

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1972 ● No. 694 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

JULY 29, 1925—FEB 18, 1972

'RED FRIDAY' SETTLEMENT

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in line
for pay
rise**

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The unions involved in the joint claim are the National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) and the Transport and Salaried Staffs' Association.

The other union in the 'government pay sector with a claim waiting to be heard is the National Union of Teachers.

Officials from all these unions have indicated they do not intend to treat the miners' settlement as 'a special case'.

They say Wilberforce has laid down the principle that the lower paid worker is entitled to wage justice.

And both the railway unions and the teachers feel they are an aggrieved and underpaid section of workers.

With the miners' increase of over 21 per cent, these unions are adamant they will not go back to the Tories' 7 per cent 'norm'.

And even if the trade union leaderships wanted to retreat, the militancy in the rank and file is unlikely to let them!

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The resolution notes that only with the Tories out of office will workers get just wage increases.

BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE 1972 MINERS' strike will go down in history as one of the most powerful demonstrations of working-class solidarity so far in Britain this century.

But the harsh fact remains that it has settled nothing. The Tory government had to retreat. This was delicately engineered when Heath changed his policy of confrontation and no compromise and suddenly introduced the Wilberforce inquiry.

But although Heath changed horses, the whip has never left his hand.

The crucial moment of the strike came at 10.15 p.m. on Friday, February 18, when the NUM's five-man negotiating committee met Heath at Downing St.

Joe Gormley, the miners' president, is reported to have described the meeting as follows:

‘We pushed Mr Heath, we pushed him like hell, but he wouldn't budge. We were facing a united Cabinet decision. In the end I realized there was not a cat in hell's chance of getting the extra £1 we were demanding.’

Had the Cabinet's ultimatum been rejected, then the collapse of the Tory government was almost inevitable. The government could not have escaped further concessions to the miners. Heath would have reopened the Wilberforce inquiry and a decision to grant at least a portion of the £1 difference was clearly on the cards.

Such a situation would have destroyed so completely the government's industrial relations and economic strategy, it is difficult to see how it could have survived.

The government was saved because in dealing with the reformist miners' leaders Heath held the political whip hand.

As far as the government was concerned, the question of its power and authority was being challenged. This left the reformist miners' leadership with no alternative but to capitulate. The miners' leaders were talking about wages when, in reality, it was political power that was posed.

These gentlemen, like the entire leadership of the labour and trade union movement, had to give way because their whole treacherous philosophy is based on class collaboration.

The late Aneurin Bevan described a similar experience in 1919. In his book 'In Place of Fear' he recounts a conversation with Robert Smillie, the miners' leader:

‘He [Lloyd George] was quite frank with us from the outset. He said to us ‘Gentlemen, you have fashioned in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred already in a number of camps. We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices, and we are in no position to satisfy them.’

‘In these circumstances if you carry out your threat and strike, then you will defeat us. But if you defeat us,’ went on Lloyd George, ‘have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance of the government of the country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For, if a force arises in the state which is stronger than the state itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the state, or withdraw and accept the authority of the state.’

‘Gentlemen,’ asked the Prime Minister quietly, ‘have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?’ From that moment on, said Robert Smillie, we were beaten and we knew we were.’

● Continued on page 2



Two more jobs marches under way



Both the Liverpool and Swansea Right-to-Work marches organized by the Young Socialists got off to enthusiastic starts at the weekend. Top: In Liverpool playwright/actor Neville Smith and playwright Jim Allen headed a march through the city to a meeting and the first night on the road for the marchers. Yesterday playwright Arnold Wesker led the S Wales march out of Swansea with film director Roy Battersby. ● For details of these marches and Stephen Johns diary of the Glasgow-London march's 14th day on the road, see p. 12.

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Worthless guarantees

THE FRENCH Communist Party claims to have received a guarantee from Czechoslovak Stalinist leader Gustav Husak that there will be no return to 'prefabricated trials'.

The so-called 'guarantee' was given to French delegate Roland Leroy when he visited Prague recently.

According to the French CP's political bureau, Leroy received the following reply when he asked about the recent wave of arrests of oppositionists in Czechoslovakia:

'There are not and there will not be, in Czechoslovakia, any trials or arrests for political acts

Husak lies to French CP as opponents remain in jail

in 1968 or 1969. Nor will there be any arrests or trials for reasons of opinion. Socialist legality will be scrupulously adhered to.'

Husak went on to tell Leroy: 'The period of prefabricated and frame-up trials is definitely in the past.'

This high-sounding declaration is, in fact, quite worthless. The Husak regime is holding in its

prisons more than 100 intellectuals and opponents of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. They include the sons of some of the defendants murdered in the frame-up Slansky trial 20 years ago.

Some of those arrested at the end of last year have since been released, but others are still being held in jail.

Husak is hardly likely to

announce in advance that the forthcoming trials will be frame-ups as well. Instead, he declared ominously to Leroy that nothing he had said was contradictory with the 'need to defend socialism and not to tolerate the violation of Czechoslovak law'.

To this end, he said, the authorities had recently opened an investigation into 'the formation of an illegal conspiratorial network'.

The same kind of network was 'uncovered' in the Slansky trial. At the time, the French Communist Party leaders, together with all the other Stalinist parties, supported this frame-up. Do they plan to do the same this time behind the smokescreen of Husak's worthless 'guarantees'?

Law-and-order Mujib

BANGLA DESH premier Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has warned he will take action against what he called 'anti-social elements threatening law and order in the country'.

The Bangla Desh news agency BSS said the warning came in the wake of reports of 'looting and rowdiness in Dacca and outlying districts'.

The agency said the Sheikh had assured a deputation of transport operators, who met him 'to voice their grievance against intimidation by miscreants', that he would deal with the situation with a firm hand.

The 'miscreants' are armed youths, said to be former Mukti Bahini guerrillas. They are accused of 'swaggering around towns and villages demanding free food in restaurants, hijacking cars and extorting ransoms from householders'.

Cyprus war of words hots up

GREECE will tolerate no foreign intervention in the affairs of Cyprus, Greek deputy Foreign Minister Christian Xanthopoulos-Palamas said in Athens at the weekend.

He told reporters at a regular press conference that relations between Athens and Nicosia were a matter for 'the Greek national family to which Cypriot Hellenism belongs, whether any dissidents like it or not'.

His statement is the latest in the week-long war of words between the Greek colonels and the government of Archbishop Makarios.

Their disagreement follows a peremptory demand from Athens that Makarios should immediately surrender to the UN 'peace-keeping' force a consignment of Czechoslovak arms which arrived in Nicosia recently. Athens also demanded a government reshuffle. The Greek government is backing former Eoka leader Gen Grivas who stands for Enosis (union of Cyprus with Greece).

This demand is opposed by the majority of Cypriots both Greek and Turkish, so long as the repressive military regime rules in Athens.

The Cypriot government has still to reply formally to the Greek ultimatum though the government has stated unofficially that 'president Makarios will never agree to the Greek demands'.

CHILE'S RIGHT WING BLOCKS 'NATIONALIZATION'

CHILE'S right-wing-dominated congress has barred the Popular Unity government from expropriating or interfering in private companies.

It also declared void attempts since last October 14 by the state and its organs to acquire shares in private industry and the banks.

The constitutional amendment passed on Saturday by Congress is

a blow to President Salvador Allende.

He planned to buy shares in 93 companies which control 55 per cent of industrial output.

In its present form Congress is almost certain to throw out future nationalization measures.

This is a further setback for Allende's so-called peaceful road to socialism.

Meanwhile the coalition parties in the Popu-

lar Unity regime have had to abandon plans to merge into a single organization to fight next year's congressional elections.

The fusion of Socialist, Communist and Radical Parties was not acceptable to the smaller coalition parties. They feared being 'swallowed up'.

Allende has said the formation of a single party is the only way to defeat the opposition Christian Democrats

and Nationalists, who dominate both houses of Congress, in the elections.

Allende's government faces mounting economic crisis under the country's worsening position in the world economy.

At the weekend it ordered fuel price increases ranging from 25 per cent for kerosene to nearly 30 per cent for petrol and liquid gas.

REAGAN PRESSING TO KEEP DEATH PENALTY

CALIFORNIA'S ultra-right-wing governor Ronald Reagan is fighting to keep the death penalty despite a state Supreme Court ruling that it is a 'cruel and unusual punishment'.

He wants an amendment to the state constitution to ensure that the 102 male prisoners currently awaiting the gas chamber on the death row at San Quentin prison actually go to their deaths.

Five women are also awaiting execution at another prison. Some of the prisoners have been under sentence of death for up to 12 years.

Reagan is so passionate an advocate of the death penalty that he has tried to have it imposed for crimes other than the existing seven.

Despite the Supreme Court ruling, the condemned prisoners are being kept on death row until 'all the legal manoeuvring is over', according to Prisons Department spokesman Philip Guthrie.

Guerrillas' tape recording

TUPAMAROS guerrillas seized a radio station in Montevideo on Friday and broadcast the tape recording of a manifesto. The move came a few hours after the President-elect, Juan Maria Bordaberry, had formally asked the opposition Blanco party to join a coalition government.

NEW CONTRACT FOR W COAST DOCKERS

DOCKERS on the American W coast returned to work yesterday after the longest dock strike in US history. Under a new contract confirmed by their union and the employers on Saturday, the dockers are to get a 26-per-cent pay rise and a guaranteed annual wage and pensions benefits.

However, the contract's provisions on container handling—one of the main points in dispute—will allow non-dock labour to deal with container cargoes provided they pay tonnage to the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union.

This means the dockers will not have the exclusive right to handle container cargoes.

The strike began on July 1

and lasted 100 days before president Nixon invoked an 80-day cooling off period under the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act.

Talks broke down again on January 17 and the strike restarted. Negotiations were reopened on January 31 when the Administration sought emergency legislation to force the dockers back to work.

Window with a view

IF PRESIDENT Nixon looks out of the bedroom window during his stay in Peking he may catch a glimpse of a board which proclaims 'Danger of a new world war still exists. The people of all countries must be prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today'.

These and other anti-imperialist slogans—in Chinese—are still on display in the Chinese capital. 'All peace-loving countries and peoples should unite and oppose aggression, control, interference and bullying by US imperialism and social imperialism', runs one of them.

'The People's Daily' has reported Nixon's remark that his trip would be a journey for peace and has given a factual account of his departure from Washington. This reference, which appeared on Friday, was the first for almost six weeks.

Turkish guerrillas shot in battle

TURKISH security forces have captured six members of an urban guerrilla group in Istanbul after wounding four in a gun-battle.

A member of the People's Liberation Army, who escaped from a military prison while awaiting trial last month, is reported shot dead in another clash.

'RED FRIDAY' SETTLEMENT IN MINERS' STRIKE



HAT IN HAND outside No. 10 after seeing Prime Minister Heath on Friday is NUM president Joe Gormley. With him is the union's secretary Lawrence Daly.

FROM PAGE ONE

Bevan himself concludes: 'After this the General Strike of 1926 was really an anticlimax. The essential argument had been deployed in 1919. But the leaders in 1926 were in no better theoretical position to face it.'

'They had never worked out the revolutionary implications of direct action on such a scale. Nor were they anxious to do so. Industrial action was in the air and they could not deny it.'

The miners have certainly won a decisive wages victory, but it is the last victory before the Industrial Relations Act is activated on February 28. It would be quite wrong, therefore, to conclude that an immediate round of militant strikes will necessarily follow the miners. For the reformist leaders will do everything in their power to avoid openly challenging the Act.

This would lead to an open legal clash with the government and it is here that the reformist Gormley spoke up for all of them when he said they wouldn't have 'a cat in hell's chance'.

The reformists of the TUC are fully prepared to let the Tory government have its Red Friday (July 29, 1925) breathing space. Wilberforce is but an echo of the Royal Commission on coal mining set up in those days. Baldwin had set it up to give himself nine months to prepare for the

General Strike of 1926.

Heath also wants time to prepare. Because, despite all the syndicalist and revisionist clap-trap about the 'power' of the trade unions, this is only one side of a swiftly changing process.

INFLATION will quickly eat up the miners' increase as the Tories move ever closer to the Common Market.

UNEMPLOYMENT will remain at huge levels, thus demoralizing large sections of workers.

RENTS and rates will be raised by the Tories.

Meanwhile, the Heath cabinet will encourage the most reactionary regroupments of strike-breakers to flourish, as happened under Baldwin from September 1925 to the General Strike.

Here is where we shall see the full force of the Industrial Relations Act being used. Another 1926 becomes the order of the day and then, as now, the strike can only be won through revolutionary political leadership. No matter what the spontaneous power of the working class, such leadership will be decisive.

There never was a greater opportunity to build a revolutionary leadership than now. The miners' strike has thrust forward the political development of the working class beyond anything experienced since the end of World War II.

Building a revolutionary leadership is a qualitative task. It is the other side of the quantitative growth of militancy. The struggle to train Marxists in the unions is certainly much slower than dabbling in day-to-day mindless militancy! Yet it is the conscious side of an unconscious revolutionary process, taking place under the most favourable operative conditions.

This is where the Right-to-Work marches, coming as they do at a crucial stage in the miners' struggle, play such an important role.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country, organized discussion is proceeding around the All Trades Unions Alliance Draft Manifesto and the Charter of Basic Rights.

This will form the political foundation for transforming the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party in the autumn of this year.

For the main lesson of the miners' strike is that, as in 1926, industrial action by itself is not enough. This must be mobilized under the leadership of Marxism.

Time is now very much the essence. The government of Heath has lost a battle, but not the war. Next time they and their class must be defeated for good.

THE GROWING FRAUD INDUSTRY

British imperialism is making a comeback. Despite all evidence to the contrary, it does remain the centre of key world financial deals which are most profitable. It has possibly the fastest growing industry in the world—fraud.

The turnover of Fraud Company Unlimited in Britain is now reaching almost £100m a year. The City fraud squad is apparently finding it difficult to keep up with the rapidly-developing business.

For every one the law catches up with, it is estimated that three probably go free. In many ways the City of London is tailor-made for these operators.

The complexity of financial manipulations make it difficult to follow what the frauds are up to and where the money actually is. Then there are the Companies Acts, which leave several loopholes for fast dealers to make their cash and be off.

A few weeks ago two of the most ambitious fraudsters came to the end of the road—for the time being at least. Ellis Seillon and Elias Fahimian received their training in business deals in the Middle East.

Moving to London, the two honest brokers then proceeded to con £13m out of British banks in just four years. On January 12 they were jailed for five and four years respectively.

The first thing that strikes you is the leniency of the sentence. With remission for good conduct, it shouldn't be too long before they're out again. And remember, the sums they were dealing with were five times greater than the Great Train robbers stole—and they got up to 30 years.

In addition a mystery still surrounds close on £2m still unaccounted for. Perhaps it has been invested for the future?

A look round at some other

famous cases which have come to light illustrate similar tendencies towards comparatively light sentencing.

Friedrich Grunwald received five years in 1960 for fraudulently misusing almost £3,500,000 belonging to the State Building Society, along with the State's managing director Herbert Murray.

Norman Mascall, now 42, opened up a new game, 'Invest in a Pig'. Thousands played with him and all lost their cash. Described in court as a recklessly incompetent and profligate spender, he was jailed in 1966 for three years when his pig farms were shown to have lost close on £1m.

A former army private, Francis Craddock was fined £5,000 in 1964 for fraud. He made a comeback, but disappeared in 1966 owing, according to Board of Trade inspectors, around £3m.

In 1968 Emil Savundra was sentenced to eight years following the spectacular crash of the Fire, Auto & Marine motor insurance group.

Finally there was Louis Gordon, chairman of the former Mias Group, who was imprisoned for eight years in 1960 for conspiracy to cheat and defraud involving £465,000.

Of course, the worst thing about these gentlemen, as far as the business community was concerned was the fact they actually got caught.

For, ever so slightly beneath the surface of respectability which covers the 'honest' men in the City of London lies a not too dissimilar process.

It involves wheeling and dealing with or without money you might or might not actually own. It takes in holding companies and undervalued balance sheets. It is only when some of the characters involved decide to pursue the logic of the operations and make off with the loot that they call it fraud.

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!

DAGENHAM: Wednesday February 23, 8 p.m. Room 11, East Ham Town Hall. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

WILLESDEN: Monday February 28, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW 10. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

W LONDON: Tuesday February 29, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, Kings Cross. 'Crisis of capitalism'.

SW LONDON: Tuesday February 29, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

ACTON: Wednesday March 1, 8 p.m. Mechanics Arms, Churchfield Rd, W3. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

LUTON: Thursday March 2, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

SE LONDON: Thursday March 2, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opp New Cross stn). 'The General Strike'.

N LONDON: Thursday March 2, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. 'Building the revolutionary party'.



AMERICAN DREAM BECOMES NIGHTMARE

Big business circles in the United States at the end of World War II realized that the working class, after fighting and bleeding its way across Europe and the Far East fighting for 'democracy' and the better way of life etc., would demand something different from the crumbs they had had before the war.

A new war was declared—against the dole queue and the slums. The GI Bill of Rights and the public housing programme were started. The 'American Dream' was born anew. The world trade boom and the Bretton Woods agreement seemed to give capitalism a new lease of life.

All across the US slums were ripped down (not all of them, of course, but some) and the construction bosses laughed all the way to the bank.

The laudable aims of the public housing programme were:

1. To improve overall living conditions by rebuilding and revitalizing blighted slum areas.
2. To expand housing units available at a low rental.
3. To expand job and income opportunities and reduce welfare dependency.
4. To improve educational facilities and programmes.
5. To combat disease and ill-health.
6. To reduce crime and delinquency.
7. To enhance recreational and cultural opportunities.

There were, of course, other motives as well. The rising level of discontent and militancy among the poor was a prime factor.

To the American ruling class of the immediate post-war years, all problems were seen in terms of the dollar. Slums, unemployment and poverty could be eliminated with the application of enough dollar bills.

What are the results of this outlook?

Today, with the intensifying trade war, the collapse of Bretton Woods, the perpetual crisis, Vietnam, etc., the American dream has become the American nightmare.

And this is what has happened to the public housing programme. Take, for example, the Pruitt-Igoe scheme in St Louis, Mis-

souri, which was completed in the mid 1950s.

Once hailed as the foremost public housing project in the US, it is a vast 57 acre site. In all, there are 43 giant tower blocks, with a projected population of 12,000 people.

Today only 16 of the giant towers are occupied and the population is about 600 families.

The reason 27 of the towers are empty is that they are uninhabitable. They stand gaunt, windowless and decaying in a project that was described on completion as an oasis in a desert of decaying, dangerous slums—some of the worst in America.

Pruitt-Igoe was doomed before it started.

Murder, rape, robbery and vandalism soon became rife. Gunfire sounded regularly in the half-abandoned upper reaches. Burglars, dope pushers and street gangs roamed at will.

The result was mass evacuation, which, of course, increased the vandalism and destruction and this in turn forced still more families to leave.

Originally intended to house Negro families in Pruitt and white families in Igoe, the whole project soon became a black ghetto.

A 1966 survey revealed that 64.5 per cent of the families of Pruitt-Igoe did not contain any

employed member, 67.2 per cent were without male heads, 40 per cent had incomes of less than \$2,500 per year and 72.5 per cent of the 10,564 population were minors.

According to Thomas P. Costello, Executive Director of the St Louis housing authority: 'Pruitt-Igoe reflects the economic and social problems of the black community as a whole—only compounded.'

Unemployment results in poverty, degradation and family separation, which in turn results in juvenile delinquency, poor education etc., which creates more unemployment. The cycle is a self-perpetuating cancer which capitalism cannot cure.

Pruitt-Igoe is not an isolated example. The pattern of unemployment, poverty and segregation is repeated throughout America. There is no cure within capitalism.

Mr Costello sees the problem as part of the inter-racial education problem. 'We need a vast re-education programme to help the races understand one another' he says.

Meanwhile what is the St Louis housing authority going to do about Pruitt-Igoe?

Mr Costello's reply, in all seriousness, is that they are considering tearing the whole development down and replacing it with a 'garden-type village'



St Louis: The whole project soon became a black ghetto

WORKERS RIGHTS

BY BERNARD FRANKS

THE PENSIONERS' PLIGHT

Even if there were no unemployment and no Industrial Relations Act, the Tories' callous and contemptuous treatment of pensioners alone warrants immediate industrial action by the trade unions to bring down a particularly odious and savage government.

In the same week that MPs paid themselves rises of 30 per cent to over 100 per cent and handed out Royalty increases of up to 150 per cent, pensioners' demands for an emergency Christmas payment were summarily dismissed. In rejecting the rise, Minister for Social Services Sir Keith Joseph said on November 30:

'This Christmas, despite the fact that prices are rising, pensioners will still be marginally able to buy more than ever before—I am putting it soberly and modestly.'

Just three days later, proposals to give huge pay increases to MPs were announced, including an extremely 'sober and modest' rise for Joseph from £8,500 to a new £13,000 a year.

Evidence of the elderly having to choose whether to eat, or keep warm—being unable to afford both at the same time—falls on deaf ears. So did warnings that thousands would inevitably die of cold and under nourishment this winter if pensions were not raised immediately.

As far as employers and their Tory representatives are concerned, workers who are considered to be past usefulness—past profit-making labour—are fit only for the scrap heap.

A report on pensioners' incomes by 'Age Concern' reveals that out of 8.73 million people over retirement age at the end of 1970 (approximately one in six of the population) there were 1,902,000 having to draw supplementary benefits. The report explains that because housing, food, light and heating take up proportionally more of a pensioner's income, it follows that the extremely rapid increase in the cost of these necessities hits a pensioner harder than most people—'the pensioner's price index increases faster than the general price index'.

The standard flat-rate retirement pension for a man aged 65 and over and a woman of 60 and over is £6 per week, and for a wife £3.70, if based on her husband's insurance. A further 25p is paid at the age of 80 and over.

Thousands of pensioners receive amounts below these levels because previous National Insurance contributions paid by themselves—or by their husbands in the case of many wives and widows—have not been at the stipulated level.

Figures for 1965, for example, show that 7 per cent of retired couples and 6 per cent of retired women were receiving pensions reduced in this way.

A man or a woman whose weekly contributions, or credits, have averaged only 46-47 a year, instead of 50-52, will get £5.52 a week on retirement instead of £6.

A wife whose pension is based on her husband's insurance and his contributions which have averaged only 48-49 a year, will receive £3.57 on retirement instead of £3.70.

A wife who depends on her husband's insurance does not get her pension until her husband gets his. This means that if they are both the same age, then at 60, the age when women normally receive pension, she must



As far as employers are concerned, workers who are past usefulness are only fit for the scrap heap

wait another five years until her husband gets his pension at 65.

On this basis, a woman older than her husband waits even longer. For example, a woman four years older than her husband will be 69 before she is first entitled to her pension.

Under the 1966 Social Security Act a man aged 65 or over, or a single woman or widow aged 60 or over (if not in full-time work), can have his or her income, including Retirement or Widow's Pension, brought up to a guaranteed weekly level by means of a Supplementary Pension.

For a married couple, the husband must be 65 or over. The pensioner, like the unemployed worker, is subjected to a hard-fisted means test before these payments are made.

As previously stated, nearly 2 million people, roughly 30 per cent of the 7.5 million people actually drawing retirement pension, have to depend on supplementary benefits (42 per cent of the single women over 85 years of age).

A further 12 per cent—870,000—are eligible to draw allowances but do not do so, either through not knowing

about them or feeling that there is a stigma attached to applying for them.

In total, then, at least 42 per cent of pensioners are at, or below, subsistence level, even by official standards. The 'Age Concern' book estimates also that a further 30-40 per cent exist at slightly above supplementary benefits level. They are not, therefore, included in official figures for those drawing allowances, but are certainly living at the same depressed level. The guaranteed income levels for retirement pensioners are the same as those for the unemployed but

with an extra 50p 'long term addition'.

The full Supplementary Pension levels of guaranteed weekly income including the 50p long-term addition are:—

Single householder (which includes any single person who is directly responsible for rent)	£6.30
Married couple	£9.95
Increase where claimant or wife is over 80	25p

The supplementary pension rate for someone living in someone else's household is £5.10.

An additional allowance is also made to cover part of all of the rent. The above guaranteed levels are supposed to be what is left for living expenses after rent is paid. A fixed allowance of 65p is paid to non-householders on supplementary pension.

For example a woman over 60, but under 80, is drawing £6 retirement pension. She has no other income. Out of this she may be paying £1.50 a week rent, leaving £4.50 to live on.

She is therefore entitled to a regular supplementary pension of £1.80 to bring this sum up to the guaranteed level of £6.30 after rent is paid. Her total payment will be therefore: £6 retirement pension plus £1.80 supplementary pension = £7.80.

A married couple receiving £9.70 a week retirement pension with no other income, may be paying £3.50 a week rent leaving £6.20 to live on. They are entitled to have the rent fully paid and receive an additional 25p a week supplementary pension to make up their income to the guaranteed level of £9.95. So the income will be £9.70 retirement pension plus 25p supplementary pension plus £3.50 rent allowance; a total of £13.45.

It is an indictment of the entire iniquitous pension system that the amounts paid as 'basic retirement pension' are far less than the minimum subsistence level for incomes, set by the government in the supplementary benefits scales.

The scale rate for a single householder is £6.30 plus rent and yet the basic pension is only £6. The scale for a couple is £9.95 plus rent, but the basic pension for them is £9.70.

In other words, retirement pensions are deliberately fixed way below the poverty line.

The treatment of income from other benefits and of other earnings, property and savings are the same as for supplementary allowances for the unemployed, with the following additions to that list: retirement pensions and widows' pensions are counted in full before supplementary pension is added; part only of the children's allowance paid to widowed mothers is counted.

The amount of a war widow's pension up to £2 over the ordinary retirement pension is not counted.

Only £1 of other income, including charitable payments, occupational pensions, war dependants' pensions, and gifts from relatives or friends is not counted.

To claim supplementary pension get form SP 1 from your local post office, fill it in and send or take it to the local Social Security office (where the form is also available). The address is in the telephone directory and at the post office where free addressed envelopes that need no stamps are available. Alternatively you can fill in and send the form attached to Leaflet SL 1 which is given to all people coming up to retirement age.

For a married couple the husband has to claim and for urgent financial help a pensioner should write, phone or go in person to the Social Security office.

Supplementary Pension allowance is usually paid through a book for orders which you can cash at the local post office. Most pensioners are able to have the combined amount—of retirement and supplementary pensions—paid on a single order book.

Anyone getting retirement pension and under the age of 70 (65 for a woman) is allowed to earn only £9.50 a week before retirement pension is reduced.

Over £9.50; 5p is deducted for every 10p earned up to £11.50. For any amount earned over £11.50 an equivalent amount is deducted from pension.

Tomorrow in the last of this series on workers' rights, BERNARD FRANKS continues his examination of the pensioners' plight.

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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.

F. GREEN

AUEW shop steward
Firth Brown, Sheffield

Being one of the many who, at this stage, has very little faith (if any) in the present 'leadership' of the working class, one has to ask the inevitable question: what alternatives are there?

The answer to this becomes apparent when one reads the Draft Manifesto of the Socialist Labour League, which is clearly a blueprint for decisive and principled leadership and offers an alternative to the diluted Toryism masquerading as socialism.

The first stage of the Manifesto is to destroy the myth that entering Europe will be the medicinal means to cure our economic ailments.

'Entering Europe' as the Tories and right-wing Labourites so fondly term it, is a lie in itself. The truth of the matter is, we are not entering Europe at all but only a select portion of it—in which every member country has one thing in common, hatred, contempt and hostility for its own working class and socialism.

And 69 pseudo-socialists linked hands with their stablemates across the House to join this 'club'.

Jenkins should have been nominated 'Salesman of the Year'. Before the dust had started to settle, one heard the question raised as to whether the Labour Party could afford to lose such men as Jenkins. A more pertinent question would have been—can the party afford to keep him and his like, and maintain any credibility with the working class?

The façade that the Tories and right-wing Labourites uphold—that everything will be rosy in



German steelworkers in Hagen demonstrate against closures which will mean redundancies for 4,500 men.

this economic Garden of Eden—begins to show very large cracks, irrespective of the huge amounts of public money which were spent to perpetuate this illusion.

Not so very long ago we saw this 'economic miracle' working when French workers in the car industry went on strike for more francs in their pay packet to keep pace with the cost of living. Specially-trained riot squads were turned on them for exercising such democratic rights.

We have recently seen the appraisal of this Common Market 'Utopia' by German workers who came out on strike for increases in the Baden-Württemberg engineering industry.

The mind boggles when one sees the 'great strides' forward made in the Italian housing policy (especially in the South!) where generations of families have grown up with the goats and chickens under one roof—they're fortunate to have one over their heads!

There was great enthusiasm expressed by 200,000 hotel workers in Italy recently as they gaily sang the praises of the EEC whilst on strike for more pay, shorter hours and improved conditions.

Jenkins and company were, of course, perfectly entitled to hold the view that going into the EEC was in everybody's interest. What they were not entitled to do though, was defy the overwhelming vote at the party conference, the almost unanimous view of the TUC, the decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the people who put them where they are.

That no decision on Europe would be taken without the people being consulted was only one of the promises that the Tories sailed to power on.

But what about the promises that they didn't make? Such as destruction of the right to work, 1 million unemployed, dismantling the welfare state,

shackles for every trade unionist through one of the most vicious pieces of legislation ever directed against the working class, robbing working-class children of their milk and in the next instance subsidizing children who attend private schools!

Honest government, the Tories pledged in one of their pre-election speeches. Honesty, or anything being beneficial to the workers from this quarter, would be as rare an event as Ian Paisley dropping in for tea at the Vatican.

The Tories also said something about 'moulding one nation'. They set about this task by forging a wedge in the shape of the iniquitous Immigration Bill to drive into the working class to create more divisions.

I myself would not dispute the fact that any worker involved in struggle at this stage is involved in a class struggle. The miners' fight typifies this, as it is not a straight fight with the NCB, but with this Tory government.

It is a pity that Joe Gormley did not endeavour to secure the services of the negotiating body that put up such an effective case for the Queen's pay increase which was railroaded through parliament in one day. She had just previously put the seal of approval on a document pertaining to an Act designed to send workers to jail for exercising democratic rights to achieve the same thing—increases in wages.

I recall a speaker from Coventry at the ATUA National Conference last year giving an account of his own experiences when children were waiting outside factory gates asking workers coming off shift if they had any sandwiches left. This was during the 1930s, when as he said himself, he was only able to take bread and lard for his own lunch.

It is these conditions that this Tory government is making an all-out effort to recreate. Heath was pledged to reduce prices 'at a stroke'. The only thing done away with 'at a stroke' were

gains made by the working class which have been fought for during over a hundred years of bitter struggle.

It is obvious that the Tories think that a million unemployed by itself is a very effective cudgel with which to beat the working class into submission. It also is as obvious that the working class is not prepared to take it lying down as it did in the 1930s.

The lads at UCS, Plessey's, Fisher-Bendix etc. prove this point. They seem equally determined that the phrase 'the hungry 1970s' won't become part of the vocabulary as did the 1930s.

While arguments have certainly been made as to the wisdom of work-ins, sit-ins etc., one must concede the fact that if solidarity, determination and will prevails, the Tory paymaster that sit in the boardroom can be made to deviate from original plans.

The situation at River Don Works (BSC) is an illustration of this. The original plan was to run down River Don Works after hiving off important sections to Firth Brown's and dumping 4,500 workers at the end of the dole queue. The figure has now been reduced to 405 redundancies over a period of two to three years.

While this cannot be hailed as a complete victory of course, it certainly proves that concessions can be extracted if workers are prepared to enter into conflict and struggle.

At this stage there are roughly 13,000 unemployed in the Sheffield area. This city has been sent reeling with redundancies, lay offs and short-time working. I myself have seen 15 jobs obliterated 'at a stroke' in my department as a result of a productivity 'deal'.

The 'deal' has culminated in production reaching a further 50 per cent in some cases as a result of speed up. Workers are on short-time all over the firm and a list of redundancies has

just been drawn up by management relating to office workers at Firth Brown's.

Meanwhile the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee has pledged support to the workers' struggle at River Don Works.

I certainly don't need it spelling out that the working class is locked in struggle which will come to an end only by the removal of this Tory government and its replacement by a government pledged to socialist policies—not one that panders to the middle and upper classes.

MRS MCGUADE

Chain Lane Estate
Blackbrook
St Helens

I am the wife of a skilled man who has been out of work 12 months with no sign of any job anywhere. There is Carr and his training boards. I know many people on the dole here for years who have been trained and can't get a job.

It's disgraceful the way the people on the dole are just being written off by these Tory capitalists and Heath, Carr and Davies with all their flannel talk. Who do they think they are kidding?

But then again the public of this country can be kidded and Heath the biggest kidded of them all kidded them to vote for the Tories.

I think it is disgraceful the way Feather, Scanlon and Jones are slinking behind these Tories and not calling their members out on a General Strike in support of the unemployed, the miners, the cost of living and on behalf of the old age people. The Tory Government can give a million to the royal family when there are a million people existing on dole money and old people trying to live.

It is time we demanded actions from the TUC leaders or make them go and elect our own rank and file—leaders who will lead us against these Tory scabs and force a General Election.

I have recently come from a picketed coal depot and it is terrible the way the police are interfering with pickets and letting scab lorries through. You don't see these police tackling and chasing thugs, rapists and other elements. You can never find them when you want them. The best place for them is Belfast; they will get more trouble than they want there.

This is a Tory conspiracy, like Ulster, where Heath, Wiggery and Carrington are all pals. It is time we sorted this crowd out once and for all and shift these Tories out of it and elect a Labour Government. We have demonstrated, had marches, but the Tories are still in power and trying to put the boot in the working class.

They are trying to starve the miners back to work. I only hope the miners refuse to go back for anything less than £9-a-week rise. Our whole future and our children's future depends on the miners.

They are trying to do a 1926 on the miners again and I hope the workers of this country prevent this from happening. Their fight is our fight and we will tell Feather he either calls for a General Strike or gets to hell out of his office and let us elect a proper leader.

A General Strike is the only way we'll get these Tories to go and it is the only hope that our husbands have of ever getting out of these long Tory dole queues.

I would like more people to go to these coal depots and just see the behaviour of police to the pickets in allowing scab lorries in and not believe Tory propaganda on TV or in the papers. Come and see for yourself. We should see that those scab firms never get any loads from any union depots in the future. Black them for life.

FRENCH TIE-UPS

The odour of decay hangs over the Fifth French Republic as one unsavoury affair after another involving politicians of the ruling parties comes to light. De Gaulle's heirs have been garnering in the fruits of office for years. Now, to their great discomfiture, they are being found out. The regime itself is increasingly discredited. Capitalist governments in France and everywhere else are out to favour their own class by preserving a system of exploitation which ensures that the rich get richer and the workers are kept in their place. A scandal breaks when the politicians transfer public funds directly into their own or their friends' pockets or use their positions for purposes of material advantage. To call upon capitalist politicians to be incorruptible is to be dreamy-eyed. The discreet ones are not caught with their hands in the till, that is all. It is obvious that members of the present French government have wanted to get richer quicker and have cut a few corners. In so doing they have scandalized the "honest" capitalists who just stick to a law, which favours them, or who lack the advantage of direct influence with the government. The answer is not, as the French Communist Party says, to make politicians declare their incomes and publicize their tax returns, but to use these practices to discredit the system and to hasten its overthrow. The first response should be down with the government of scoundrels and put a workers' government in its place.

TAX

The gentle art of tax evasion has traditionally been practised by the French bourgeoisie for a long time. They avoided imposing an income tax on themselves until World War I and have exercised no

little ingenuity ever since in finding ways not to pay it.

In recent years the tax system has become more efficient, especially in collecting tax from wage and salary earners. But many big income receivers find ways of avoiding tax.

In fact, a law passed by the Gaullist government actually helps the rich to pay less tax. This is done by exempting income from dividends in companies from tax when it is received as income by individuals on the grounds that the tax has already been paid by the company. This law, which is naturally staunchly defended by the capitalists, was intended to encourage wealthy people to invest in industrial shares rather than buying gold or hoarding.

This law was passed by Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing who now serves under Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas. The former is an Independent Republican, while the latter is a Gaullist (UDR) and they are regarded as rivals for the presidency after Pompidou retires. They are both wealthy men with important business interests.

The satirical weekly 'Le Canard Enchaîné' was able to get hold of letters passing between Chaban-Delmas and the tax office as well as his income tax declarations which showed that for four years he paid no tax at all and had received rebates in others.

It has been suggested that 'Le Canard' was supplied with the documents by none other than Giscard d'Estaing, in order to discredit Chaban-Delmas. Whether this is true or not, no action has been taken against the paper for making use of confidential information obtained from the tax office.

'Le Canard' went on to produce a copy of a letter which showed Chaban-Delmas, in December, 1970, writing to a tax inspector who was not in charge of his dossier to obtain tax reductions on dividends from a company called Intertechnique in which he then held a block of shares. It has also been revealed that in 1961, when Giscard d'Estaing was a junior minister, he was able to do Chaban-Delmas a favour by getting fiscal fines imposed on a meat firm in trouble for tax frauds substantially reduced. The assumption is



Jacques Chaban-Delmas, Prime Minister (centre top and above) using a bit of influence on the side.

that there are other incriminating documents which may be produced.

It is apparently not unusual for official personages to intervene on behalf of their friends in business when they fall foul of the tax office by some inadvertent or fraudulent infringement of the law. A tax man has recently been found out reducing the liabilities of his 'clients' in return for a share in the money this saved. It is believed that some political figures may have made use of his services. And there could be others up to the same game.

The practices for which the Prime Minister is being criticized all seem to have been on the right side of the law. That law was made by the Gaullist regime to help the class which it represents, the big capitalists. Chaban-Delmas has only taken advantage of the law to reduce his tax burden, though he may have used a bit of influence on the side as well.

So far he has kept very quiet about the whole business, leaving the Finance Minister to do the fast talking. Other cabinet members have obviously been instructed to keep their mouths shut tight. Meanwhile they wait in trepidation for the next issue of 'Le Canard Enchaîné'.

Giscard d'Estaing, in a TV interview by four journalists made at his own request, skilfully avoided mention of Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas, who has been accused of tax fiddles.

He attacked the publication of confidential tax returns and letters which were supposed to be secret. He admitted that there were faults in the French tax system, but claimed that much improvement had been made. He offered to show the journalists his own tax figures as long as they were not made for propaganda purposes; they would show, he said, that he paid a lot of tax.

The Finance Minister defended the system under which dividends received by taxpayers are not subject to tax and may even give rise to rebates. This is a

highly regressive system which benefits the rich and has come under heavy attack after the revelation that Chaban-Delmas had made use of it to avoid tax liability.

Giscard d'Estaing's TV appearance will do little to dispel the odour of scandal which clings to the Prime Minister and to the whole regime of the Fifth Republic.

A calculation in the French news magazine 'L'Express' in 1970 suggested that the amount of tax lost by evasion was as large as the entire educational budget or enough to build over 3,100 miles of motorway each year.

Some of the evasion is small-time stuff by business and professional men whose incomes are less easily controllable than those of wage and salary earners, whose tax is deducted at source.

When practised in a big way, it involves phoney companies and various transactions carried on with the help of Mafia-style gangsters and the complicity of politicians.

It does not include the exemptions and rebates of the kind received by Chaban-Delmas and Chirac, which are entirely legal.

Until recently it is doubtful whether many people, even in France, knew what *avoir fiscal* was. Since the tax scandals blew up it has become a dirty word.

It is best described as a tax credit to holders of shares who have been taxed already on dividends. The tax paid by the



Monsieur Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Finance Minister—does the fast talking.



Prominent Gaullist deputy Rives-Henry (right) is awaiting trial on fraud charges.

PROPERTY

Several property scandals are now under investigation by the French courts which involve politicians from the government parties.

They involve companies which have speculated in new blocks of flats and offices with money raised by selling stock to investors by high-pressure methods. The people running certain of these companies have also perpetrated various kinds of fraud.

A prominent Gaullist deputy Andre Rives-Henrys was managing director of one company, the 'Garantie Foncière'. He resigned in January 1971 when he got wind that judicial proceedings were going to be taken against the firm for fraud.

He is still awaiting trial on fraud charges and for allowing his position as deputy to be unlawfully used in the firm's publicity. An intimate of top Gaullist circles, he has let it be known that if he told all, many



Pompidou

of his old friends will have cause to regret it. He is now obviously a dangerous man for the regime.

A former Gaullist deputy who later became a parliamentarian attached to Pompidou when he was de Gaulle's Prime Minister, Andre Roulland, is implicated in the frauds committed by another property company, the 'Patrimoine Foncière'.

While these companies were flourishing there was plenty of money flying around. Deputies or prominent politicians helped to give the business an aura of respectability and they had used contacts in official circles which had monetary value. How much the campaign funds of the Gaullist Party benefited is not known.

At a local level there are close connections between Gaullist politicians and the underworld Mafia. They are able to perform useful services for each other.

Strongarm men and gangsters are useful standbys in dealing with militant workers. In some plants bosses are able to prevent unionization by such methods. The Simen plant is a notorious example of the use of hired men to intimidate workers.

Another connection came to light last December with the case of Charles Lascorz, who was using the front of a business-consultant firm to carry on various rackets, including blackmail and extortion.

Lascorz and his associates were able to make a lot of money with impunity because they hold

membership cards of the powerful Gaullist Service d'Action Civique, a kind of private police auxiliary of the Gaullist movement.

Use of these cards gave Lascorz access to influential people and ensured him of protection. Eventually so many crooks had found their way into the Service d'Action Civique that Pompidou was obliged to carry out a purge in 1969 and Lascorz was dropped. But he kept his tricolour card with the Cross of Lorraine and his activities continued to prosper.

It was not until some of his victims complained that Lascorz's men had beaten them up, obtained money from them by false pretences and subjected them to blackmail, that the police moved in on his sumptuous offices.

But Lascorz managed to slip away during the questioning, although there were half a dozen police in the premises. He climbed into his luxurious Mercedes and later turned up in Franco Spain. How he could have got there without the complicity of some person or persons in authority has yet to be explained.

DRUGS

For a long time villas scattered around the Mediterranean port of Marseille have been manufacturing heroin for sale in France and for export to the United States.

Although a drug trafficker is occasionally picked up or a 'factory' is discovered, the trade continues to flourish, much to the dismay of the American Federal drug squad. Various technical reasons have been offered by the French authorities for the failure to stamp out this lucrative business. The suspicion remains that it enjoys protection from inside the police and the administration.

The story was given a bizarre twist when one day last November, a French secret service man, Roger Delouette, went to pick up a car being unloaded at New York dock. He was promptly arrested. Customs officials had discovered 96lbs of heroin on the vehicle which had come from France.

Delouette claimed that he was only acting under instructions from his chief in Paris and that he knew nothing about the drugs. He worked for SDECE, the Service for Exterior Documentation and Counter-Espionage, a kind of French CIA, which, recruited from dubious sources, forms a law unto itself.

The Attorney for New Jersey, Herbert J. Stern, asked that Delouette's boss in the SDECE, Col Paul Fournier, should go to the US to stand trial. He claimed that there was proof of his guilt.

Another view is that the heroin was a plant by rivals in the intelligence service to incriminate Fournier. Whatever the truth may be, it hardly reflects credit on the Fifth Republic. Either the government knows the truth or dare not reveal it, or it does not know how its own services operate and is unable to control them.

Little light has been thrown on the affair since then and the suspicion remains that highly-placed members of a French intelligence service have been organizing the export of drugs to the United States.

STRAIN SHOWING IN THE WARSAW PACT

PART 2
BY JOHN SPENCER

The main target of Bilak's attack is the Rumanian Communist Party, accused of 'opposing the national interest of Rumania to the international obligations flowing from its membership in the socialist community'.

In August 1968, Rumania refused to send troops to take part in the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Rumanian CP leaders have since published a collection of articles stating their opposition to the invasion.

They have not of course taken a principled stand against Stalinism. Their actions are dictated simply by the national interests of the burueaucracy. But this has been enough to create considerable tension within the Warsaw alliance.

Bilak comments: 'despite great efforts and great patience, we have not been able to find a common language'. He also makes clear why the Czech Stalinists are so concerned about the Rumanians' attitude. It is, he says, 'disturbing not only to members of the party, but to all citizens who cherish socialism'.

Apparently the question of the Rumanian Party's opposition keeps being raised both inside the Party and at public meetings.

So acute is the crisis within the Stalinist bloc that the slightest independence, even on the part of orthodox Stalinists like the Rumanian leaders, becomes intolerable to the Kremlin leaders.

Bilak accuses the Rumanians of wanting to profit unilaterally from the economic arrangements between the E European states and of reneging on its Warsaw Treaty obligations.

'In the face of demands concerning the strengthening of ties between the socialist states and deepening of socialist integration, the Rumanian leaders put the accent on the principles of non-interference and sovereignty conceived in a completely non-class spirit.'

Any such idea is, of course, anathema to Bilak and his



Top: Russian armoured vehicles in Prague. Below: Tito who is carrying out his own onslaught against the left, pictured with Italy's Saragat.



Nicolae Ceaușescu

colleagues in the present Czech CP leadership who have sold themselves body and soul to Moscow. Bilak notes that the Rumanians have not revised their opposition to the August 1968 invasion.

Worse still, they had failed to consult their allies before embarking on their rapprochement with China. Even the bourgeois press, Bilak says, described the visit of Rumanian party chief Nicolae Ceausescu to Peking as 'a demonstration against the USSR and against the entire Warsaw Pact'.

The Czech leaders, for obvious reasons, want these problems kept strictly within the family. Bilak told the central committee that the presidium had felt duty-bound to raise these questions with the central committee, but warned that the discussion must not go any further:

'It is inadmissible for us to speak publicly of these questions or for a polemic to take place in the press, on the television, or on the radio.' For this reason, he said the presidium of the central committee had criticized the Slovak youth newspaper 'Smena' for publishing two articles attacking the Rumanians—a clear case of excessive Stalinist zeal on the editors' part.

The Husak regime may be having trouble with Rumania, but it can always turn for comfort to the Yugoslavs. Bilak referred approvingly in his speech to the improvement in relations with the Tito regime and hoped the improvement would continue.

It is worth noting that one of the main charges levelled against Rudolf Slansky and his fellow defendants at the Prague show-trial in 1952 was co-operation with Tito. Slansky's enforced confession at the trial contained the admission that his co-operation with Tito had 'served chiefly the interests of Anglo-US imperialists—in particular the US imperialists—because the Tito clique was an agency mainly of the US imperialists'.

The alignment has changed over the past 20 years—but the fundamental character of Stalinism, whether in Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia has not. Tito now enjoys the most cordial relations with the political heirs of the

men who slandered him in 1952. He needs their backing against the Yugoslav workers.

Tito is carrying out his own onslaught against the left. 'Borba', the Belgrade newspaper, reported last month that the security forces had detained M. Nikolic and P. Imsirovic and charged them under article 118 of the penal code with 'organizing against the people and the state'.

Not suprisingly, there is no concrete evidence to back up this accusation. The two accused are students at Belgrade University; a centre of left-wing opposition to the bureaucracy since 1968. At a recent University meeting, Branco Pridicevic, a leading member of the Yugoslav League of Communists, defended the arrests.

To 'explain' the attack on the left, Pridicevic made use of a well-worn Stalinist amalgam. The main danger, he told the students, came from the right. Why then had action been aimed at the left? 'Because this left-wing extremism is often the best organized, the most aggressive, because it uses slogans which are often very similar to the official slogans (!) and because the extreme gave the impression that it supported the stricter application of the decisions taken by the League of Communists.'

Hardly enough to justify

arrests—even by Stalinist standards. So Pridicevic hastened to correct any such impression. As it turned out, by demanding the implementation of Party decisions, the left were actually helping the right!

'With its adventurism and its irresponsible actions, left extremism has frequently opened the road to right extremism and different forms of restorationist tendencies.'

A sentiment worthy of Mrs Betty Reid. As far as Pridicevic is concerned it certainly justified the arrests of the two students.

He could not list their crimes, but he did know that the Student Cultural Union had recently invited the Pabloite leader Ernest Mandel to lecture (quite legally) at the university. This apparently proved the existence of 'clandestine Trotskyist groups'.

Tito is turning against the left opposition in Yugoslavia just as Husak and Bilak turn on the opposition in Czechoslovakia. In his speech, Bilak adopted a somewhat superior attitude towards his new-found 'comrades' in Belgrade. They didn't have the Czech Stalinists' iron grip on the country's political life.

There are big problems, involving the unity of the Yugoslav League of Communists and its leading role in society. The leaders of the League of Communists do not have sufficient

control over the press and the other means of communication.'

Bilak attributed this state of affairs to the 'weakness' of the influence of the working class on Yugoslav political life. In fact, of course, the precise opposite is the case.

Tito's enforced break with Moscow in 1949 strengthened the working class which acquired certain limited independence in relation to the bureaucracy. The conquests made in that period by the workers have not been eliminated, though, as Bilak notes, 'numerous efforts have been made to change this state of affairs'.

Bilak goes on to offer some practical advice to Tito and the Yugoslav bureaucracy: 'In our experience, we say frankly to the Yugoslav leaders that, in a sharp class struggle, warnings and appeals addressed to the enemies of socialism are not enough. Irresponsibility and abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist position always cost dearly.'

Tito is clearly taking notice of Bilak's advice. It can be summed up simply: The only way to push back the political revolution is to return to the full paraphernalia of show trials and repression. In defence of their privileges, the Stalinist bureaucracies of E Europe all come together against the independent organization of the working class.

TRIP TO FASCIST SPAIN

Dear Editor,
I am writing about your article 'Stalinist crisis' of Wednesday, February 2, in which you printed my husband's name without his or my knowledge, slandered his character and stated a series of untruths.

First, neither the 'Soviet Weekly' nor the Soviet government are financing the cruise. It has been financed by the P&O shipping line.

Second, the cruise is not to Spain, as you printed in large capitals. We would never have entered the competition had it been so.

It is an Atlantic cruise in which the ship docks for four hours at the Canary Isles which in my atlas are situated off the coast of Africa not Spain and which have suffered the misfortune to be colonized by a fascist nation and whose people undoubtedly hate the Spanish government as much as we do.

How can you possibly call that 'holidaying in Spain'? If according to your dictum that no human contact should be made with those suffering under fascism, why do you live in and thereby support the fascist government of this country or do you deny that it is so?

Quite obviously you would not print this letter but I would expect you to check the facts and print an apology to my husband and a retraction of your untrue statements.

I accept that you will sink to any depths, and use any distortions of the truth or outright lies to support your ridiculous theories but I will not accept you using my family for your political ends and to denigrate the Communist Party.

If you do not print an apology or a true statement of the facts I will take legal action against you for slander.

Mrs A. Savage
Winsford
Cheshire.

Our article said in part: 'Soviet Weekly' has just announced the winner of first prize in its latest competition—and the prize is a holiday in fascist Spain.

The winner is Eric Savage of Winsford, Cheshire, a builder's labourer on the Bass Charrington site at Runcorn. He is a member of the Communist Party and an enthusiastic apologist for Stalinism. His was the 'first correct answer to be picked out at random' from thousands of entries to the contest.

On February 26 he will be boarding the 'Alexander Pushkin' a Soviet luxury liner, for a 14-day cruise to Las Palmas, Tenerife, Casablanca and Gibraltar. The Spanish trade unions have repeatedly appealed to workers and trade unionists in other countries not to lend support to the Franco dictatorship by holidaying in Spain.

Mrs Savage's letter amply confirms what we said in our article 'Soviet cruise to fascist Spain'.

She and her husband are the winners, as our article stated, of the 'Soviet Weekly's' holiday competition.

The contest prize was prominently advertised on the front page of 'Soviet Weekly' as a 'free cruise to the Canaries'.

Whatever Mrs Savage's atlas may say, the Canary Islands are provinces of Spain. They form the provinces of Las Palmas and Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

The fact that they have been forcibly integrated into Franco's fascist state makes a holiday there doubly unprincipled.

She tries to represent our campaign against workers taking their holidays in Spain as a 'ridiculous theory'.

She should know that the same 'ridiculous' notion is shared by Britain's biggest trade union, by the illegal and persecuted Spanish union organizations and (on paper, though not in practice) by the British Communist Party.



STALINIST CRISIS



Franco

The basic principled objection to holidays in Spain was expressed by the Transport and General Workers' Union in a resolution passed at its last conference.

It called on 'all members and other trade unionists to desist from taking holidays in Spain thereby supporting the fascist regime which still festers in Europe.'

The resolution says nothing about the length of stay in the fascist state nor about who pays for the trip (neither for that matter, did our article). It is establishing a basic principled position.

Reporting the T&GWU resolution, the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' quoted the union's general secretary Jack Jones who said:

'Members who spend their holidays there are bolstering an even worse regime which imposes even worse laws against the trade union movement than here.'

'Tourism in Spain is a major contribution to the financial objects of the Spanish dictatorship.'

The Communist Party, of course, supports this principle on paper only in order to violate it in practice.

Though it approvingly quoted Jack Jones' statement, the 'Morning Star' not only advertised the 'Soviet Weekly' contest, but also carried an advertisement for paying passengers on the same Canary cruise.

In the same way, leaders of the Communist Party maintained a discreet silence while the Polish Stalinists shipped coal to Spain and aided Franco to break two miners' strikes in the Asturias.

Mrs Savage makes great play with the fact that the trip is being financed by P&O, but she conspicuously omits to mention that it is a Soviet liner (the 'Alexander Pushkin') which is

actually carrying the passengers to the Canary Islands.

We are convinced that the Spanish workers can ill afford these kind of 'human contacts' and we fully support the repeated pleas from the underground Spanish workers' organizations that workers should take their vacations elsewhere.

The most revealing of all Mrs Savage's comments is her question: 'Why do you live in and thereby support the fascist government of this country or do you deny that this is so?'

Yes, Mrs Savage, we do emphatically deny that Britain is a fascist state.

To maintain otherwise is to say that the working class has been decisively defeated by the employers, that its organizations have been destroyed and all its rights taken away.

Before Hitler came to power in Germany, the German Communist Party, in accordance with Stalin's instructions, described successive Bonapartist governments, headed by Brüning and Papen, as 'fascist'.

They spread the fatal illusion that there was no difference between these forms of capitalist rule and Hitler's fascism.

This policy, echoed in Mrs Savage's letter, proved decisive in allowing the victory of Nazism in Germany.

The dangers of such a defeatist outlook in Britain at a time when the working class is engaged in a life and death struggle to defend its basic rights against the Tory government's attacks are obvious.

Mrs Savage has failed to produce a single piece of evidence for her wild accusations of 'slander' and 'untruths' against the Workers Press.

We owe no apology either to her or her husband for stating the facts about their forthcoming trip to fascist Spain.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

FRIGHTFUL

Glancing through a recent edition of 'Private Eye', a correspondent found what appeared to be an advertisement for 'Socialist Worker'. In the previous issue of 'Eye' there was a skit on 'The Guardian', so our correspondent thought at first that this was another of Rushton's flights into fantasy.

But no, it was genuine. 'Present society,' burbled the blurb, 'is not only corrupt, as "Private Eye" relentlessly proves, but unnecessary.'

'The kind of True Stories the paper prints are often frightful.' (What a marvellous middle-class word—'frightful'.)

'Socialist Worker', says 'Socialist Worker', 'will have nothing to do with compromises or reformism. It is revolutionary.'

The Young Tories must have been shaken off their polo perches.

But while we're on about compromises, what about other contributors to 'Eye'? Bernard Levin, for instance?



Tariq All

Levin recently wrote about Tariq All and Teresa Hayter of IMG (in the 'Observer' of January 30): 'Wallowing in their ignorance, they defile the sacred well of reason and proclaim themselves, throughout their turgid and mindless jabber, kin not to Socrates, but to the brutes.'

And now we have friends of the brutes in the same paper as Bernard. How revolutionary can you get?

TITLED

'Saturday Titbits', a reader informs us, continues to amuse and educate.

Recently a puzzled Miss L.T. of Torquay wrote to 'Your Helping Hand', through which 'Saturday Titbits' solves heart-breaking problems.

Miss L.T. wanted to know what a 'courtesy title' was.

The 'ST' cited as an example our old friend Lord Baniel: 'One holder of a courtesy title is Tory MP for Hertford, Lord Baniel, son of the Earl of Crawford. The handsome Baniel is a descendant of Charles II and Nell Gwyn.'

Baniel is Minister of State for Defence and in a Commons debate on Bloody Sunday in Derry said:

'If they [the IRA] are allowed to win this war, I simply shudder at what will be the future for the people living in N Ireland.'

Our reader suggests that if anyone can think of a better courtesy title for Lord Baniel, it should be jotted on a postcard and sent to the noble Lord.

Don't—repeat don't—send it to us.

SNIFTER

Here's a case for Snifter of the Yard. One delegation at the United Nations enjoys huge popularity because it hands out the finest marijuana in New York.

Couldn't possibly be our lads. Must be some of those foreign chappies.

HANGMAN

That great freedom-fighter, Marius Goring, is taking a stand. He apparently initiated a High Court action against his union, Actors' Equity, to stop alleged payment of donations to the miners' strike fund.

Goring made his name in such productions as 'The Hangman', 'The Happy Hypocrite', 'The Witch of Edmon-ton' and 'The White Guard'.

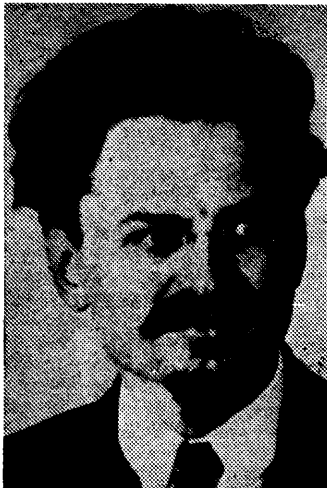
PIG

The press gave stout coverage to a fierce gun battle between British soldiers and the IRA on the Louth-Armagh border.

You would think it was the army's finest hour since Waterloo.

It appears, however, that after two hours and 2,500 rounds the army had managed only one casualty . . . a pig!

BOOKS



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AFTER VESTING A NEW MINERS FIGHT BEGAN

'The strength and pressure of the miners to obtain a seven-hour day should be pressed forward with vigour.' Though the quote above sounds like a recent demand, it was in fact spoken by the late M. A. Machen at the Barnsley Council of the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM) in December 1959—just 12 years ago!

And Mr Machen went on: 'Now we have plenty of coal, stacks of it, mountains of it, the seven-hour day is economically possible and absolutely necessary.'

INSULT

But it is obvious now—and, indeed, it was obvious then—that a government acting on behalf of the employing class had not stockpiled coal in order to prove the miners' case, but to use it as a weapon against them. Now, 12 years later, miners are having to fight harder than ever before to improve wages and conditions which are an insult.

What happened to the golden dream of nationalization which—along with hopes of a Labour government—was seen by generations of older miners as their only salvation?

The mines were not nationalized in the interests of the miners, but in the interests of capitalism. For ten years after vesting day, coal was in great demand, urgently needed by big business to rebuild plant after the war.

And they got their coal cheap. Not even in the House of Commons could an answer be found to one simple question—how much did private industry pay for its coal from the nationalized pits?

But if capitalism did well, the miners did not.

Those were the days when the seven hours were there for the taking, when wages could have been pushed up with ease, when the union could have won workers' control of the pits.

What happened? The leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers—both Labour Party and Communist Party—encouraged the working of long hours, including the Saturday shift, and co-operated fully with the management in productivity drives.

What gains the miners did make were made through struggle, never with the official backing of the NUM leadership.

Demands disappeared for months in 'negotiating machinery'. Only unofficial actions won substantial benefits.

(The Grimethorpe strike of 1947, for example, stopped a speed-up and the Yorkshire fillers' strike of 1955 won new price-lists all over Yorkshire, negotiated while the strike was still on.)

Throughout this time the Communist Party—then in a powerful position with Arthur Horner as general secretary, Will Paynter in the leadership in Wales, the Moffats in Scotland, and big influence in the Midlands, Kent and Yorkshire—urged the miners to co-operate with and trust the Coal Board and the government.

Meanwhile, big business was well looked after. Massive compensation was paid out and the mining industry is still crippled every year by interest due on the money borrowed to pay it.

And where did the money go? It went to firms like Cory Brothers, who received nearly £16m in compensation for mines valued at £12.6m.

This firm distributed £11m to shareholders and invested the



Welsh miners marching in Cardiff against pit closures in 1965

rest in high-profit industries (including oil refining).

Cory Bros was one of the biggest coal merchants in the country, making a profit on every ton of coal they handled.

And where did the deputy chairman of Cory Bros serve his country? Where else but on the National Coal Board!

But rich pickings were to be had not only from interest payments and coal distribution, but also from the extensive mechanization of the mines.

One firm engaged in mining machinery was also linked with a pit.

After nationalization the firm's head remained as manager of the colliery, and later became an NCB planning engineer.

Another pit owner worked for the Coal Board for eight years after nationalization and then left to take up full-time work with a firm of mining consultants whose main job was making claims against the Coal Board (over subsidence, etc.).

MODERATION

This, then, was the result of the union leadership's 'moderation' and 'co-operation'.

Cheap coal for big business when it needed it, big money in compensation and interest payments, good profits out of coal distribution and mechanization of the pits, plenty of jobs in the nationalized industry for the former owners.

Today, more than ever, the nationalized mines are at the mercy of large-scale industry and big business.

The largest single market for coal is the electricity generating stations, which in 1968 took 74.5 million tons.

Nuclear-powered generating stations used the equivalent of 9 million tons of coal.

While the Board is aiming for continuity of supply of coal from long-life and low-cost collieries, competition is growing from nuclear power.

The second important market is the coke ovens, which in 1968 used 25 million tons of coal, mainly for use in crude steel production.

The NCB is working closely with the British Steel Corpora-

tion to identify lower cost coals to be introduced into coking blends.

Next comes the domestic market, which in 1968 took 21.8 million tons of coal. Here, too, there is increased competition from alternative forms of heating.

Coal consumption as gas works in 1968-1969 totalled 9.2 million tons. This is a drop of 4.4 million tons from 1967-1968.

There is a trend to increased production of gas from oil-based plants and, of course, from the use of natural gas. North Sea and imported natural gas accounted for 24 per cent of total gas availability in 1968-1969 compared with 13 per cent in 1967-1968.

Other important markets are overseas. In 1968-1969 the Coal Board exported 3.4 million tons, mainly to European power stations.

There are also big deals with the giant monopolies.

Associated Portland Cement takes a million tons of coal a year.

Sales to Alcan (United Kingdom) Ltd are also expected to rise to a million tons in the near future.

In these circumstances, to talk of a 'National Fuel Policy' without a socialist policy of nationalization is complete nonsense.

The coal industry is at the mercy of huge monopolies which exist on super-profits. Without nationalizing the oil monopolies, the private firms which are connected with the construction of the new power stations and the big businesses in steel and cement etc., there can be no security for the miners.

We consider it is reactionary to talk of 'defending' the coal industry by restricting oil, nuclear power and natural gas.

Under a socialist planned economy all these alternative means of power will be developed in full.

What coal production is necessary will be fully automatic. Human beings will not throw away their lives and risk their health crawling like half-blind animals underground.

But this cannot be done by miners fighting alone.

It is a political programme for the expropriation of the entire capitalist class.

As such it requires the unity of all the working class behind a

revolutionary organization.

It was because this was missing that the miners were cheated after nationalization.

For who now doubts that they were cheated? What has their reward been?

Hard slogging for ten years and then—when the demand slackened—pit closures, sackings, uprooted homes, wages being progressively more and more depressed in relation to the rising cost of living; all accompanied by a persistent drive for more productivity, more efficiency, more discipline.

Any resistance and the big whip of pit closures came cracking over the miners' heads—over 650 pits have been closed since nationalization.

Miners will remember Wilson's flamboyant gesture in 1967 when he intervened to postpone the closure of four pits due to go then.

Every one of these were closed the following year—so much for that bit of showmanship.

Meanwhile, every year the Coal Board report shows how the profits of the industry are syphoned off by big business.

Last year an operating profit of £33½m was cut down to £500,000 by interest payments. The year before an operating profit of £28.6m was turned into a £8.9m loss because £37.5m went in interest.

But the industry 'can't afford' a decent wage for the miners!

And each year productivity per man shift goes up by about 10 per cent and costs per ton go down.

DESIRABLE

The government clearly intends to close large numbers of pits after the strike. 'The Economist' (February 5) estimates that redundancies between 1973-1976 will run into tens of thousands and declares: 'Maybe this redundancy is a desirable economic and social trend under a cruel disguise... more men should leave this unpleasant and un-economic job and the country should move over deliberately to available alternative fuels.'

Almost three years ago the

Coal Board made clear that this was the direction in which it wanted to go. Its 1969 report declared: 'As production is progressively concentrated at collieries and on faces where mechanization ensures the highest output rates, a substantial part of the output will be at low cost.'

In other words, closure for the least profitable pits and concentration on a few highly profitable ones where major long-wall mechanized faces can operate treble shifts.

The Board could then boast 'Despite the heavy closure programme and the high rate of manpower rundown in recent years, the Board have, by close co-operation with the unions in maintaining good industrial relations, avoided major industrial disputes.'

In other words, the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers had continued its policy of co-operating with the employers while their members go down the road.

Could there be a more outspoken condemnation of any trade union leadership?

But this is not just a trade union leadership.

The miners have always been political from the days of the first Labour MPs, and from the time when the support of the S Wales miners contributed in a major way to the formation of the British Communist Party.

The mining areas are the most solid in their support of the Labour Party in elections, and the mining group of MPs is the largest single trade union section in the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Throughout the years since nationalization, the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers, nationally and locally, has been largely shared between right-wing Labour men and Communist Party members.

In every strike struggle, the miners came up against this type of leader.

(In other struggles, too, miners got to know the right wing. Glasshoughton miners lobbying parliament over unemployment were told by their MP that Labour pit closures were better than Tory pit closures, because they were planned!)

Gloomy forecast for British shipping

A 'GLOOMY and over-cast' immediate outlook for British shipping is forecast today by the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping.

In its annual report the Chamber quotes a shipowner in the bulk trades as saying: 'At present shipbuilding prices and on today's freight market, no ship can be profitable.'

The report adds: 'And in the liner trades, with both capital and operating costs rocketing, but with revenue limping behind, the outlook is no better.'

In order to brighten up this dismal picture, the report continues 'Shipping will not remain in its current trough indefinitely because world trade is expanding.'

There is, however, little evi-

dence to back up this facile optimism.

On the contrary, at the last count — September last year — more world shipping tonnage was laid up than at any time in the previous eight years and 298 ships were idle—making up over 2 million gross tons.

Surplus

And over the last two years competition has been sharpening. On the Atlantic run, for example, there is a surplus of container capacity over demand.

Ships are being built to carry 1,500 containers each. Indeed, the trade war hotted up 18 months ago when the Atlantic Container Line pulled out of conferences which were attempting to regulate freight rates and regulations on the Atlantic run.

And, for some time now, the Japanese have been building tankers of up to 500,000 tons. So British shipping is not

merely dependent on the highly unreliable 'expansion in world trade', it is faced with cut-throat competition. This must mean an attack on wages and conditions if profitability is to be restored.

The pace for this was set in 1970, when the P&O Shipping Company hired the management consultant firm of McKinsey and Co to rationalize its operations.

McKinsey and Co prepared the 1967 report for the British Transport Docks Board, which projected the near elimination of the dock worker within ten to 15 years.

Help young marchers by completing our Fund

AS THE two Right-to-Work marches from Swansea and Liverpool join the Scottish contingent on the road to London, all our support must go behind them. These young people are marching hundreds of miles to demand their basic right to work.

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FRENCH PM ADMITS TAX FIDDLE

IN A TV interview last week, French Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas made his first public comment on the controversy sparked off last November by the publication of his tax returns in a satirical journal.

Commentators described his task as walking the tight-rope; only those already favourable to him considered that he had put up a convincing performance.

For, although he may not actually have infringed the tax law — excessively favourable to the rich and passed by the Gaullist government—he had secured maximum exemptions.

He was also obliged to shed light on his personal fortune, accumulated over the last 15 years or so when he was also a prominent politician. He admitted that he owned a house inherited from his parents, a flat in Paris, another house in the Basque country and a flat in Bordeaux which he was paying for on a mortgage.

Later, in an interview with a Bordeaux newspaper, Chaban-Delmas admitted that after the death of his first wife he had sold £60,000 worth of shares in a firm manufacturing high precision instruments 'in order to cover large expenses'.

It was presumably the tax exemption on these shares which enabled him to avoid paying income tax at all for the four previous years.

●See pp. 6 & 7 for details of French tax and drug scandals.

TORY FARMERS BLAST EEC POLICY

BRITAIN'S entry into the Common Market spells doom for British horticulture.

A National Farmers' Union statement yesterday called on the government to give compensation to growers who have to give up production altogether, for holdings which are amalgamated with others, and for growers who retire. The union says British horticulture 'stands to be worse off' in the EEC.

'It will progressively lose its protection against its main source of competition—the EEC itself—and at the end of the transitional period there will be nothing to take the place of the protection given up.'

Transitional arrangements for horticulture so far negotiated do not satisfy essential requirements, the statement says.

This critical dissent from market policy is doubly interesting because the NFU is a bastion of Toryism.

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TV

BBC

9.38-12.30 Schools. 12.55 Malcolm Muggeridge. 1.30 Finger-bobs. 1.45-1.53 News, weather. 2.05-3.35 Schools. 4.00 Boomph with Becker. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Treasure over the water. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK. Weather.
6.20 YOUNG SCIENTISTS OF THE YEAR. Oxford v Diss v Kingston.
6.45 MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW. 'Second Storey Story'.
7.10 Z CARS. 'Canal'.
8.00 PANORAMA. 'President Nixon and China'.
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.
9.25 STEPTOE AND SON. 'Men of Letters'.
9.55 THE REGIMENT. 'The Father of the Regiment'. New series.
10.45 24 HOURS.
11.20 SOUNDING OUT. 'Labi Siffre'.
11.45 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.
5.35-7.00 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP.
7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.
8.00 FILM: 'GUNPOINT'. Audie Murphy, Joan Staley. Western.
9.25 FACE THE MUSIC.
9.55 HORIZON. 'How They Sold Doomsday'. Ecology.
10.45 THEATRE: 'AN ARROW FOR LITTLE AUDREY'. By Brian Finch.
11.15 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

ITV

10.20 Schools. 2.33 This week. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea break. 3.45 Danger man. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.50 Land of the giants. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY.
6.20 CROSSROADS.
6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS. Hughie Green.
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 A EUROPEAN JOURNEY. 'Germany'.
8.30 BLESS THIS HOUSE. 'Two Heads are Better than One'.
9.00 HOME AND AWAY. 'A Risky Virtue'. Gillian Raine, George Sewell, Tony Melody, June Brown, Pauline Yates.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 FILM: 'SUDDENLY LAST SUMMER'. Elizabeth Taylor, Montgomery Clift, Katharine Hepburn. A beautiful girl is committed to a mental institution after witnessing the violent death of her cousin.
12.35 THE TEACHERS.

All regions as BBC-1 except:
Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.20 Wales today, weather. 6.45-7.10 Heddiw. 11.20-11.45 Crows'r bont. 11.47 Weather.
Scotland: 1.00-1.30 Enquiry. 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 6.20-6.45 Se ur beatha. 11.47 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six, weather. 6.45-7.10 Sport on Monday. 11.47 News, weather.
England: 6.00-6.20 Look North, Midlands today, Look East, Points West, South today, Spotlight SW, weather. 11.47 News, weather.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 10.20-2.33 London. 4.05 Once upon a time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 University challenge. 11.02 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 10.59 News. 11.55 Faith for life. 12.00 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Lucy. 4.55 Lionheart. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 11.00 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather.

HARLECH: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.45 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.20 Superman. 4.50 Robin Hood. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.01 Y dydd. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Children of the Damned'. 12.05 Weather.

HTV Channel 10 as above except: 6.01-6.22 Report West. HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos. 10.30 Sain cerdd a chan. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Weather. HTV West as above except: 6.01-6.22 Report West. 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

ANGLIA: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.55 News. 4.00 Tea break. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Beloved enemy. 11.00 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Nanny and the professor. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Aquarius.

YORKSHIRE: 10.20 London. 2.34 Polaris. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 Yoga. 3.55 News. 3.45 Farmhouse kitchen. 4.15 Dick Van Dyke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 HR Puffin-stuff. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Country calendar. 6.45 London. 10.30 Untouchables. 11.30 All our yesterdays. 12.00 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 10.20 Living and growing. 11.00 London. 2.33 Polaris. 3.05 Pied piper. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 News. 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 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Love American style. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the press. 11.00 Seaway. 11.55 News. 12.10 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 10.20 London. 2.35-2.50 Another way. 3.30 Origami. 3.45 Castle haven. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Batman. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Dr Simon Locke. 6.45 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 The last stand.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-2.55 London. 3.37 News. 3.40 Junkin. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 That job. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 McQueen. 11.30 Epilogue.

HARVEST CHAOS IN USSR

UP TO 20 million tons of grain, 8 million tons of sugar beet and large quantities of fruit, potatoes and other crops in the Soviet Union are lost through shortage of skilled machine operators, harvesting machines and means of transport.

This staggering proof of how the bureaucracy mismanages the agricultural sector was blurted out in a radio talk by Soviet economist Professor Nikolai Vasiliev early this month.

The shortages mean that the harvest period has to be extended by ten to 15 days beyond the planned limits. His talk claimed that steps were being taken to

remedy the defects, particularly by a more comprehensive mechanization of agriculture.

But at present Soviet industry can only supply 750 to 800 of the specialized types of agricultural machinery out of the 1,200 required. Professor Vasiliev added that industry is only able to supply about a half of the required fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides.

When the crops are harvested the food processing and light industries do not have sufficient capacity to deal with them properly. There are also insufficient means of transport and hard-surfaced roads for transporting industrial goods to the rural areas and agricultural produce to the towns.

ALL THREE YS RIGHT-TO-WORK MARCHES NOW ON THE ROAD

FROM PHILIP WADE
ON MERSEYSIDE

SHOPPERS GIVE A WARM SEND-OFF

THE LIVERPOOL - London Young Socialists' Right-to-Work march is under way. The unemployed youth joined trade unionists in a 200-strong demonstration through the city on Saturday.

Workers out shopping cheered as the marchers shouted: 'We demand the right to work—throw the Tories out!'

Marching in front of the Liverpool Right-to-Work Committee banner were playwright Jim Allen, playwright-actor Neville Smith and docker turned

actor, Peter Kerrigan.

Vauxhall Ellesmere Port AUEW stewards brought their banner. Bootle College of Further Education also sent a delegation.

'The march will be taken into every nook and cranny of the working class in the most practical way,' Cliff Slaughter, SLL Central Committee member, told a meeting afterwards.

'The leadership of the working class will be put on the spot. They will have to decide whether to support us or not.'

He warned the audience that the Tories would plan a vicious

counter-attack following their defeat at the hands of the miners.

'Around the slogan of uniting the employed and unemployed in a fight to force the Tories to resign, the march will lay the basis for the building of a new leadership and prepare for the taking of power,' he said.

From the Pilkington rank-and-file committee Gerry Caughey warned from experience of betrayal by trade union leaders.

'I'm an expert at discovering the enemies within the labour movement, the Judases. We

know the Tories and their real intentions. But the real danger lies in the people to whom we look for leadership,' he said.

Greetings to the march were also brought by Birkenhead dock steward Larry Cavanagh, who spoke of the struggle for work on the docks.

The march proper began yesterday when over 40 unemployed youth left the Pier Head for the 200-mile walk to London. They will be joined in the next week by others from St Helens, Bolton, Manchester and Winsford.

Our first stop is Kirkby, where we will be guests of the Labour Club. They are laying on a stew.

Everyone was looking forward to St Helens last night. In August 1970, 250 glassworkers were sacked by Pilkington's for daring to strike. Today 70 of them are still on the dole and carrying on an unrelenting struggle for the right to work and strike.

Also in St Helens is the second performance of the play 'The English Revolution', written by Tom Kempinski and directed by Corin Redgrave.

Many changes —including Labour front-bench—to end unemployment says Wesker on YS march

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN S WALES

THE SWANSEA-London march began yesterday in dull but dry weather. Cheered on their way by a crowd of miners and oil refinery workers in Skewen, the 25-strong contingent set a brisk pace in the first leg to Neath.

The march was led out of Swansea by playwright Arnold Wesker and film director Roy Battersby.

'This is just the wing tip of a general protest movement I want to align myself with,' Wesker told Workers Press.

'No doubt there are very sound reasons within this economic system for the tragedy of unemployment, which is why we can't allow it to go on.'

'But a quick reading of the faces across the Labour front bench shows that there are a great many changes to be made there too.'

On Saturday the YS marched through Swansea city centre to a kick-off meeting at the YMCA.

Weekend shoppers blocked the pavements as the march went by and Right-to-Work collection tins were practically filled.

Sixteen-year-old bricklayer Keith Spooner, until recently unemployed for five months, watched the march perched on a safety rail with a group of skinhead friends.

He said: 'That's right. Kick the Tories out, then we'll have some jobs round here.'

And pensioner Mrs Blodwyn Evans, who rushed out of her house with neighbours to see the march, said: 'Good luck to

them all. If I had good legs I'd go and march with them.'

'The country's in a hell of a mess since Heath took over. All he thinks about is his yacht.'

At a meeting afterwards a delegate from the 2,500-strong Milford Haven oil complex, Bevan Bretton, said a mass meeting had pledged backing for the march and offered to raise a collection which could total £50. He handed over cash and a cheque for £13.

Roy Battersby, a member of the ACTT freelance branch which has supported the march, told the meeting:

'The Tory government has made it clear over the last few months what it has in store for the working man—death, starvation and unemployment.'

'That is what this march is all about. The year 1972 will be the year in which the working class fights back.'

A spokesman for a contingent from Ireland said: 'I haven't worked for 18 months and I'm just fed up. That's why I'm marching.'

Unemployed Swansea youth Paul Renna (19) said: 'The miners have proved that fighting together can defeat the Tories and we're trying to rally support like this from the working class as a whole to bring down Heath.'

Right-to-Work

DIARY

By Stephen Johns

Girls on the Glasgow-march

DAY 14—Peterlee

APART FROM its political aim, there is another feature that is unique about our Right-to-Work march. That is the presence of girls.

As far as I know, no women went on the hunger marches during the 1930s, but we have three young unemployed girls who have stuck with us from Glasgow.

I took the opportunity this weekend in Jarrow and Sunderland to talk to them and they told me what made them make this long journey to London.

Two are from Renton— notorious for its youth unemployment and the other lives in one of Glasgow's big housing schemes—Maryhill.

Jane Hamilton is nearly 16. Like all the youth in Renton she came out of school to find that life meant the dole or vicious exploitation in the 'cheap labour' factories throughout the Vale of Leven.

'I've had one job. That was at Westclox. My sister got it for me, but the hours were terrible— from 7 a.m. to 4 or 5 p.m. at night. I just felt terrible at the end of the day. Sometimes I went straight to sleep on the sofa and just wasted away my spare time.'

'If I went out we just hung around the chip shop, but the police would come along and lift us if we were there after 10.30—that's what life is like in Renton.'

Jane tried four times to get another job, without success. Eventually she left Westclox.

'The work was killing me. I got about £12 in the pocket watch department. This was the basic. If you got over 400 watches, it was your own money on bonus. But this target was so high that no-one ever got above it.'

'They keep on recruiting young girls from school, so the rates are bound to be low. It's going on all the time in the Vale. For a while they put me on the line. That meant I had to do my own target of 408 pieces and supplying the other girls with parts when they called out. It was hopeless. I couldn't keep up, so I left.'

Jane was on the dole for five months, then she heard about the campaign.

'I was very surprised. I imagined we would be sleeping outside under the hedges, but it's much more organized than that. I was quite impressed by this and it changed by mind about what I thought of the march.'

'The support we have got has been terrific. It showed me that if you got up and did something, there were workers everywhere who thought the same way. Some workers would say to me: "I have got a job, but you don't have one and you're marching for all the workers, so we need to support you."

'Because of this, I think it's possible now to get the Tories out. It makes you feel less isolated.'

What kind of society would Jane like to see?

'One where things were normal and you don't have to live like we do in Renton. One where you can get married and bring up kids and know when they leave school they will get a decent job



JANE HAMILTON



PAULINE HOBBS



VICKIE BRANNAN

with good money.'

Jane's friend Pauline Hobbs (18) has had a succession of jobs, each one worse than the last, until she has finally ended up on the dole.

She started in Edinburgh sewing buttonholes for up to seven days a week with a basic rate of £7.50. Then she moved to Renton and got a job in a local underwear factory—7 a.m. until 5 p.m., five days a week for £5.70. Like Jane, she found the production targets too high.

Then she slipped down a pound to work at a Dumbarton supermarket. She had other jobs, but the only one she liked was helping in an old folks' home in Glasgow. But eventually she had to leave because they wanted an older person.

'On the dole I got no money to myself. I gave my mother the lot and she gave me a bit back for sweets. We could go to the pictures, but there was only one cinema and the same film plays all week. So mostly we hung around the chip shop and the police kept lifting us.'

When I decided to come on the march, I knew it was political, but not really much about the politics, except it was against the Tories.

'I never really thought much about getting the Tories out. It was a bit beyond me. But in the areas where we have got support, it shows that this is possible. We didn't get much support in Carlisle because of the Labour Party and this shows them up. But in other places I have been collecting there are a lot of people who agree with us—they want to get the Tories out too.'

'When I go back I'm going to talk to people about the Right-to-Work and getting the Tories out.'

Vickie Brannan (16) has two 'O' levels. But qualifications don't count for much on the Glasgow labour market. No number of certificates can create jobs.

'I was always socialist minded I think, but I didn't really understand what the class struggle was until I tried to run a house on £3.60 a week—her contribution to what the family lives on. She has no father and her brother and mother are both unemployed.'

'The experience of trying to manage brought me up against reality and then I realized something had to be done about this situation.'

'I always have a feeling of anger and contempt for the bosses and the aristocratic class. But this is not enough really. If you want to get rid of them you have to organize. If the youth of today don't do something it will mean their kids will be condemned to live the way we do—or even worse.'

'The march has given me a much broader outlook. At home I could only see it from my own point of view. I thought we should rise up and overthrow the government. But it was more or less an individual thing.'

'Going through the towns and villages we can get an experience of the labour movement. And anyone can see that there is a big chance of building the movement to deal with the Tories. It's up to us young people to do that.'

I must say that Pauline, Jane and Vickie are a credit to the movement.

They have stuck this tough journey out with good humour and are now getting the big political benefits.

We set off from Sunderland to Peterlee in the opposite direction from a Labour Party YS march.

This was a national protest which mustered 350. With them walked Gordon Bagier the pro-Market Sunderland MP who has attacked our march. So we took up the slogan 'Labour traitors out,' 'Bagier out.'

Students from Sunderland Polytechnic walked with us and gave £10. At Peterlee we were met by the trades council who marched with us into town and gave us a meal. The trades council secretary Fred Hartley said:

'We have our political differences, but thought it proper to make common cause with the YS to fight unemployment and indeed fight to force this government to resign.'

LATE NEWS

WEATHER

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000CIRCULATION
01-622 7029

IT WILL continue dull with occasional light rain or drizzle over the Midlands, E and central S England and E Wales with some patches of hill fog. NE England, E and N Scotland will be mostly cloudy with a few showers, especially near coasts.

W Scotland and N Ireland, Wales and W England will be dry with a good deal of cloud, but also some bright intervals especially in the NW. It will be generally rather cold, but in the NW, temperatures will rise to near normal after overnight frost in some places.

Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Mainly dry and rather cold.

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