballot hoping the single boys will go back. But we won't. We are fighting for our future now and we won't go back without our pay claim.'

In their lodge it was agreed to write to the NUM executive demanding financial help for the single men, and also to send lodge officers to the local social security office to find out why the manager is not using his discretionary powers in cases of hardship. They fear that the officials are acting on instructions from Ministry level to make life as hard as possible for the miners.

The married men also voted to take a collection among themselves to provide a small fund for the single boys. It is a question of the poor subsidizing the poor, but as George Hughes said as he moved the collection: 'If we expect the single boys to make sacrifices and stay out with us, we have to show them we are prepared to make sacrifices for them. Otherwise the Tories will split us.'

That is the one thing that the miners, married and single, are determined about. No one is going to split them.

AUSTRALIAN LETTER

WHARFIES FIGHT IT OUT

Unemployment in Australia tops 120,000—the highest in ten years—inflation is rising at an average rate of over 9 per cent—the worst in 15 years. The conflict is sharpening and the lines are being drawn.

Add to these a number of other factors, like the attempts to impose forced redundancies on the wharves, and the sacking of 1,200 car workers by General Motors Holden, and you have a position which shows that the world crisis is spreading deeply throughout the Australian economy.

That much said, the important thing now is who is lining up where on the class line? It would be good to say that Australia's Labour leaders are preparing, to a man, for the big battle to defend the Australian working class, that they are swinging the battle onto the offensive to force out the Tory government.

Unfortunately this is not the case.

Just where the union leadership stands—both Stalinist and reformist—was made quite clear when New South Wales government busmen were allowed to be isolated and defeated after a three-week strike, ending just before Christmas.

SINGLED OUT

Since then the wharfies have been singled out by the Tory Federal government for battle, and, the government hopes, for defeat.

The retreat of the Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF) national leadership is already almost total—before the battle has even begun.

But this is not the case with the rank-and-file members who are fighting tooth and nail to reverse leadership decisions over voluntary redundancies.

The issue has been brought to a head with the introduction of containerization and the position of unstable world trade. This has led to what the employers and their government consider to be about 450 'surplus' men on the wharves in the main ports excepting Sydney, which still has to have its 'surplus' counted.

Since 1967 a rather vague 'agreement' has been in existence between management and unions. Under this arrangement the unions accepted severance pay for redundancies and a number of older men left the wharves.

But the men are increasingly questioning the redundancy policy and last September the tri-annual All Ports Conference, the highest policy-making union body, decided to accept no compulsory redundancy, and to fight for a 32-hour week for 40 hours' pay.

This was around the time that employers were being pushed by the government to enforce redundancies. 'Idle time' (no-productive labour time) on the wharves was costing employers about £3m a year.

Employers loaded a bit more bait onto the hook by offering an increase in severance pay for voluntary retirement.

In a postal vote the union's



New machinery for containerization such as this at Balmain, Sydney, is forcing redundancies on the wharves. Foreground: building workers also face sackings.

Federal Council took the bait and the hook by agreeing to the new voluntary agreement and hacking up the dock labour force that goes with it.

At stop-work meetings to explain the deal, the leadership pushed for acceptance.

This was rejected by the NSW ports, including Sydney, but accepted by most of the others. This failure can be blamed directly on the union bureaucrats who eloquently advocated acceptance of workers jumping onto the scrapheap during a time of growing unemployment.

Sydney's wharfies, particularly, rejected the proposals with no hesitation and called for an overtime ban and no co-operation.

It is also understood that Melbourne Federal Council members

voted against compulsory retirements when the vote was taken earlier this month.

But Charlie Fitzgibbon, WWF secretary made it clear he is with the bureaucracy and not with the working class.

Instead of resisting redundancies, fighting for the government's downfall and for control of the wharves and all other industries by those who are employed in them, he called for acceptance of the redundancy offers on the basis that it was all the men would get out of the employers.

He has made no reference to the right of wharfies to work or to fighting the government.

There is clearly a crisis of leadership in the Australian working class which is being revealed more each day.

Everything the rank and file does shows its willingness to fight. But it can be misled by its leadership, as some men have on the wharves over the redundancy issue.

OUTRIGHT BETRAYAL

The biggest danger is outright betrayal. This is taking place now among the WWF leadership.

In spite of indications that those branches of the union who voted in favour of increased redundancy did so in some state of confusion and are now swinging into opposition behind the

new NSW branches, the Federal leadership is going the other way.

At a recent Sydney meeting the national committee vote in favour of redundancies was an increase over the one taken earlier in the month.

Unless workers in every industry force their leadership into accepting full, uncompromising support for wharfies in their fight for a job, then they, like the busmen, will be isolated and defeated.

All the union leaders must know this. To refuse to fight the battle on anything but this level is to hand over the workers to the Tories, just as readily as if they were doing it for cash payment.



STALINIST CRISIS

The arrest of 22-year-old Jan Sling in Prague has heightened the divisions in the ranks of the British Communist Party.

Sling was arrested because he protested at the arrest of others who, like him, were critical of the Stalinist hacks placed in authority in Czechoslovakia after the Russian invasion of 1968.

He is accused of being in touch with foreign journalists.

Sling is the son of Otto Sling who was executed during the Slansky frame up trials of 1952. Jan's mother—Marian—was also arrested in the Slansky purge and was held in jail for two years.

The crisis created in the Stalinist ranks is reflected by the publication in the January 21 'Morning Star' of a statement by Marian Sling, who now lives in London.

'Jan's arrest is important as it is the first time children of the victims of the trials of the 1950s have been arrested,' declared Mrs Sling.

Arrested with Jan Sling was Jan Vlk.

Mrs Sling says: 'This also applies to Jan Vlk. His father, Vaclav Vlk—an old Party member—was accused of Trotskyism in the frame-up trial of the so-called Grand Trotskyist Council. He died one year after his release.'

According to Mrs Sling, there have been three waves of arrests in recent months, the first of which was concentrated in Brno. It was the Brno arrests in October 1950, of Otto Sling and other Brno regional Party committee members that led to the trial of the so-called Anti-State Conspiracy Group—better known as the Slansky Trial—in November 1952.

Of the 14 men brought to trial, 11 were executed a month later. They were posthumously rehabilitated in 1963.

Other recent arrests include journalist Jiri Lederer and the former rector of the Party political school and former Central Committee member Milan Hubl.

The 'Morning Star' of January 21 carried an editorial on Jan Sling which declared that Jan's father was 'unjustly executed during a period when many communists in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere were the victims of a policy which tragically departed from communist principles.'

What the 'Morning Star' does not say is that the murder of Slansky, Sling and the others was supported all along the line by the entire leadership of the British Communist Party.

All it says is: 'The policy of trying to handle problems of dissent under socialism by arrests and trials is not only regrettable and wrong, but self-defeating. Further information on the arrest will be anxiously awaited.' We can understand their anxiety.

For the men who hailed the murder of Slansky—as they had hailed the murder of the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution in

WHAT THE 'STAR' DOES NOT SAY

BY JOHN SPENCER

the 1930s, as they had hailed the Stalin-Hitler Pact under which communist refugees from fascism were handed over to the SS, as they hailed the invasion of Hungary in 1956—are still there, many of them still in the leadership of the British Communist Party, Gollan, Ramelson, Palme Dutt, Wainwright, Rothstein, Kerrigan.

When did they discover that the murder of communists was 'regrettable'? None of these men can speak out today.

But that does not mean that there are not people still in the British Communist Party who hanker for the good old days when trials were mere formalities and criticism meant a bullet in the back of the neck.

The 'Morning Star' of January 26 carried a letter from one George Smith referring to Sling and his comrades as 'anti-state and anti-socialist elements'.

No nonsense about trials from Mr Smith. Of course they're guilty, they were arrested weren't they? What more proof of guilt could you want?

And in the 'Morning Star' of January 31, I. W. Baker is equally outspoken:

'This issue should not have been raised in the "Morning Star", he says. 'We are helping the enemy.' The classic answer given to anybody who criticized the Moscow Trials.

E. A. Edwards of Oxford also knows the verdict in advance:

'How much longer are we to tolerate in the "Morning Star" sympathies for and virtual support of those elements in Czechoslovakia who continue to carry out anti-socialist and anti-working-class activities?'

But there are some people in the British Communist Party who are a little squeamish about judicial murder. Someone—someone nice and safe—has to be trotted out as a safety valve for them.

Who better than Monty Johnstone, the Party's permanent protest man and 'expert' on Trotskyism?

The bloodstained Gollans and Ramelsons can't open their mouths, but what are you worried about Comrade? Of course, people are being persecuted. Of course, there's a regime of terror and arbitrary arrest. But didn't the 'Morning Star' carry a letter from Monty Johnstone protesting about it?

In his obligatory letter, published on January 31, Johnstone pleads: 'We must not make the same automatic presumption of guilt as we did 20 years ago.'

'Past experience,' writes this experienced man, 'and our communist concern for justice, should lead us wholeheartedly to support the "Star's" January 21 editorial and to protest against Sling's imprisonment and the growing number of other political arrests in the recent period in Czechoslovakia.'

But 'past experience' does not appear to lead Johnstone 'wholeheartedly' to examine his 'own past nor to break with what caused it.'

For what was Johnstone himself saying at the time of the Slansky frame-up? In 'Challenge' on January 10, 1953, he wrote:

'Slansky, former general secretary of the Czech CP, and 13 associates were found guilty of spying and sabotage for the US and its satellites. Many were shown to have acted as spies in the labour movement since pre-war days. These people unwillingly confessed their crimes in the face of the irrefutable testimony of fact, documents and the evidence of witnesses...'

'Such activities can and must be rooted out in this as in other countries wherever this takes place; through the vigilance of the workers the movement is rendered stronger and healthier.'

It is not enough for Johnstone to cry 'mea culpa' and pose as some sort of political virgin today. Smith, Baker and Edwards (and all the members of the Sid French tendency) are simply saying now what Johnstone and his stablemates in King St were saying then.

Johnstone's function in recent years has been to tour the areas, particularly the universities, explaining how the Khrushchev speech of 1956, the rehabilitations of 1963 and the British Communist Party's mild criticisms of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 were proof that a new day had dawned and that Stalinism was no longer Stalinism.

Above all, his role was, and remains, to head off CP members from a real historical and theoretical examination of Stalinism since this would lead to a break from it.

The arrest of Sling and Vlk is proof that Stalinism remains, but that it is in growing crisis.

Youth like Jan Sling and Jan Vlk are rising against the bureaucracy throughout E Europe and the Soviet Union. Stalinism will be destroyed.

Neither Gollan and Ramelson nor 'Honest Monty' Johnstone can save it.

* See Robert Black 'Stalinism in Britain' p. 250.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

GREETINGS

Spanish barrister, Carlos Garcia Valdes, has got himself into trouble in Madrid.

While defending his client—accused of 'illegal association'—Valdes said a confession had been extracted under duress.

The Public Order Court, where he was appearing, has replied by charging Valdes with 'showing contempt for the Spanish nation'.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, will be paying an official visit to Spain later this month to bring greetings from the Tory government to the fascist regime.

helps his father on the farm.

He takes a drink on the quiet. He watches television quite a lot. He goes to dances. His favourite programme on RTE is either 'Cannon' or 'Cade's County'. He normally doesn't bother to read any pages of the 'Westmeath Independent' other than the entertainment pages. He has a transistor radio which he tunes in at night to either Radio Luxembourg or BBC 1. Very seldom on RTE. He goes to the cinema in Athlone at least once a week. He particularly enjoyed 'Kelly's Heroes' and 'The Devil's Brigade'.

And any good war or western programme. One would be amazed by the extent of his knowledge of handguns, carbines, bazookas and the other technicolor trappings of such spectaculars. He plays Gaelic football and has also gone to see many of Athlone Town's home games.

He is a quiet ordinary lad who sometimes doesn't get on too well with his father on the farm for all the usual reasons. He realizes that he didn't do too well at school and now would like to be serving his time to some trade.

All this information is now being fed to the public relations luminaries to include in their 'Mighty Rangers' recruiting drive. Only question still unanswered is who are these lads going to be shooting—the British army or their fellow countrymen?

FOR PEACE

When Bernadette Devlin assaulted Reginald Maudling in the House of Commons, the incident was front-page news around the world.

Everywhere except the Soviet Union.

The Soviet news agency, Tass, reported the parliamentary debate but not Miss Devlin's physical attack.

The Tass report said Miss Devlin repeatedly tried to put a question.

It went on: 'But the Speaker refused to give her the floor. Under pressure from the wave of indignation the Home Secretary had to promise an inquiry into the events in Londonderry.'

The comrades obviously thought that the incident should be censored in the interests of the 'peaceful road to socialism'.



Sir Alec

CAREER

Unemployment in Ireland is now the highest for 13 years.

The Lynch government has sought to alleviate the problem in the traditional Tory way—recruiting for the army.

The Ministry of Defence has been working on a profile to try and establish just who is the typical young soldier in the Irish army.

A sample of 300 recruits were interviewed during a 'demographic and attitudinal research'.

According to the weekly magazine 'This Week' the career soldier of tomorrow is as follows:

He is 18 years old. He is from County Westmeath, where his father has a small farm. His uncle is a soldier stationed in Mullingar Barracks.

He did reasonably well at school but was not anywhere near the top of the class and did not, as they say, 'get much out of it'. At the moment he

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DURHAM FINDS NEW MILITANCY



Eddie Cowell (left) and Jack Muncaster (right) from Easington colliery, Sunderland

Easington colliery, near Sunderland, was the only pit in Co Durham to join the 1970 unofficial strike.

Now, for the first time in many years, the entire coalfield is out solid, reflecting a new-found determination among miners to fight the continual blackmail of pit closures in Durham.

'They've been saying to us for years that they'll close this colliery and that colliery if you don't accept this or that. They closed the pits regardless of what we did anyway,' Easington development worker Eddie Cowell told Workers Press.

'A lot of men became frightened of losing their jobs, especially as there is not much work in Durham as it is. But now our attitude is that we have nothing to lose.'

'As I see it the government is content to let us sweat it out and try and starve us back to work. The strike has already cost them millions of pounds, but they're not bothered. The Tories haven't offered us anything because they intend to try and smash us.'

'The government definitely has an objective and that is to try and defeat us. But we've lost a lot of wages already and now we're prepared to stick it out.'

'We must get the Tories out. All they intend to do is to force up the cost of living even more with the Common Market. Even if we get an 11 per cent increase, it only means we're standing still. Every worker in Britain feels this. I think there could be an

election shortly. We should all be demanding another election immediately. If the NUM leaders got up and made such a call they would find a lot of support with all workers. The whole working class feels the same about this government.'

SUPPORT

'I believe the miners will win, but the TUC has been a little slow in organizing support for us. We should try and get a General Strike to try and beat this government.'

Eddie thought there were many differences between now and 1926. Workers were better educated and the trade union movement was stronger. And the young workers of today wouldn't stand a sell-out or a return to the 1930s.

He then told us what would happen if the Tories tried to cut the dole and social security:

'Workers will not allow themselves to be starved. There would be a revolution and an uprising against the Tories. No man will go back to the 1930s.'

He told us he had never used the word revolution before the strike began.

'As you say, it a serious thing to talk in that way, but I mean it.'

'If the Tories keep up their ambition to smash us, they'll have the whole country out against them. You can see what happened in Londonderry and I don't think that is a religious

question.

'If the Tories intend going all the way against us I don't know where it could end.'

'I agree a Labour government should end all the compensation and interest payments we make every year. The old owners had enough under private enterprise out of our fathers and grandfathers.'

'And it is right to put the collieries under the control of the miners. In 1948 we used to have one manager and one under-manager. Now we've nothing but managers and deputies all over the pit. It would be a good idea to have elected miners running the industry.'

'I don't know if parliament could do such a thing, but the Labour government should try. The miners built the Labour Party so they owe us something.'

MARCH

'Your Right-to-Work marches sound a good thing. I've a 16-year-old lad who can't get a job. He has been here, there and everywhere looking. I'll march through the town with it if it comes through here,' said Eddie.

His friend Jack Muncaster, who works at Eppleton colliery, added:

'Vic Feather should call for a General Strike. But these union leaders won't commit themselves and want to sit in the middle. You could be right—we might need new leaders.'



MINERS' STRIKE
DAY 36

WHERE IS THE TUC?

In a blistering attack on the TUC and its general secretary S Wales NUM vice-President Emrys Williams said their failure to give leadership was the sole source of the trade union movement's weakness.

He told me in an exclusive interview: 'Vic Feather is always emphasizing the TUC is a loose federation, but it's only loose because they don't give the leadership.'

'It's not the fact that we're separate that is the problem. The crux of the matter is that, as the co-ordinating committee, of the trade union movement, the TUC does not act strongly enough.'

'Feather is prepared to see the miners take on the Tories, but he's not bold enough to call out all the unions. He could call out the transport unions as a first line of attack.'

'But all he's done is to set himself up as a mediator between the miners and the government, trying for a compromise they won't accept anyway.'

'The miners came out on strike because of their low wages. I don't think they'll be beaten.'



Vic Feather

'They'll soldier on alone, if necessary, but the miners are so entrenched they would rather see the industry close than go back.'

'Since the strike started there's been an acceptance by the miner that he's being deliberately put against the wall by the Tory government.'

'There are not many left who believe the miners could be treated as a special case. The miners have been a special case for 20 years. This fight is not just about wages. It's political.'

Mr Williams' second broadside ripped into the Labour Party, of which he has been a life-time supporter.

He said: 'The Labour Party leaders haven't made a public statement about the strike, yet here is the ideal platform for them to call a General Election. We're not getting any deeds from them and very few words.'

'I am certainly with you that there must be a change in the leadership of the party. At the

moment the leaders are on the right and the grass roots are moving rapidly to the left.

'I think the labour movement has swung more to the left in the past five or six years than in the last 20, but the Labour Party today is not carrying out true socialist policies because of its tie-up with the establishment.'

'There's only one way out for the miners, or anyone else, and that's workers' control. As miners we've always been fighting for the implementation of Clause Four of the Labour Party constitution and that is workers' control.'

'But we can't have workers' control without a political solution. If there was a truly socialist government the miners are ready. We could take over any time.'

'When nationalization first came in, in 1947, we thought it was all we dreamed of, but it was just a change of name.'

'A Labour government carrying out a mixed economy policy is just pacifying the capitalists at the expense of the workers.'

Mr Williams said there was a comparison between the economic climate of the 1920s and 1972.



Stanley Baldwin

'The Tories' wages policy is absolutely the effect of the recession. Heath has taken a lesson from the Baldwin government of 1926.'

Asked if the miners' leaders might bend before the Tories' tough line, Mr Williams said:

'There seems to be an opinion being expressed that the NUM national executive are militant. The national leadership are still as reactionary as they've ever been.'

'They will try to sell us down the river, but the grass roots will not allow it. If they try to compromise, the miners' anger, which is at the moment focused on the Tories, would be transferred to the NUM leadership.'

'There would be immediate anarchy and I think the men would go on with the strike, against their own leadership.'

Returning to the leadership of the trade unions generally Mr Williams said: 'We are mystified why the trade unions don't give us more support and it has caused apprehension among our members.'

Turning to the question of building an alternative leadership in the labour movement Mr Williams said:

'The policies of the Communist Party are almost identical with the left wing of the Labour Party and they don't go beyond the belief that you can obtain socialism without revolution.'

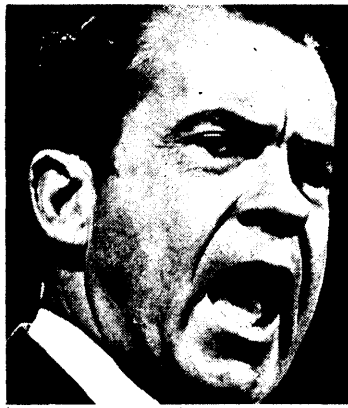
Mr Williams believes that the Labour Party can be changed from within into an instrument capable of achieving socialism.

'I have been a left-wing socialist all my life and my aspiration is to see a Labour government with genuinely socialist policies.'

Sinister dealing planned on Peking trip

BY A DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

PRESIDENT Nixon leaves Washington on Thursday on the first leg of his trip to Peking, where he is expected on February 21. As the representative of the world's most powerful imperialist state, his task is to win concessions from China which will help stifle revolution in SE Asia and the Pacific.



NIXON

IN SIBERIA OIL DEAL

JAPANESE businessmen interested in exploiting Siberia's natural resources have drawn up demands to be put to a joint meeting with Soviet representatives on February 21.

They will say that they are unable to co-operate in building a new pipeline unless they are guaranteed 30-50 million tons of crude oil each year by the Soviet side. They want a written guarantee to this effect.

The Japanese are to ask for more detailed information about the oilfield, the plans for the pipeline and a traffic map of the surrounding area. At the same time they are critical of the Soviet demand for bank loans of \$1,000m from Japan to finance joint development.

CHINESE GUNBOATS FOR CEYLON

CHINA has supplied two 100-ton gunboats to Ceylon to be paid for out of the £10.7m loan given by China last year. The vessels will be used for patrol duties and will be followed by three others on order.

ELIMINATE STRIKES —MEANY

GEORGE MEANY, head of the 16 million-strong AFL-CIO, the US equivalent of the TUC, says strikes no longer make sense and ought to be eliminated.

In an interview with the magazine 'US News and World Report', Meany favours binding arbitration, voluntarily agreed upon, as a substitute for strikes.

Most sinister aspects of the talks is that the Maoists may be willing to bargain away the destiny of their 'allies' in Indo-China and N Korea.

Concessions on Vietnam peace terms will be one of Nixon's main aims and he has some juicy bait for the Chinese—diplomatic recognition, the return of Formosa and economic aid.

Chinese acceptance of this first visit by an American president is regarded as an historical diplomatic success.

For 20 years, the US has shown bitter hostility to Mao Tse-tung's regime and financially backed the old Formosan Nationalist dictator Chiang Kai-shek's intended invasion of the mainland.

A 50-strong American advance party has made detailed preparations for Nixon's visit, which is expected to include four days in the capital and three at Mao's Hangchow retreat. The trip will end in Shanghai on February 28, but Nixon says he expects a little time for sight-seeing.

The Americans believe that the Maoists are ready for 'friendly and frank talks', but will want concessions over Formosa and American bases in the Pacific if an agreement is to be reached.

Beginning of dialogue

Nixon sees the visit as the beginning of a dialogue unlikely to produce instant solutions to outstanding differences. He aims to take advantage of China's weakness—the internal upheaval following the 'cultural revolution', the fear of the Soviet military build-up in Siberia, and anxiety about Japan's growing power.

At present the US has no diplomatic relations with China. These cannot be restored as long as it continues to recognize the Chiang regime on Taiwan and backs it with military supplies.

Although business deals are not likely to figure prominently in Nixon's talks, it is certain that the Americans are interested in the potentially enormous Chinese market, especially in view of their growing trade deficit.

If the talks improve relations, an early result will be a procession of salesmen seeking orders.

JOURNALISTS' JAIL PROTEST

ITALIAN journalists placed a half-page advertisement in 'Le Monde' last Friday calling for the release from a Prague jail of their colleague, Valerio Ochetto. Held since early in January, Ochetto has not been permitted to receive visitors or consult a lawyer. The advertisement claims that he is probably the only journalist in the world being held in a foreign country for his ideas and his work.

The Italian communist journalist Ferdinando Zidar, just expelled from Prague, said that he had been questioned about alleged contacts with various dissident elements in Czechoslovakia as well as with Ochetto. He had denied all the charges.

STICKING NEEDLES INTO NIXON?

NO RISKS are being taken about President Nixon's health during his China visit. He will be accompanied by his personal physician, General Walter Tkach, and a specialist in internal medicine, Dr William Lukash. Hospitals along the route have been alerted to deal with any possible illness. Chinese hospitals have been inspected and approved by Dr Tkach and

Chinese medical specialists will be called in if necessary. The possibility of the use of acupuncture techniques has been envisaged.

In addition to these medical precautions, Nixon will be accompanied by a strong posse of secret service men. It is assumed the Chinese will be able to cope with crowd control during the visit.

TV

BBC 1

News, weather. 2.05 Schools. 4.00 Boomph with Becker. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Treasure Over the Water Part 1. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather. 6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK. 6.20 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR. 6.45 THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW. 7.10 Z CARS. Promotion. 8.00 PANORAMA. 9.00 NEWS, weather. 9.20 MENACE. The Elimination. 10.40 24 HOURS. 11.15 SOUNDING OUT. The Drifters. 11.40 Weather.

BBC 2

9.38 Schools. 12.55 The Question Why. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 11.00 Play Schools. 5.35 Open University. 7.05 Children Growing Up. 7.30 NEWSROOM, weather. 8.00 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES. (Western.) 8.50 FACE THE MUSIC. Match your musical wits against celebrities. 9.20 HORIZON. Medical ethics. 10.10 WHO CALLS THE TUNE? Discussion on the Green Paper on the responsibility of scientists to society. 10.40 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'Asquith in orbit'. 11.10 NEWS, weather. 11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

TV

10.20 Schools. 2.33 Riding. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea break. 3.45 Danger Man. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.50 Land of giants. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.20 CROSSROADS. 6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS! 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 A EUROPEAN JOURNEY. Germany. 8.30 THE LAST OF THE BASKETS. 9.00 HOME AND AWAY. The Cold Wind Doth Blow. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 THE X FILM: 'A RAGE TO LIVE'. Suzanne Pleshette, Bradford Dillman. 12.20 PEOPLE WITH A PURPOSE.

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:
Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.20 Wales Today. 6.45-7.10 Heddiw. 11.15-11.40 Croesi'r Bont. 11.42 Weather.
Scotland: 12.45-1.30 Mainly Magnus. 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 6.20-6.45 Scottish assembly. 11.15-11.45 Scope. 11.45-12.10 Sounding out. 12.10 News, weather.
N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six. 6.45-7.10 Sport on Monday. 12.10 News, weather.
England: 6.00-6.20 Look North. Midlands today. Look East. Points West. South today. Spotlight South West. Weather. 11.42 News, weather.
CHANNEL: 10.20 Schools. 4.05 Once upon a time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Channel news, weather. What's on where. 6.15 The pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 University challenge. 11.02 Marcus Welby MD.
WESTWARD: As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 Westward news. 6.00 Westward diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 10.59 Late news. 11.55 Faith for life. 12.00 Weather.
SOUTHERN: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Lucy. 4.55 The Lionheart. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Question Time South. 10.35 Marcus Welby MD. 11.50 South news. 12.00 Weather.
HTV WALES: 10.20 Schools. 3.45 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Superman. 4.50 Robin Hood. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.01 Y dydd. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 The other half. 11.15 Tales of Edgar Wallace. 12.10 Weather.
HTV (Black and White) Wales and the West as above except: 6.01 Report West. 10.30 Late night cinema. 12.00 Weather.
HTV (Black and White) Cymru/Wales as above except: 8.00 Yr wythnos.
HTV West as above except: 6.22 This is the week. 10.30 Late night cinema. 12.00 Weather.
ANGLIA: 3.55 Newsroom. 4.00 Tea break. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.05 Marcus Welby MD.
ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 British museum.
YORKSHIRE: 10.20 Schools. 2.34 Polaris. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 Yoga. 3.35 Calendar news. 3.45 Farmhouse kitchen. 4.15 Dick Van Dyke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 HR Puffnstuf. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.20 Country Calendar. 6.45 London. 10.30 Untouchables. 11.30 Yesterdays. 12.00 Weather.
GRANADA: 10.58 Schools. 3.40 Yoga. 4.05 News. From a bird's eye view. 4.35 Hatty town. 4.50 Spiderman. 5.15 It's fun to be fooled. Bright boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Newsday. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Appointment with Fear.
TYNE TEES: 10.20 Schools. 2.33 Polaris. 3.05 Pied Piper. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Newsroom. 3.45 Farmhouse kitchen. 4.15 Dick Van Dyke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Love American style. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the press. 11.00 Seaway. 11.55 News extra. 12.10 Being yourself.
SCOTTISH: 10.20 Schools. 2.35 Another way. 2.50 Sign off. 3.30 Origami. 3.45 Castle Haven. 4.10 Dateline: early. 4.55 Batman. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Dateline: Monday. 6.15 Dr Simon Locke. 6.45 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.50 Late call. 11.35 Scottish assembly.
GRAMIAN: 11.00 Schools. 3.37 News. 3.40 Junkin. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Rupert bear. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Gramplan news, weather. 6.10 Country Focus. 6.35 Cartoon time. 6.45 London. 10.30 Gramplan news special. 11.15 University challenge. 11.40 Evening prayers.

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OVER THE BORDER INTO ENGLAND—THE MARCHERS GATHER ROUND THE SIGN

Right-to-Work
DIARY
By Stephen Johns

INTO CARLISLE: VICTORY OVER TORY-LABOUR BAN

DAY SIX—Carlisle

WE **CROSSED** the Scottish border today and marched into Carlisle with our heads high. The campaign waged by the Labour Party leadership to keep 45 unemployed youth out of their town has failed.

As we crossed the river into the city centre a new recruit, an unemployed labourer, joined the column.

The Party in Carlisle has allied itself with the Tory education committee to lock every hall, school and union headquarters to the marchers. We're quartered outside the city limits in Longtown parish hall.

A final confrontation came on Friday. The advance team went down to the Party headquarters for a last bid to get accommodation. Pickets were being fed there so we sent down the two miners with the team.

They were disgusted at the reception they received. The Party bureaucrats were sympathetic—of course—but they could do nothing. They refused to explain why they opposed a campaign for the right to work with the aim of building a movement to get the Tories out.

Wherever we've been, the section of the movement taking the political initiative has been the local trade union branches. Naturally they clash with the Labour Party squires. This rift is of fundamental significance. The Party and the right wing are utterly divorced from developments within the working class—hence the fear of our march.

This is particularly apparent in Carlisle. Tory unemployment is about to strike this town in a very direct way. The brewery and the pubs here were state-owned. The city was noted for its cheap excellent beer (20p a pint).

But Heath has awarded the big brewers, who put cash backing behind his party, with this thriving industry. The pubs are being hived-off to the big private combines and the state brewery—employing over 300—will shut down soon.

Back to the Labour Party. The final irony came when Party members approached a group of marchers in the town. 'Would they be interested in coming to speak at the Labour Party's conference on unemployment?'

Carlisle marks our first week on the road. I must say I felt proud to be among the youth when we crossed that bridge quarter of a mile past Gretna and saw the sign for England—we had come over 100 miles.

I recalled a remark Corin Redgrave made on the first day of the trek about Cromwell's New Model Army. I'm sure when the workers' army in Britain is built, many of the youth on the Glasgow march will be in its front ranks.

Before closing today's diary, I would like to refer back up the route to Annan and pay tribute to the workers of this town and especially the Solway branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

They spent all Friday arranging accommodation for us. We were to get food from the canteen of Chapel Cross nuclear power station, but the management refused the facility at the last minute.

But the local trade unionists rallied round and sat the whole march down in a local transport café for supper and a breakfast to see us through to Carlisle.

Stalinists crave for 'pressure' politics

NO DECISIONS about the fight against the Tory government were voted on at the conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions in London on Saturday.

The conference was attended by 550 Communist Party members and supporters. 1,033 credentials had been issued.

A duplicated 'declaration' circulated by the committee's Stalinist leaders was amended from the floor, but no vote was taken on it.

It calls for another one-day protest stoppage on May 1 for 'struggle and confrontation' against the Tories. But there is no mention of forcing the Tories to resign.

It demands 'mass action including industrial action' to compel the government to implement TUC and Labour Party economic policies.

The declaration calls for 'maximum pressures' on the TUC leaders to implement congress decisions on non-registration and non-co-operation.

Alan Sapper, general secretary of the Cinematograph and television technicians' union (ACTT) and a member of the TUC General Council, said: 'It's easy to say that we must have a general strike to throw out the government and institute socialist policies. But that's words... We've got to have a policy for now and the present, not the theoretical future.'

Chairman Bill Jones, himself a former General Council member, asked the conference to choose between 'either a General Strike or a General Election.'

'Don't try and kid yourselves we're in a revolutionary situation,' he said.

ENNISKILLEN—MARCH ENDS WITHOUT INCIDENT

THE Enniskillen march against internment ended without incident yesterday afternoon.

It got under way an hour late in tense circumstances when Mr Frank McManus MP declared: 'It is our intention to march to the centre of the city'.

As the entire area was ringed by heavily-armed troops and Royal Ulster Constabulary Mr McManus's statement left many of the 7,000 marchers very apprehensive.

However, leading the columns standing on the back of a lorry, McManus simply approached an army barricade and then diverted the march in a

FROM ALEX MITCHELL IN ENNISKILLEN

full circle.

The whole demonstration was over in ten minutes. All the participants are liable to prosecution.

Banners had demanded the end of Stormont and the end of internment.

Two surprise visitors were former Eire Cabinet Minister Mr Kevin Boland and Belfast MP Mr Paddy Kennedy, who is wanted in the North for alleged Republican activities.

Asked if he feared arrest, Mr Kennedy said: 'I'm petrified. Now I am here how on earth am I going to get out again?'

He joked with reporters before disappearing into the crowd with the comment: 'I'll see you all in Crumlin Road—the high-security prison in Belfast.'

A powerful, well-armed group of soldiers completely surrounded the area of Kilmacornick housing estate where the marchers assembled. They were armed with tear-gas, rubber bullets and automatic weapons.

A rmy helicopters circled the area.

The march was called by the Northern Resistance movement, which is regarded as the left wing of the Civil Rights Association

and has been advocating confrontation with the British army.

Miss Bernadette Devlin, MP told Workers Press that while not a member of the NRM she had agreed to speak after the march.

Earlier, on the road from Belfast to Enniskillen, in Co. Fermanagh, I was stopped and exhaustively searched no less than eight times.

Near the outskirts of Enniskillen Miss Devlin received special attention from the army.

For ten minutes she had to stand at the side of the road while soldiers went over her vehicle inch by inch.

MINERS DETERMINED TO CARRY ON—DALY

VAUXHALL SACKINGS

VAUXHALL Motors has announced the axing of 800 jobs at its Dunstable truck plant—nearly one tenth of the labour force.

A management spokesman said the shrinking order book situation 'will become even more difficult'.

The Dunstable factory has already been on a three-day week since January 21. It has the biggest potential output of commercial vehicles of any plant in Europe.

Dunstable was also hit at the weekend by the final abandonment of attempts to sell the Bagshawe engineering firm—one of the oldest in the town. Three hundred workers will lose their jobs when the firm closes in April.

WEATHER

APART from isolated wintry showers in the N and W, Scotland will be dry. Fog patches are expected in central and E Scotland.

England, except the NW and SW, will be dry. Fog patches are expected at first.

NW England, N Ireland and N Wales will have isolated wintry showers on coasts, otherwise it will be mainly dry.

S Wales and SW England will be dry at first becoming cloudy with rain in places later.

It will be mild over most of England and Wales with near-normal temperatures elsewhere. Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Rain or showers at times. Sunny periods after. Becoming colder.

TO CARRY ON—DALY

MINERS are determined to continue their strike until the government and the Coal Board see reason, union chief Lawrence Daly said yesterday.

The National Union of Mine-workers' secretary was speaking after a preliminary meeting yesterday afternoon with members of the court of inquiry into the dispute which will start in public tomorrow.

Mr Daly said that if the court's recommendations were such that the NUM executive considered they could be put to branch meetings, acceptance or rejection could be decided within two to three days of the inquiry report.

Employment Secretary Robert Carr yesterday attacked the miners' 'quite unprecedented' picketing.

Interviewed on BBC-radio, he said: 'I don't want to argue if this is strictly legal or not, but this was never the sort of picketing which has been allowed, been protected by law, for the purpose of industrial disputes.'

The National Union of Public Employees yesterday pressed the TUC to consider action 'to bring a speedy and satisfactory settlement to the miners' pay dispute'.

In a telegram to TUC secretary Victor Feather, NUPE secretary Alan Fisher said: 'We feel the situation has now reached the point where the government's policies threaten not only the living standards of the miners, but also those of millions of workers in other industries.' Feather is in Miami.

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THE CHARTER OF BASIC RIGHTS

THIS CHARTER of Basic Rights was supported by 4,200 people at the 'Make the Tory government resign' rally at Alexandra Palace, London, N22, on February 14, 1972.
It was first adopted by the 2nd Annual Conference of the All Trades Union Alliance in Birmingham on December 19, 1970.
We believe that the role of the Tory government is one of attacking and taking away all the basic rights of the working class over the past 200 years. Such a government must not be allowed to remain in office another four years. It must be made to resign and a Labour government returned pledged to legislate this Charter. This is the only way to prevent the working class being driven back to the conditions of the 1930s.
The rally at Alexandra Palace on February 14 took the decision to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. This party will defend the basic rights and interests of the working class by building a revolutionary leadership within the labour and trade union movement.
This Charter is our basic document. We ask you to read it and if you support it and are willing to help us build the party in any way, fill in the form on page four.

Make the Tory government resign!
Defeat the anti-union laws!
Fight for the Charter of Basic Rights!

LEGAL NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

A LEGALLY-binding, no-strike guarantee may be one of the demands Marathon Manufacturing, a Texas oil-rig company, will make on union leaders if it buys the threatened Clydebank division of UCS.

Reports from Marathon's US headquarters in Houston suggest that the company will want not only the guarantee, but a pledge that £50 fines will be imposed on workers breaking it.

When leading stewards return to Glasgow from talks today with Industry Minister John Davies, shipyard workers will certainly want to know whether this was one of the topics Marathon discussed with the Tory chief in London last month.

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£1,250 Fund stands at £452.16

LET'S press ahead as quickly as we can with February's Fund. At the moment it stands at £452.16. We are sure we can make this a record month.

The enormous determination of the miners has won support from every section of the working class, but this united strength must be mobilized to force the Tories to resign.

Please raise as much as you can, as quickly as you can and send it to:

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