

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY JULY 3, 1972 ● No. 807 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

POWELL

SNIFFS THE

BREEZE OF INFLATION

BY ALEX MITCHELL

AS STERLING lurches downwards on the world's exchanges and the crisis in the monetary system deepens, Tory MP Enoch Powell returns to his insidious attacks on immigrant workers and their families.

This right-wing poison is reminiscent of the series of speeches he made in 1968 after the pound entered the decisive period of its decline.

Powell's outburst, therefore is, a direct reflection of the new stage of the crisis in British capitalism. It is an expression of the desperation in Tory circles to rally some sort of ultra-nationalist, right-wing grouping.

He senses correctly that the pound devaluation and the undermining of the dollar will lead to an enormous growth in unemployment and the shutdown of whole sections of out-of-date industry.

And his orientation today is to the backward sections of lower-paid workers and the middle class. Recently he appeared in Ulster on a Vanguard platform, which only a few weeks before was being shared with the National Front. And his anti-Common Market speeches also

find great support in these extreme right-wing quarters.

As Powell was making his attack on immigrants to Islington Tories, the Monday Club national conference was carrying a unanimous resolution urging their government to start an immediate programme of repatriation of immigrants.

Powell and his proteges can be expected to return again and again to these racially-loaded policies in the coming months.

In that sense this is no different to the sort of language which erupted in Germany during the days of the Weimar republic when economic depression swept the capitalist world.

In two major newspapers last

week—the 'Daily Mail' and the 'Scotsman'—Hitler and his 'solutions' to the 1930s economic crisis were resurrected. And yesterday in the 'Observer', feature writer William Guttman returned to the same theme.

Resentment

Referring to the roaring inflation of the early 1920's, Guttman concluded:

'Many of my fellow students, who, together with their parents had become victims of inflation, turned to Nazism in their resentment against the Weimar Republic. It was the disgruntled

victims of inflation and their sons and daughters who formed the cadres of the Hitler regime.'

Economic devastation on a much bigger scale threatens today.

That is why the Right-to-Work marches which the Young Socialists are conducting throughout the country assume such great importance in mobilizing the working class to strike at its main enemy—the Tory government and its backers in banks and industry.

And that is also why the Socialist Labour League is engaged in the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party later this year.



June Fund a great achievement

ALL MEMBERS of the Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and readers of the Workers Press should be justifiably proud of the record success of our June Fund.

The target of £1,750 was exceeded by £436.30, which brought the Fund to the grand total of £2,186.30.

What was most striking about the final figure was that we received the largest donations during the last days of the month, when the devaluation of sterling had sparked off a world monetary crisis.

This is a good example of the political impact of the Workers Press, which alone explained devaluation as part of the world crisis of the capitalist system.

As every reader knows the Fund is only a part of the work which is being steadily carried out in the areas.

Over the past week the Scottish region Right-to-Work march has been a great success and the North West region's march has got off to a splendid start (see below and p. 12). In all the industrial areas the Young Socialists are in the forefront of the fight against the Tory government.

The transformation of the youth paper 'Keep Left' from a monthly into a weekly publication has been achieved without the slightest difficulty either editorially or financially. Each week sees the sales steadily climbing.

These are important achievements which should be borne in mind during our campaign for the July Fund.

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186a Clapham High Street,
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What Powell said

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The ghettos will be peopled by the ever-growing coloured population. 'The tide flows ever forward,' he added.

Here are some of Powell's other 'theories'. 'When I see a rich man I give thanks to God,' he told the 'Sun' in 1965.

The council housing scheme 'is immoral and socially damaging' and the 'two great evils are rent control and subsidy'.

'There is nothing impracticable about denationalizing our nationalized industries. All of them.'

And finally a poem by the man himself:

I hate the ugly, hate the old
I hate the lame and weak
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And never dare to rise.'



Second Right-to-Work march wins an immediate response

The North West region of the Young Socialists began their week-long Right-to-Work march from Manchester to Liverpool on Saturday with an immediate response in the working class—a £50 collection in local factories. See fuller report on p. 12.

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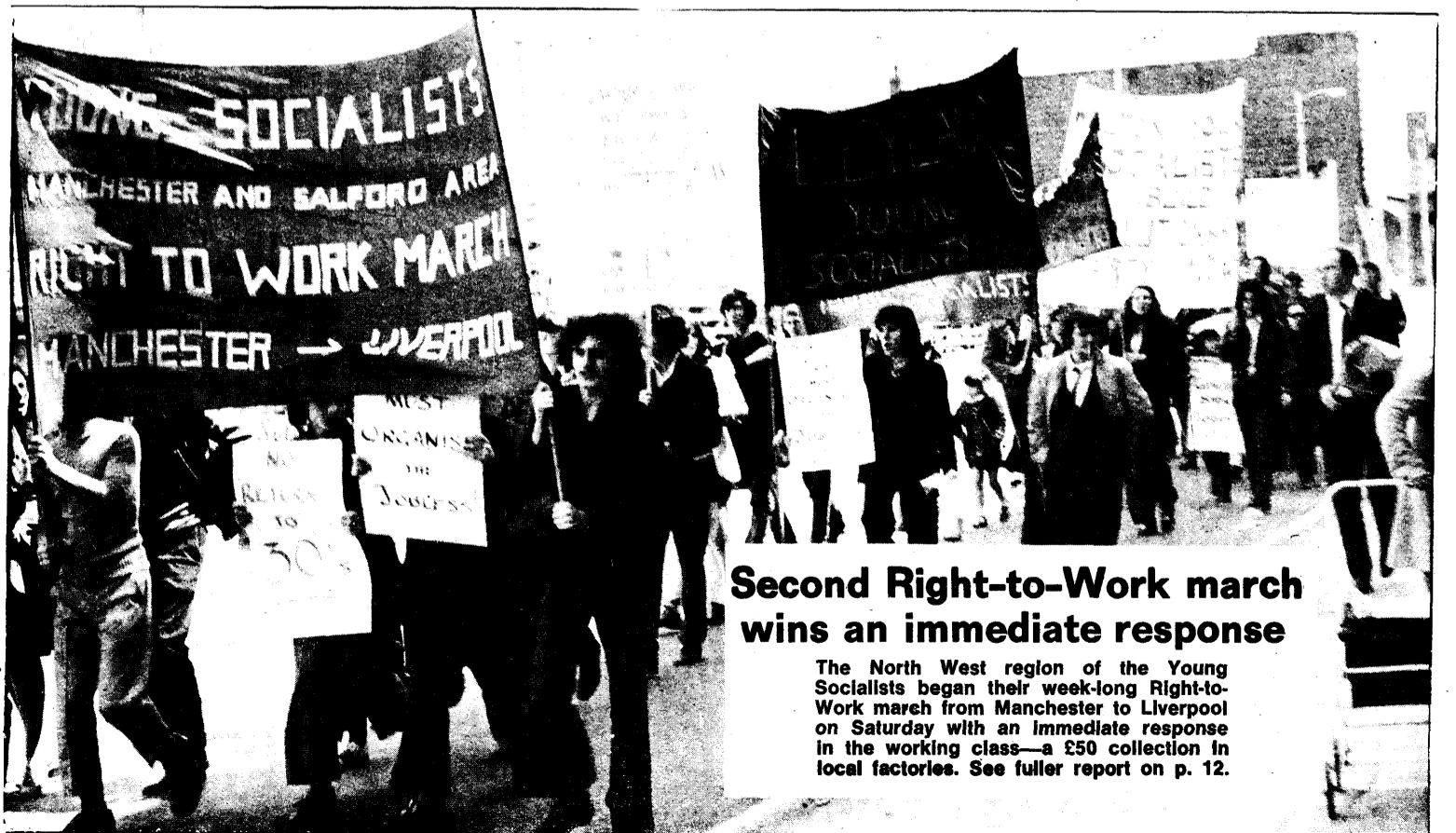
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AROUND THE WORLD

Bombs won't stop us—Hanoi

HANOI'S official daily, 'Nhan Dan', said at the weekend that President Nixon was reviving President Johnson's 'war of destruction' and claimed that the Vietnamization policy was already bankrupt.

It maintained that the bombing offensive 'definitely cannot stop the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Communications and transport are as good as ever, and the fight continues'.

And to prove it North Vietnamese artillery and rockets

'War of destruction' revived

shelled Hué as Saigon troops thrust into Quang Tri province in a big counter-offensive. An Loc, 56 miles from Siagon, was also shelled.

High-flying B52 bombers and naval guns pounded the area ahead of the South Vietnamese advance seeking to re-take Quang Tri. But North Vietnamese troops appeared to have pulled back into hilly country to evade US bombing.

Despite claims that the North is running short of rockets and shells as a result of the blockade, it is still able to hit back. Hanoi claims that guerrilla forces have had big successes in Quang Tri and Thua Thien pro-

vinces, shooting down seven aircraft, wrecking ten tanks and armoured cars and capturing large quantities of equipment.

The Pathet Lao claims to have shot down two US planes in northern Laos during a ground operation by puppet forces.

The Thai government has been heartened by the stepping up of the number of US troops in its territory to nearly 50,000 to launch a massive drive against communist guerrillas in the north east of the country.

Thailand has now become the main US power base in South-East Asia with a spectacular build-up of bases, airfields. The US now has 750 planes in the

country.

President Nixon has ordered massive military pressure to force Hanoi to make a settlement or ceasefire when the Paris talks resume on July 13. The US decision to return to the Paris conference was based on recent contacts with Moscow and Peking, which have shown that both want an early end to the war.

THE SONY corporation has protested to the US embassy in Tokyo against the use of its TV equipment in planes to monitor the pinpoint bombs being used in Vietnam. A Defence Department spokesman claimed that the TV sets were not part of the planes' electronically-guided bombs and were selected because of their price and availability.

LICKING THE TORIES' BOOTS

WHAT WE THINK

SATURDAY'S 'Morning Star' editorial unblushingly began: 'The government announcement of financial support for Govan Shipbuilders Ltd puts the seal of victory on the campaign for the right to work waged by the UCS workers.'

Believe this rubbish and you'll believe anything! As the Workers Press has stated on many occasions and as most UCS workers know—the Stalinists' claims of victory are entirely fanciful because the Tory government never, at any stage, intended to close down the Govan yards permanently.

As even the 'Star' was forced to report: 'Mr John Davies recalled in a written Commons reply that on February 28 he had said that backing for the firm would be provided on certain conditions. These conditions—an agreement on working practices acceptable to the government—had been met.' (July 1, 1972, 'Star').

The main objective of the work-in was to prevent redundancies in UCS and secure the operation of all four yards as one unit. These aims have been consciously betrayed by the Stalinist leadership at UCS and the original plans of Ridley and Davies to hive off Clydebank and introduce rationalization and redundancies have not been challenged by the two leading Stalinists James Reid and James Airlie.

Despite all the ballyhoo about 'victory', there is no victory for the 2,300 workers at Clydebank who have not been guaranteed their jobs and are left in a state of insecurity and uncertainty.

It is a victory for the government and the Texan millionaires who want to make as much profit as they can out

of a devalued pound and the poverty and unemployment in Scotland.

That is why we have nothing but scorn for Airlie's utterly unprincipled stand when he described the Tory Davies statement as 'a statesmanlike decision'.

And we have nothing but contempt for the incredibly obsequious praise for this reactionary government by this so-called 'communist'. His words have indeed struck a new low in the Stalinist art of peaceful-co-existence:

'In our opinion they [the Tories] have lived up to their responsibility for this industry in the upper reaches of the Clyde and also for the community as a whole. Regardless of the differences we have had in the past, we have to say the government has taken the correct decision and we welcome it and congratulate them.' ('The Guardian' July 1, 1972.)

The situation is not without irony. While Airlie was praising Davies' so-called efforts to eradicate unemployment not only on the Clyde but in 'the community as a whole', Davies was confessing his own bankruptcy by affirming that unemployment in West Scotland was 'horrifying and unacceptable'. We prefer to believe Davies.

'The Guardian' correspondent correctly remarked that this was 'one of the warmest comments ever passed by a communist on a Conservative government'. The 'Morning Star', of course, did not report Airlie's remarks in full. It cryptically reported that he said: 'The government had taken a correct decision.'



James Airlie: 'Statesmanlike'

The 'Star's' reticence to say too much is no doubt explicable. Only two weeks ago they featured a three-column picture of Airlie at the London CP rally seated under a large banner saying 'Sack the Tories!' ('Star' June 13, 1972.)

How can you lick the boots of the Tories if you get rid of them!

Instead the 'Star' tries to justify the UCS sell-out with a quotation from the CP Congress. It states: 'Direct action of various kinds is the most important means of democratic struggle at the moment—operative democracy [sic] involving masses of people in industrial and political activity—which will create conditions for a government crisis and a General Election.'

Airlie's statement and the 'Star's' attempts to conceal it is eloquent proof that the 'operative democracy' of the Stalinists is nothing more than an attempt to revive the rotting corpse of the 'Popular Front' and prevent the working class from tearing down the Tory government and replacing it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

ULSTER: BITTER AFTERMATH OF BETRAYAL

ALTHOUGH Tory Ulster supremo William Whitelaw stayed at his post at the weekend, the appearance of 100 Protestant barricades in Belfast and road blocks in ten other northern towns left him unmoved.

So did the vitriolic exchanges between Kevin Street and Gardiner Place which ended in a warning from the IRA Provisionals that friction between themselves and the IRA Officials could deteriorate into 'physical' clashes.

All this and the sporadic shootings and killings of troops and Catholics since Saturday morning leaves 'the peace' firmly intact.

The Catholic population has remained quiet and even the Bogside barricades have continued to come down.

The inability of either wing of the IRA to defeat imperialism has discredited them in the eyes of their followers and left them tearing at each others throats.

But as his 'peace initiative', based on the reformist leaders of the SDLP and LP, gains ground Whitelaw knows he must expect a certain amount of drum thumping from the Protestants.

And if they are to maintain control of their people, URD and William Craig's Vanguard Movement know very well that

the drums must be beaten. But the limits are known and there is no sign that any of them want to go beyond the token putting up and tearing down of strictly weekend barricades.

All the huff and puff of the Protestant leaders is calculated to put maximum pressure on Whitelaw.

Any move from pressure to outright force could be met with a simple review of Tory subsidies to Ulster industry which would make them as vulnerable as many Catholics.

On top of that, they share with Whitelaw the knowledge that a large number of Protestant

workers are opposed to barricades and violence and a switch to a hot war with Westminster would not only bring them into direct conflict with the British army, but would also divide their supporters.

Both the IRA and the Protestants are really vying with imperialism for what amounts to agency rights in Ulster.

However the six counties are ultimately administered, the border, unemployment and sectarianism will remain as a mark of the betrayals of the leaders of both sides, the bankruptcy of their reformist policies and the necessity for a revolutionary party.

ANOTHER 6,000 building workers will strike today as the campaign for the national claim of a £30, 35-hour week enters its second phase.

In the first week of the union's selective strike campaign, 6,000 workers came out on 75 sites all over Britain.

Of the six sites already out in the London region, four of them are hotels where the owners have to finish the buildings by next March to claim a

Building strike goes into second phase

£1,000-a-bedroom government grant.

The second six to come out today in London include another five hotels in the central area. The other site is the new Covent Garden wholesale market at Vauxhall, where 600 have already voted to strike.

From this week a new co-ordinating committee of unions will begin meeting in London. It will be composed of represent-

atives of all the jobs which have been called out and stewards who have helped picket them.

The official strikes in the industry, the first for ten years, were called in response to enormous rank-and-file pressure for a decent basic wage.

At the moment craftsmen have a basic of only £20 for 40 hours and labourers £17. The outcome is that most have to work long overtime periods to make up

something of a living wage.

The leaderships of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians and the Transport and General Workers' Union, however, have no intention of calling out the 300,000 organized building workers.

There is also growing disquiet among electricians at the attitude of the EPTU leadership towards the strike.

While another 6,000 join the

ANC hit again by Smith's regime

THE SMITH regime has intensified its drive against the African National Council following the breakdown of negotiations with Britain.

The ANC claims that 40 of its members had been arrested at Mtoko, 100 miles north east of Salisbury. The government admits that there have been 13 arrests. Last week six ANC officials were detained.

Ian Smith said in an interview that he would not return to the negotiating table even if Africans reversed their 'No' vote to the proposals agreed on last November with Britain.

He made a strong attack on Lord Goodman who had acted as the British government's negotiator.

He described as 'stupid' Goodman's statement that miracles could be achieved by just talking to Africans.

'I go around regularly talking to Africans' said Smith. 'I have lived all my life in Rhodesia with Africans and have always treated them as human beings.'

Of course the white minority could not get along without African workers and domestics and they have to talk to them occasionally—mostly to give orders.

The United States is continuing to import Rhodesian nickel despite sanctions. Three shipments were imported through Baltimore in April and May. Chrome ore is also being allowed to enter the US together with other Rhodesian minerals since January 1 this year.

Briefly...

NINETEEN TUPAMAROS guerrillas in northern Uruguay have been arrested by security forces, including a Roman Catholic priest. There are now 849 Tupamaros under arrest.

ITALIAN newspaper proprietors are refusing to employ journalists on Sunday and have sparked off a bitter dispute with printers and journalists. There will be no papers again today and the unions have called for an intensification of the strikes.

VATICAN has recognized the Oder-Niesse line—the frontier between Poland and Germany established after the war. This follows the agreements concluded between West Germany and Poland and the Soviet Union. The recognition takes the form of the appointment of Polish bishops to former German territory now incorporated in Poland.

The West German Christian Democrat opposition regretted the church's step and claimed that the Polish frontier could only finally be fixed in a peace treaty. It was welcomed by Chancellor Willy Brandt's own Social Democratic Party and by the East German press.

PRESIDENT NIXON has approved big subsidies for the building of merchant ships in an attempt to restore the position of the US as a maritime power. Under the biggest peace-time contract ever, 16 new merchant ships will be built including three of the biggest tankers ever built in the US—273,000 tons deadweight—which will go to sea in 1973. In a statement Nixon said that 'the US, as the leading nation engaged in world trade must in its self-interest have a merchant marine commensurate with its large stake in international commerce'.

strike today there is no guarantee that those called out during the first week will remain out. It is possible they will be sent back in favour of other sites stopping work.

Meanwhile the union leaderships apparently think nothing of the fact that work continues on the Cubitt's extension to the London headquarters of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers.



PRISONS: MODERNIZING THE MEDIIEVAL

Although large numbers of women are remanded in custody awaiting trial, only one-quarter of them are actually given jail sentences by the courts.

This is one of the findings published in a report recently produced by Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP).

The effect on the women of having spent those few weeks in jail awaiting trial can often be incalculable. During that time children have to be taken into care, jobs and accommodation can be lost, and the woman herself so completely shattered by the experience that she finds it even harder to cope with things after her release.

'Four out of five times she is thrown out of prison to face a situation that can only be far worse than the one she left,' states the report.

By far the most common offence is petty theft, mostly shoplifting, involving sums of less than £5.

In a survey of the women sentenced to terms of imprisonment in Holloway, it was found that help rather than punishment is what is really needed. Mental health was considered a major problem in 20 per cent of the cases reported in one year, 25 per cent had been in a psychiatric hospital at some time in their lives, and more than 20 per cent had a history of attempted suicide. Over half the women were under 25.

Much emphasis is being given by the government to the planned rebuilding and modernization of Holloway, in which treatment is to concentrate more on group therapy.

But as the RAP report points out, evidence from prisons abroad suggests that this is totally useless. Such treatment only has any meaning if it is carried out over a long period, at least a year. The average stay in Holloway is three to six months, after which the woman is discharged to face even worse problems than the ones which put her 'inside' in the first place.

Above: Holloway Prison, where the average stay is three to six months.

In the meantime, the Home Office has carried out a computer analysis of 12,500 men remanded in Brixton prison last year. It was found that they had to spend an average of 12 weeks in custody awaiting trial, some of them considerably longer.

Conditions are chronically overcrowded with men often having to spend anything up to 23 hours a day just locked in their cells.

Of the 30,000 throughout the country committed to prison awaiting trial each year, more than 2,000 are subsequently found not guilty, and just under 20,000 are given sentences other than imprisonment.

There is no compensation for time spent in custody on remand, for loss of jobs and earnings, or for just disruption of life and family relationships generally, even if the man or woman concerned is found to have been completely innocent of the charges.

POLICE SEEK GREATER 'CO-OPERATION' WITH PRESS

Quietly and unobtrusively the police are moving in on the press. In the past two years Fleet Street and the provincial press have dug out one irregularity and scandal after another leading to prosecutions of police officers and resignations from the force.

Commander Kenneth Drury, ex-head of Scotland Yard's Flying Squad, resigned after press allegations that he had holidayed with a Soho strip club operator in Cyprus.

Charges of trampling suspects' rights, assault, corruption and generally falling standards in the police have been rife.

There is no doubt that the police are tired of playing ball to press bats, especially since many of them feel that a certain involvement with the criminal world is indispensable to carrying out their duties.

Scotland Yard has disclosed that a series of meetings with Fleet Street editors and executives are to take place after the summer holidays to look at the way the press treats the police.

Harassment

A statement says the talks will 'clarify top-level attitudes on both sides' and are aimed at 'a mutually satisfactory working formula for most if not all eventualities'.

Ostensibly the talks have been triggered by claims from journalists of police harassment at the recent Eltham train crash and the Trident disaster.

On June 20 the 'Daily Mirror' chapel (office branch of the National Union of Journalists) adopted a resolution which urged its management to enter into high-level talks with Scotland Yard 'in view of serious police harassment of "Daily Mirror"



Commander Kenneth Drury

reporters and photographers at recent major incidents'.

The chapel instructed members to withdraw from stories if they felt they were at risk from police action.

And Press Association photographer Colin Macer, based at Heathrow airport, told 'UK Press Gazette' of his experience at the scene of the Trident crash.

He said: 'Harassment is the right word to describe it. It was absolute chaos there.'

But by far the most significant thing about the new talks between the police and the press is that despite attempts to make it look as if they have been prompted by incidents at Staines and Eltham, the Yard's press relations officer tells a different story.

Mr G. D. (Bob) Gregory disclosed they were arranged before either of the crashes took place.

The discussions are to be thorough-ranging around daily and Sunday newspaper editors, news editors and executives.

Since the meetings were planned before the crashes, the wider, more long-term aspects of press coverage of the police must be what is really at stake.

The move is almost certainly part of the quiet but sinister revolution new Metropolitan police leader Robert Mark has been pushing through since he ascended to power.

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WALKER IS WILD ABOUT HARRY

BY PHILIP WADE, HOUSING CORRESPONDENT

The so-called 'threats' made by Environment Minister Peter Walker against the owner of London's empty offices, Harry Hyams, do not amount to much.

As far as Hyams is concerned, it's one of the nicest warnings he's had. For seven years now he has been looking for an expensive tenant for Centre Point—the giant empty tower block at the Oxford St-Tottenham Court Road junction.

If friend Walker can assist him in this search, Hyams will be that much closer to netting the £15m profit on the building.

Meanwhile, just down the road from Centre Point, at Piccadilly Circus, the Tories and their property friends are on the road to a gigantic coup which will net millions of pounds in profits for the developers.

There are five parties involved. The two government agencies are the Tory-controlled Greater London Council and Westminster city council.

With an amount of horse-trading and wheeling and dealing an agreement has been reached with three companies to 'redevelop' Piccadilly at a fantastic profit.

The plans, published last month, include the building of 544,000 square feet of offices and at least two hotels right in the centre of London.

And as shadow Housing Minister Anthony Crosland pointed out in the Commons last week, the whole deal has been cooked up behind closed doors.

'It is simply part of a horse-dealing agreement with Westminster city council whereby the GLC keep out of Piccadilly and Westminster keep out of Covent Garden,' he remarked.

High-flying property man Joe Levy is one interested party with his company Stock Conversion. In 1957 the company was unknown on the stock market and only valued at £360,000. Today it is worth £60m.

In 1951 Levy bought the Cafe de Paris site adjacent to Piccadilly. His company now holds leases on the Trocadero site together with a few other properties in the area and the freehold of the Palace Theatre.

Levy's secrecy about the current deal was the sort of characteristic that enabled him to accumulate all the property he needed for the Euston Centre, that mammoth structure of glass and metal which has made him millions.

Controversial City man Sir Charles Forte hopes to develop the Criterion site on the south side of the Circus.

In 1953 Forte paid £800,000 for the Criterion cafe and banqueting rooms. Today they're probably worth £7m on market values.

The biggest plum, not un-

naturally enough, will be swallowed—without the stone—by Britain's largest property company, the Land Securities Investment Trust.

In 1967 they took over the late Jack Cotton's City Centre Properties and with it the choice Monico block. Sir Harold Samuel—the first property developer to win a knighthood—has built a company with almost £800m worth of assets.

Samuel, interestingly enough, is also a member of the Covent Garden Market Authority.

In 1968, after an exhibition demonstrating the 'Piccadilly Circus of the Future', the developers insisted on 800,000 square feet of office space. The final figure of 544,000 square feet followed a strange sort of deal.



Above: Anthony Crosland

Westminster council suggested Land Securities buy Artillery Mansions near Victoria Station. The property had outline planning permission for mixed development of 377,000 square feet, including a hotel.

Land Securities was to buy the mansions, build offices there and switch the hotel scheme to Piccadilly. It worked.

The Tories on Westminster council are quite frank about it all. Said Hugh Cubitt, chairman of the town planning committee:

'We're not pretending there isn't some benefit to the developers. We're acting as the catalyst to get public and developers together.'

It is estimated that the scheme will cost the ratepayers £5m. The developers will put in another £100m to finance the project.

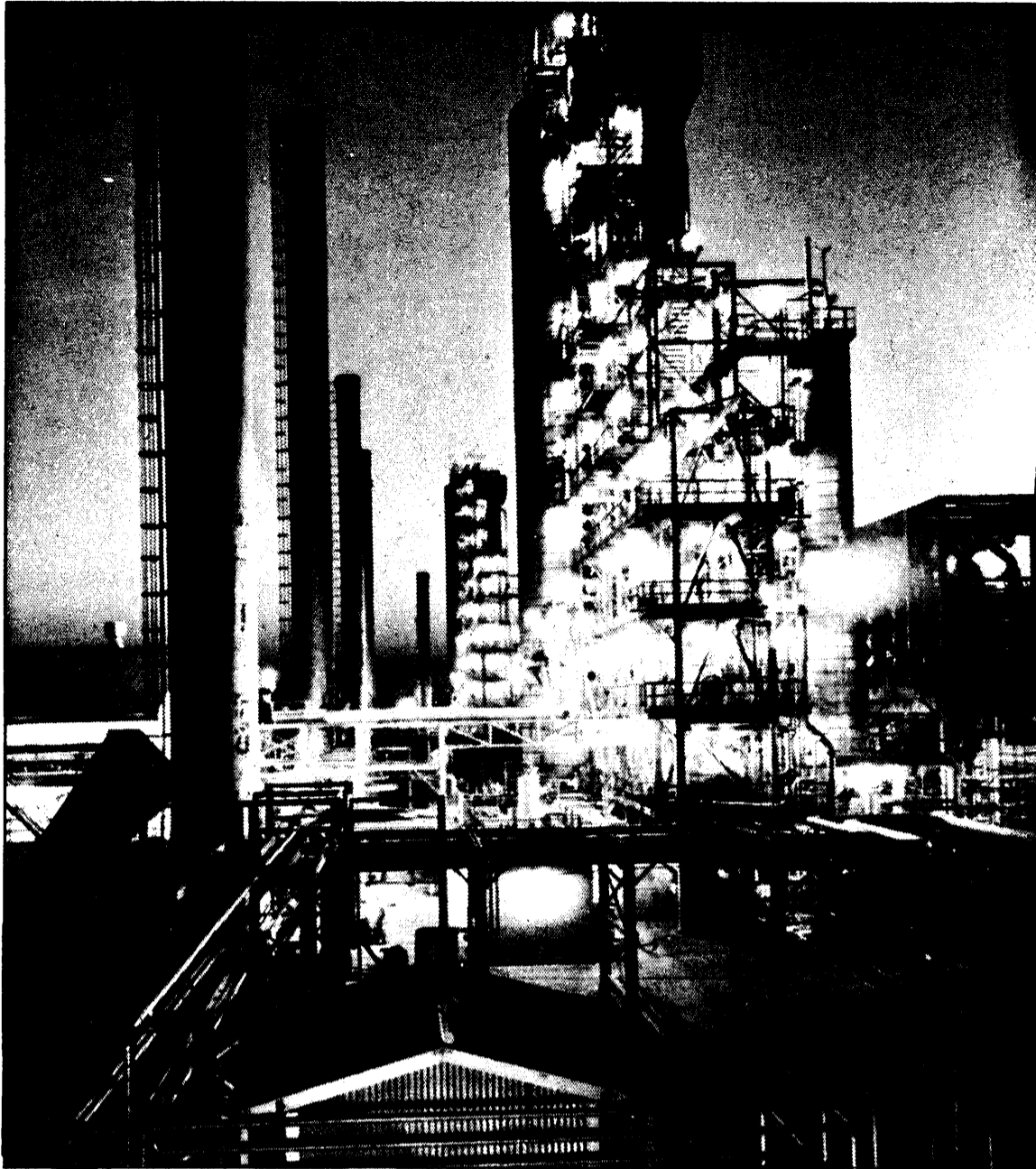
If and when the Circus is transformed into a speculators' paradise it will be worth many times that figure.

So the scheme rolls on. The GLC says the Circus is an 'action area' under the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act which requires 'comprehensive treatment by development, redevelopment, or improvement'.

Peter Walker talks about a 'public inquiry'. There is no reason to think it would stand in the way of another orgy of property speculation.



Top: R. Clark left and Joe Levy of Stock Conversion (Euston Centre in background). Above: P. Walker. Said Hyams of Walker's statement: 'It is based on no evidence of any kind . . . no such evidence exists.'



Oil refinery in Iraq: the French reap large profits from this supposedly 'nationalized' industry.

FRENCH PULL FAST ONE ON IRAQ OIL

In the struggle for Middle-East oil the French have scored an important success as a result of the agreement recently signed in Paris with the No 2 in the Iraqi regime, Saddam Hussein.

It was the pay-off for many years of patient diplomatic effort intended to outwit the Anglo-American oil giants by sympathy and support for the Arab cause, notably at the time of the 1967 six days war.

Hussein was given the honours by the French government—from President Pompidou downwards—which has a controlling interest in the Compagnie Française des Pétroles (CEP), the leading French oil company.

The agreement follows the June 1 nationalization of Iraqi oil by the Revolutionary Council which rules the country.

This was aimed at the Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC), which is a consortium of American and European interests, in retaliation for its deliberate policy of keeping down production and its resistance to Iraqi claims for a larger share of the proceeds of the oil business.

ADVANTAGE

The French company holds a 23.75 per cent interest in the IPC which the government has promised to uphold. It will be able to purchase this proportion of Iraqi oil production at cost price as well as additional quantities at the ruling world price for ten years.

This is a distinct advan-

tage, since Iraqi oil is more expensive than other Middle-East oil. French exports to Iraq are to be increased and France is to supply equipment for the oil industry on a credit basis as well as technical, commercial and managerial assistance.

Some issues have not been cleared up, notably the compensation terms for the French share of UPC. The CEP is now likely to play the role of a mediator between the Iraqi government and the other members of the IPC consortium.

While drawing a distinct commercial advantage from the agreement, the French government has strengthened its position in the Middle East and in the contest for influence in the Arab countries.

Its attitude towards the other countries which have oil interests in the area remains conciliatory. Like them, France does not want to see a revolution in the Arab countries or to see them fall permanently under Soviet influence. The aim is to bolster the national bourgeoisie at the same time as concessions are wrung from it under pressure.

The Arab oil producers must sell their oil and they must have economic and technical assistance to produce more. It is at this point that the French have stepped in. But although there is a competitive edge to their policy, it appears that the agreement has the support of London and Washington where it is seen as the basis for a wider agreement between the IPC and the Iraqi government.

Whether it is seen in this light by competing oil firms is another question. There is obviously a difference of opinion within international

oil circles: some see the French step as a useful preliminary to a general agreement, others believe that it is intended to establish French leadership which would be detrimental to the other firms.

The Iraqi willingness to negotiate is also significant. It shows the true nature of the regime, which represents the national bourgeoisie. It also reflects competition between the oil-producing states at a time when the market is slack.

MEDIEVAL

Another battle for oil is taking place in the Arabian state of Oman where British mercenaries are leading the forces of Sultan Qabus bin Said against rebels backed by the neighbouring People's Republic of South Yemen.

The revolt against the backward medieval regime of the present Sultan's father began in 1964. He seized power in 1970 in a coup master-minded by British officers. The present operation is British-backed and the Ministry of Defence is directly involved in the recruitment and seconding of officers to the Sultan's forces.

Although Oman produces some petroleum, it is not one of the rich oil states and it is calculated that almost half the oil revenue is swallowed up in financing the war. But Oman, with only 500,000 inhabitants, straddles a large area, strategically placed between the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Tankers for the Gulf oil straits therefore have to pass close by.

This holding operation for the oil imperialists is likely to go on for some years and will provide lucrative, if dangerous, employment for a small band of British officers.

AEROSPACE JOBS HIT BY SLUMP

Massive lay-offs are continuing to hit the aerospace industry in southern California. Since 1968 the level of employment has dropped 30 per cent and the outlook is for further sharp declines in jobs.

McDonnell Douglas in Long Beach is stopping production of DC-8s in September, and this will cause heavy layoffs, even though production has started on the DC-10. Employment stands at 26,000, down from a peak of 35,000.

Economists in Los Angeles who have surveyed the situation speak of a 'general winding down' and point to a decline in commercial orders, the phasing out of the large Apollo programme and the lack of sufficient federal contracts to support the industry at its current level.

Northrop Corporation in Hawthorne, a subcontractor for 747s, is down from a peak of seven and one half planes per month to three-quarters of a plane per month. Lockheed's Burbank production of S3As plans reductions in the work force.

It is significant that the aerospace industry has shown an overall decline of 3 per cent in sales over the first quarter of 1971. At the same time, profits have risen by 24 per cent. This is because of vicious cost-cutting and speed-up and the prospect is for more of the same.

At Boeing this is reflected most clearly. With a decline in sales of 14 per cent, profits have dropped only 3 per cent over the first quarter of 1971. Boeing, concentrated in the Seattle area, is a warning for southern California.

A Boeing manager, John E. Steiner, tells how it is done. 'We found for example that a man was at his place of work only 26 per cent of the time. He was going around to get tools, to get parts, to get

approvals from some modification engineer, to do anything but build airplanes.'

The United Auto Workers' bureaucracy has completely accepted this attack.

Indeed some union officials have even taken to using the language of the management speed-up experts to explain the loss of jobs by the so-called 'learning curve'. Management uses this term to refer to the process of eliminating jobs as more and more efficient measures are brought in.

The situation is now so critical in southern California that the fate of the industry is said to depend upon one or two up-coming contracts, most notably the B1 bomber.

It is no accident that a good portion of the debate in the Humphrey-McGovern California campaign was devoted to demagogic appeals to aerospace workers with McGovern promising better layoff pay and Humphrey promising jobs that are not there.

Research and development funds are being cut to the bone and the air force is demanding new efficiencies to lower the costs on bids. There is no question of aerospace ever regaining its 1960s level of activity. The future is one of deepening crisis.

Paul Schrade of the UAW was booted out largely as an expression of his refusal to take up this fight. Now Whipple, who replaced him as UAW western regional director, joins Schrade in the McGovern delegation to the Democratic Party convention throwing his support behind the man who promises more layoffs.

The only way forward in aerospace is through the nationalization of the industry under workers' control with a programme of massive re-hiring through the shorter work week. This can only be accomplished through the construction of a labour party to take on the employers and their government.

TRADE PACT WITH FASCISTS



Hungary's Prime Minister, Janos Kadar.

Hungary has signed a new trade protocol with Franco's Spain for 1972-1973 which makes possible payments between the two countries in transferable currency, with unconditional trade under the most-favoured-nation principle. The latter clause means that concessions made by one of the partners to a third country will also be granted to the other. As a result of the agreement Hungary expects to sell more chemical products, engineering equipment, ball bearings, textiles and foodstuffs and to import raw materials, clothing and oranges.

In four months the US presidential elections will be held. Next week the Democratic Party convention will be held in Miami to elect a presidential candidate and next month the Republicans meet to renominate Nixon. At this time the Workers' League, the American Trotskyist organization in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, presents its manifesto for the building of a Labour Party.

MANIFESTO: THE CASE FOR A LABOUR PARTY

The 1972 elections are being held at a most critical time in the history of American labour. It is now that all the gains made by this great movement of American labour are being threatened by Nixon and the large corporations he represents.

Only if American labour breaks with the two parties controlled by big business and constructs its own labour party based on the trade unions can these gains be defended.

INFLATION continues unchecked eating up the pay cheques of workers and driving workers' actual standard of living down. At the same time, the Pay Board slashes wages won by union workers while profits soar to unheard of heights and corporation presidents give themselves salary hikes of 100 per cent or more. UNEMPLOYMENT remains at 6 per cent, while reaching as high as 50 per cent for sections of minority youth. Hundreds of thousands of factory workers, with years of seniority, are being laid off and plants are being closed down wiping out the future for older workers, while youth do not even have a chance to work. At the same time, the unemployed are being used by the bosses to break the conditions of employed workers. SPEED-UP is being openly encouraged by the government itself and a drive for speed-up is being led by the largest corporations of the country like General Motors. The bosses are seeking to break union conditions in the plants, by forcing workers beyond the point of human endurance, while increasing profits and pushing more workers out of work as fewer workers sweat to do the work. This is the meaning of the statement of Joseph Godfrey of General Motors: 'If we can occupy a man for 60 minutes, we've got that right.'

LAWYERS AGAINST THE UNIONS are being prepared in Congress. Taft-Hartley is already on the books. Now a new law is being written which would outlaw strikes in the transportation industry and force compulsory arbitration. At the same time, the National Labour Relations Board and all the courts in the land are being used to invalidate contracts, jail union leaders, fire striking workers and take away all the basic rights the unions have.

AUGUST 15 MEASURES

On August 15, 1971, President Nixon made a series of decisions affecting the future of every worker in the United States and every other part of the world. He spoke not for himself or even his party, but for the large corporations and the profit system to which they are dedicated. First, Nixon removed the gold backing of the dollar, transforming the hoards of dollars held abroad into so

Dope is spreading like a plague among the youth while crime skyrockets. 'Law and order' is brought to bear against those who protest the conditions of life and not against the real criminals. Taxes have reached impossible heights for small-wage-earners and home-owners while the big corporations do not even pay taxes.

RACISM is openly encouraged by the government itself which seeks to undermine the Supreme Court and Constitution on the busing issue. Wallace emerges as a racist demagogue seeking to break the labour movement with his campaign, while the 'liberals' in the Democratic Party like Humphrey chase along behind him. WAR continues in south-east Asia and Nixon moves closer and closer to World War Three in his desperation before the forward movement of the workers and peasants. The American working people are still dying in Vietnam, and are still forced to carry a heavy tax burden for a war they never wanted nor declared, while the large corporations make billions off of defence contracts and use the war to protect their interests not ours in Asia.

When Nixon bombs the homes of workers in Hanoi and Haiphong, when his bombs hit dykes which cause flooding and drowning of the poor peasants—this must serve as a warning to all American workers. Nixon will do the same here if not stopped. Nixon is determined to destroy everything that stands in the way of the profits of the large corporations he represents. The offensive of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and now the determination of American workers organized in the trade unions to defend conditions won through difficult struggle stand in his way.

At the same time, the corporations encourage the Wallace movement to the right of Nixon. Wallace is backed by fascist elements and the Ku Klux Klan. His state of Alabama has an anti-union 'right-to-work' law. Wallace aims through racism to split the working class and openly destroy the unions. The trade union leadership refuses to seriously fight Wallace. Wallace can only be answered with the construction of a labour party!

many pieces of paper. He did this for the simple reason that the United States no longer possessed the gold to back up these dollars.

This means that capitalism as a world system is now bankrupt and can only be preserved if the working class is forced back into destitution. The bosses must now seek to increase the amount that workers produce while reducing wages to a pittance.

In 1944 in Bretton Woods the present world monetary system was established. It was based on other countries accepting American dollars as if they were gold. The United States guaranteed in return that the price of gold would stay at \$35 an ounce and it would honour all dollars held abroad with gold. On this basis the whole post-war boom was constructed and along with it an inflationary trend. This allowed the capitalists to amass great profits, while at the same time compromising with the working class which also made modest gains in its standard of living.

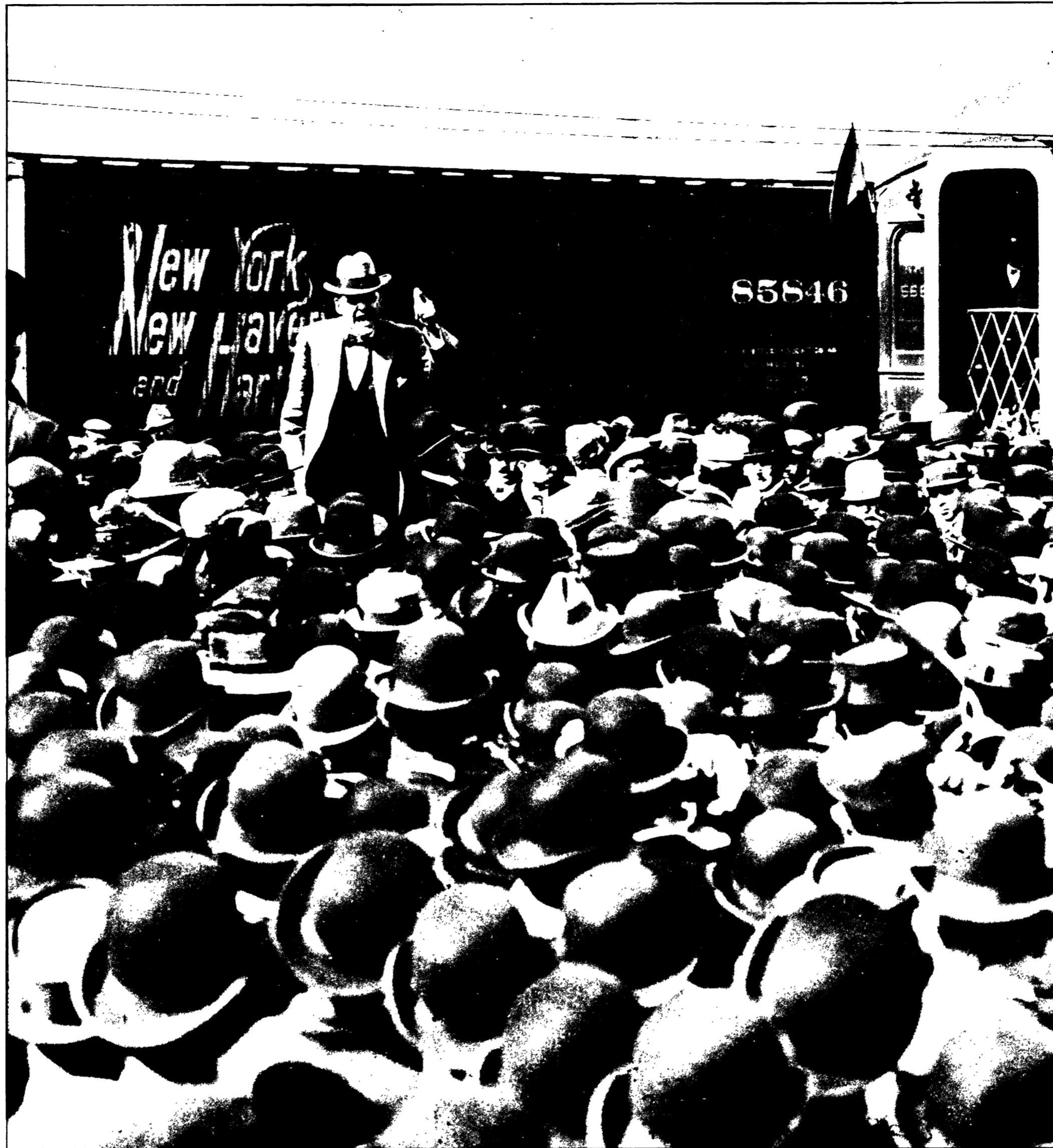
Bretton Woods was a concession to the strength of the working class. It is this strength which now throws capitalism into its biggest crisis.



Above: Samuel Gompers. Right: Eugene V. Debs speaking to railway workers. Debs came to the realization that unions were not enough, that a labour party was needed to defend workers.

Now that the United States will no longer honour dollars held abroad, the whole world monetary system is threatened with collapse and a world trade recession or depression is imminent. More than this, it means that the period of compromise with the working class is over. In every country the capitalists must now take on the working class seeking to break its class organizations and force down its living conditions so that the profit system can be preserved. In this system and these profits which is all that matters to the corporation heads. What happens to the working man is not their concern. It never has been.

Second, and flowing from this first decision, Nixon imposed a surcharge on foreign goods and took other steps to push as much of the burden of capitalism's crisis onto



Europe. This means that Nixon and Connally are driving the rulers of Europe—the men who sent troops against workers in Malaya, in Aden, in Indo-China, in Algeria, in Ireland—to turn now against the workers in Europe.

Some in the labour movement, including the AFL-CIO top leadership and the leadership of many individual unions, are seeking to line the working class up with Nixon in these attacks on other countries. They reason that the way to save American jobs is to have even higher import restrictions than Nixon so far has advocated. They say let the workers in Canada, who are in the same international unions, and in England, Germany, Japan and France suffer so that American jobs can be saved. Such policies only weaken American workers, at a time

when they face their bitterest battles, by separating them from their class brothers in other lands. The American working class faces an international enemy: that is, international conglomerates with vast wealth whose resources span the globe. The working class must unite on an international front to fight back against these giants. In actual fact, it has been the heroic battles of the workers and peasants in Vietnam that have weakened Nixon to the point that he holds back from the kind of attacks against American workers he would like to carry out.

At the same time, it is the great strength of the American working class, particularly expressed last year in steel and auto which played an important role in forcing Nixon to make his August 15 decisions as well as in holding



1937: Auto workers in Flint, Michigan staged a sit-down that led to the building of the CIO

him back from what he would like to do in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Third, Nixon set up the Pay Board for the purpose of robbing American workers of their living standards, of holding down wages while prices continued to soar and profits reached all-time highs. At the same time, Nixon, Agnew and Connally, in speech after speech, goad on big business to step up its ruthless speed-up to sweat every penny of profit possible out of American workers.

The full significance of the Pay Board can only be understood if we realize that it is aimed at destroying the one strength the American working class has—its trade unions. American workers do not have their own parties as do workers in other countries. American workers do not have a strong shop stewards' movement as they have in England.

But American workers have constructed powerful trade unions incorporating all workers in a factory in one union, and in many cases all workers in whole industries in one union. Workers in these unions, through struggle, win certain wages, pensions and working conditions, written up in a contract.

This contract, of course, contains all kinds of clauses and concessions, written into it through the betrayals of the union bureaucracy which hamper and tie down the workers in the plants. But the contract is also the result of the power of the working class spelling out certain wage levels and conditions.

Now the Pay Board rips up these contracts, imposing its own wage levels and other conditions. If the Pay Board is allowed to proceed unchallenged, it will have in one blow wiped out the great strength of the labour movement. What good are unions if contracts won through struggle can be thrown in the waste basket at the whim of a handful of men called a Pay Board? What protection does the working man now have against the profit-hungry bosses ever after more work, lower pay, less jobs?

THE LESSONS OF LABOUR'S HISTORY

In order to understand the full significance of the situation American workers now face, and what must be done in this situation, we must look at the history which created the labour movement of today. The labour movement was built through struggle, not through compromise. It was built by militants and revolutionaries, not bureaucrats and lawyers. It came into being in an explosive way, through a great leap, not through a gradual addition to the old conservative craft unions led by the forerunners of George Meany.



William Z. Foster

The modern labour movement was born in the great national railway strike of 1877. The strike began virtually leaderless, in response to pay cuts, swept the country and almost became a General Strike. In Pittsburgh the workers defeated the militia and the city was run for several days by workers. Then the army intervened and

bloody suppressed the workers there and throughout the country. It was after this strike that the government built National Guard armouries in every major city—not to protect the nation from an external enemy—but to protect the robber barons of industry from an internal enemy: the working man.

In 1886, the year in which May Day was born, the country was swept by agitation for the eight-hour day. In New York City, the first labour party was constructed and Henry George received 67,000 votes to Tammany Hall's 90,000 even with Tammany counting the votes! The heart of the struggle was in Chicago where the labour movement was led by revolutionaries who held anarchist views. The movement was broken through a witch-hunting campaign against anarchism following a bombing. Four labour leaders, the Haymarket martyrs, were hung for this act even though no evidence was produced then or since to connect them with the act.

In 1892 Eugene V. Debs led another national railway strike. This time court injunctions were used to break the strike and Debs was thrown in jail. While in jail, he came to the realization that workers could not be defended just through unions but that a party was needed to fight to replace the profit system with socialism so that the great productive power of this country could be run and utilized for the working class and not the bosses.

In 1912, revolutionaries of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) led a strike of 20,000 textile workers, who spoke over 15 languages, in Lawrence, Mass. When the IWW sought to take the workers' children to homes in other cities so they would not have to face starvation, the police moved in to club women and children. The workers stayed firm and the strike was won.

In 1919, William Z. Foster, a revolutionary who later joined the Communist Party, led a national steel strike which was defeated through the betrayals of the AFL which claimed to support it.

When, in 1937, auto workers in Flint, Michigan, sat down in a General Motors plant, their action was based on 60 years of struggle for industrial unionism. These workers were led by socialists and communists and through their militant sit-ins, the basis was laid for the building of the CIO almost overnight. With the growth of the CIO, the AFL was forced also to organize on a mass scale industrial workers and the 20 million strong labour movement we now know was built. It was the strength of this movement which created the standard of living of the post-war period for all workers, union and non-union.

Nothing was given to American workers. The trade unions were constructed through bitter struggle facing time and again the troops of the government itself, which did the bidding of the big corporations every time. The trade unions were not built by the methods of the present leaders. Samuel Gompers lived off American workers. He did not build the mass trade unions. These were built by revolutionaries.

It took a sharp break from the old trade unionism to create industrial unions—not just an increase in the old unions of the AFL. These unions must now be broken if the profit hungry bosses are to defend their system. These unions can only be defended in a new leap—not by just more of the old methods, more unionism, more solidarity, pressure on the existing leadership. What is required to bring this about is the construction of a new leadership in the unions.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

The fourth part of a statement by the Workers Vanguard (Trotskyist) of Greece, continues to examine the bourgeois, counter-revolutionary nature of the Torres dictatorship.

THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION AND THE DEVIATIONS OF THE POR

Dual power 'sui generis'

The most serious problem of a revolutionary situation arising in any country is the problem of power. The question of strategy and tactics for the conquest of power is of equivalent importance as that of the organ which will achieve it. Any deviation from this can prove fatal.

Nothing could be more erroneous than the view that the Popular Assembly represented a duality of power. We believe that the Popular Assembly in Bolivia was an impediment to the movement which objectively had developed to a situation of dynamic dualism, preventing it from taking the road of the creation of soviets and thus the development of a dual power.

'Of what does dual power consist? In that, side by side with the provisional government of the bourgeoisie, there is formed another government which, yet weak and embryonic, indisputably exists in practice and is developing: the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies.' (Lenin, 'On Dual Power'—April 22 (9), 1917.)

Lenin is quite clear, quite definite, on the soviets as the only expression of dual power. He continues: 'This power is not at all of the same type as exists in parliamentary bourgeois democracy.' It is not the same thing as an assembly-parliament of 'dual type', embellished with a few committees of miners.

From the point of view of class essence and democracy no Popular Assembly can be compared with genuine soviets at the factories, the places of work, the neighbourhoods, the villages and the barracks, organized in a local, district, national and governmental structure, with elected and recallable representatives throughout. The soviets are real class organs, not plastic substitutes.

Dual power means that the soviet and bourgeois powers are engaged in a struggle. The victory of the soviets establishes a new kind of state, the commune, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The POR correctly established committees in the mines. If these had been spread throughout the country the possibility of victory would have been incomparably greater. But subordinated to the Popular Assembly, the committees faltered away from their natural tendency towards soviet power.

The creation of the Popular Assembly was not 'a considerable victory for the workers', as the leaders of the POR and the OCI's 'Information Ouvrières' claim, together with the Pabloites. On the contrary,

it was a liquidation and a castration of the committees. It was a passing over to the side of parliamentary methodology, conciliation and compromise with the bourgeois regime of Torres.

The Pabloite opportunism of Pierre Frank and Ernest Mandel during the May-June events in France in 1968 provided us with another example of the distortion of the duality of power. With their Menshevik over-estimation of the role of the students and intellectuals, and an anti-Marxist underestimation of the role of the proletariat (take-overs of factories, committees, strikes of workers and peasants), they considered the epicentre of the revolution and of dual power to be . . . in the Sorbonne! It was not the proletariat but the students who were the bearers of revolution. Yet another road to socialism!

It would have been strange if the Pabloites, with their knack of discovering roads to socialism in the most unlikely places, had not adopted the views of the POR on the Popular Assembly as 'an organ of soviet character', as an 'indisputable lever', as an organ 'of workers', which 'pointed the way to a workers' and peasants' government'.

Support for Torres

The POR did not support Torres. The Pabloite Toussain tried to slander the POR on this question. The associates of Pablo, Frank, Mandel and Alain Krivine who have supported the regimes of Ben Bella, Castro, Nasser, Makarios and all the Bonapartes of the under-developed countries, ought not to discuss questions which really incriminate them. The POR line is crystal clear.

'It would be extremely dangerous to say that there is a similarity of aim between the masses and the group of imperialists which formed itself around Torres because it was obvious from the start that they were both fighting for different ends.'

Lechin and the Stalinists naturally supported the 'progressive' dictator Torres, and not only against the conspiracy of the right-wing junta.

This subordination to the bourgeois 'democratic' left is in the nature of opportunism. From the time of Varsky's support for Pilsudsky in Poland, in whom he saw the 'democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants', and of the support for the dictator Pangalos in Greece on whom the Greek CP called to 'do as you best, my general' in 1925, the continuity of support for Bonapartist regimes in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is a result of the fellow travelling of the Stalinists with the



Russian workers carry the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets' during the 1917 Revolution.

'democratic' bourgeoisie (as in China, Spain, Indonesia, etc).

It is no accident that Moscow always supported Torres, and that Soviet missions always operated in Bolivia.

We cannot achieve power without a merciless fight against the opportunists. It is sufficient to remind ourselves of the struggle against the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries inside the Russian Soviets.

But in the Popular Assembly we had a conciliation of the POR with the Lechin tendency and the Stalinists, and a certain United Front with the Stalinists.

If this was not so, how was it that 'the proposals and documents presented by the POR to be used as a basis for the work of the Assembly were adopted with few changes and mostly unanimously'?

And how was it possible for a POR comrade to be elected unanimously as military commander of the Popular Assembly? (Comrade Sossa's interview in 'Information Ouvrières'.)

Communists must make a clear distinction between a 'democratic' and a fascist government. At a given moment it is necessary to concentrate their fire against the direct intervention of open counter-revolution—but not to support Torres in the way the Stalinists and Lechin did. It is not permissible to relax the struggle against the government and its lackeys inside the Popular Assembly.

The United Front with the Stalinists

On what basis was the front with the Stalinists made? 'We fought', says Lora, 'on the lines of the united anti-imperialist front and against the banning of some tendencies from the Popular Assembly'.

It seems that Lora has learnt nothing from the 'anti-imperialism' of all opportunists from which the anti-capitalist content is removed, and which is used to blunt their swords against their 'own' bourgeoisie.

Analysis of the experiences of national liberation struggles has taught us that the bour-

geoisie of a colonial or semi-colonial country cannot be more progressive and revolutionary than that of a non-colonial country.

The Pabloites gave their support to the 'anti-imperialist' petty bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships. How could the POR form a United Front in such a sham 'anti-imperialist' struggle?

The ruthless exploitation of the Bolivian masses by US imperialism and local finance capital aroused such deep hatred that the local and foreign bourgeoisie needed to base itself on the bayonets of Barrientos, Ovando and Torres dictatorships against the uprisings of the masses.

These anti-imperialist feelings of the masses are progressive and revolutionary. We depend on them for the triumph of the Permanent Revolution.

But the 'anti-imperialism' of the opportunists is counter-revolutionary. It is steeped in the spirit of collaboration with the local bourgeoisie. It is not accidental that both the Bolivian and the Moscow Stalinists supported Torres, who from the start was an agent of US imperialism.

The Stalinists inserted in the programme of the unions the view that the Bolivian revolution would have a bourgeois character. This meant that the unresolved problems of democracy, agrarian economy and anti-imperialism would be solved by another revolution, which would not be proletarian. Hence their Menshevik support for Torres.

What then would be the strategy of the 'United anti-imperialist front' of the CP and the POR? Would it be bourgeois - democratic? Or would it be proletarian, solving on the way the problems of the bourgeois-democracy?

The 'united anti-imperialist front' could not raise the question of national liberation since Bolivia is not a colonial country occupied by imperialism. However, according to the theory of the Permanent Revolution, even where there exists a problem of national liberation, the bearer of the democratic revolution is the

proletariat which inscribes the tasks of the bourgeois-democracy on the banner of the proletarian revolution, and carries out the struggle against imperialism while fighting at the same time the local bourgeoisie and landlords.

For us, the anti-imperialist struggle is linked to the historical task of world revolution in general and the local one in particular, and a front with opportunists on the basis of an illegitimate 'anti-imperialism' is inconceivable.

The underlying meaning of the treacherous fake anti-imperialism of the Stalinists shown by the fact that when Rockefeller visited Latin America during a period of revolutionary situations and intense strike activity, the opportunists turned the movement towards anti-Americanism, thus disorientating the masses from the conquest of power.

We would certainly form a tactical common front with the Stalinists against Banzer, Torres, and the whole junta—behind which stand the Pentagon and the CIA—but on the basis of class demands, through concrete class organs and method of struggle, with the emphasis on the committee-soviets.

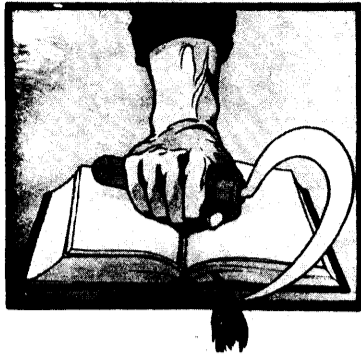
Such a front should differentiate its responsibilities from the methods of individual terror and bombings, which have been in complete opposition to the mass movement ever since the time of 'Iskra' at the beginning of the century.

The Stalinists would have done everything in their power to drag the 'united anti-imperialist front' towards guerrilla warfare in the mountains or the cities, and to turn the movement into a petty-bourgeois one, leaning on the peasantry and pushing the proletariat aside. (It was their love of guerrilla warfare which made the Pabloites betray the Permanent Revolution.)

But we saw none of these important, concrete questions in the history of the United Front of the Stalinists and the Lora tendency (as we were told by 'Information Ouvrières').

CONTINUED TOMORROW

BOOK REVIEW



'Soviet Foreign Policy Since the Death of Stalin'. By H. Hanak. The World Study Series. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £3.

FOREIGN POLICY DEEDS OF RUSSIA

Intended for students, this book provides a collection of articles, statements and documents from Soviet sources concerned with foreign policy and covering the period from 1954 to 1970.

The extracts are useful as they go in providing a general view of what the bureaucracy had to say for itself in that period. The limitations of the book are to be found mainly in the introduction and text which links the extracts.

Such a book does not speak for itself from the documents, but conveys the views of the editor. No doubt had the book been put out by the Novotny Press it would have been compiled differently and would have told a different story.

It might have had less to say, for instance, about Nikita Khrushchev, whose handling of foreign policy was certainly livelier than that of his predecessors or the present unbending Brezhnev - Kosygin leadership.

The speech which he gave to the Supreme Soviet on the violation of Soviet air space by a U-2 spy-plane sparkles with humour when put alongside the jargon of the usual statement. Speaking of Gary Powers, the pilot, Khrushchev said:

'Besides his own watch, he was also given for the trip two other gold watches and seven ladies' gold rings. Why was all this necessary in the upper layers of the atmosphere. Or perhaps the pilot was to have flown still higher, to Mars, and was going to lead Martian ladies astray?'

Most of the extracts are written in the dull and lifeless prose which comprises the literary sense of bureaucratic thought. Unfortunately, the editor takes these statements largely at their face value and his introduction is therefore misleading in some important particulars.

It is necessary in dealing with the foreign policy of any state to see it as a reflection of domestic policy. In the case of the Soviet Union, diplomacy is used by the bureaucracy to serve its need for a deal with imperialism on the basis of an acceptance of the existing division of the world. This is the essential meaning of 'peaceful co-existence'.

Soviet foreign policy can therefore only be understood as a product of the bureau-



Castro and Khrushchev in 1962 after the Cuban crisis

cratic degeneration of the first workers' state. While policy is conducted in the terminology of Marxism and professes to be determined by the interests of the international working class, in reality it expresses the counter-revolutionary objectives of the bureaucracy.

Unless these elementary principles are kept in mind it is impossible to make head or tail of the zig zags of Soviet policy. It is either taken, as the bureaucracy and its apologists would like it to be, as genuine Marxism-Leninism in practice, or it becomes an enigma which can only be explained by some sophisticated theory.

Mr Hanak adopts the first of these positions, although he is by no means favourable to the Soviet Union, like many western anti-communists. He sees the policies of Stalin's successors as marking a qualitative break with the past, a return to the 'Leninist concept' of 'peaceful co-existence'.

The policy practised by Khrushchev and company had nothing in common with Leninism except words. Nor was it intended to prepare 'the most favourable conditions for the struggle of oppressed peoples, for the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries against their exploiters' as the bureaucracy claims . . . and Mr Hanak accepts.

It was a policy of living with capitalism for an indefinite period. Hence the paradox, which Hanak notes but cannot explain, that when France was ripe for revolution in 1968 the Communist Party, with Soviet support, opposed the May movement.

Of course, 'peaceful co-existence', as practised by the bureaucracy, does not mean the end of conflict with imperialism. Such conflict is inherent in the relations between capitalism and the workers' states.

The bureaucracy uses the traditional methods of diplomacy, which include the probing out of weak spots in the position of other countries in order to win concessions and make deals. This involves conflict of a different kind.

The evidence shows that whenever the bureaucracy believes that it is in a position to make an understanding with one or a group of capitalist states it is on its best behaviour. On the other hand, it also at times uses threats or even deeds — such as Khrushchev's ill-advised establishment of missile bases in Cuba—to impress the other side or win concessions.

In this respect the successors of Stalin—who made a pact with Laval in 1935, with Hitler in 1939, with Churchill and Roosevelt during World War II and with de Gaulle after it—are his able pupils. Circumstances, the balance of world forces, change but the aims of the bureaucracy do not.

Undoubtedly Khrushchev used some new methods in the period of the 'thaw'—and the Brezhnev-Kosygin team has its own style—but these were not entirely unique. As far back as 1934 Litvinov inaugurated a new style in Soviet diplomacy which brought the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, emphatically denounced by Lenin as 'a thieves' kitchen'.

To judge Stalin's policy by certain episodes of the 'Cold War' is to misunderstand it completely and to create an antithesis with later policy which does not exist.

To see a commentator like Hanak, who teaches international relations to London University students, apparently swallowing whole the professions of the bureaucracy to be defending socialism, building communism and pressing for the world revolution, is really lamentable. Comprehensible in a Stalinist hack, it does not speak highly for bourgeois scholarship in this field.

Anyone who wants a handy compilation of Soviet foreign policy documents may find this book useful. It deals with the Sino-Soviet split and with the uprisings in Eastern Europe and their diplomatic repercussions. The framework of explanation chosen by the editor is so wrong that it can only be taken as an object lesson in how not to interpret Soviet foreign policy.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

GROTESQUE

Grotesque scenes on the banks of the Thames—at Henley, of course. Debs and their chinless wonders sprawling on the lawns quaffing champagne and duck paté sandwiches.

Camilla Hellman invited a bunch in to her place for a garden party and Mrs Guy Sanders rowed past in a Venetian gondola.

Stockbroker's daughter Diana Cavendish attended and then threw a gala party at the Anglo-Belgian Club in Belgrave Square, London.

Everything made more appalling by the fact that the Russians were participating in this upper class rort for the first time since 1964. Is the public school boat race part of the peaceful waterway to socialism? Answer please Gollan and company.

SLAUGHTER SEASON

Get out your diary, lads, and make July 12 your Red Letter Day. Why? It's the opening of the grouse season, dear boy.

Instead of diving off to Morecambe for your holiday, why not consider shooting grouse with the toffs?

People in the trade say that the 'Glorious Twelfth' will see a record number of foreign fingers on the trigger on Britain's grouse moors this year.

Grouse-shooting at up to £800 a week is proving the most popular of the huntin', shootin' and fishin' package holidays for wealthy overseas sportsmen offered by a London agency.

Since Sporting Services International announced its plans a month ago, inquiries have poured in from all over the world—even Hong King.

'We have had inquiries for shooting holidays right across the board', Prince Yuri Galitzine, spokesman for the agency said.

'Grouse-shooting is the most popular, probably because it is unique to this country.'

'Most of the sportsmen seem to be businessmen who are combining a holiday with a business visit.'

Salmon-fishing holidays are also very popular, he said. The holidays, costing up to £225 a day, include staying in 'some of Britain's most beautiful homes and castles'. Visitors can hunt with a famous pack of foxhounds, stalk deer in Scotland, fish for salmon, sea trout or trout and shoot grouse, pheasants, woodcock, snipe or capercaillie.

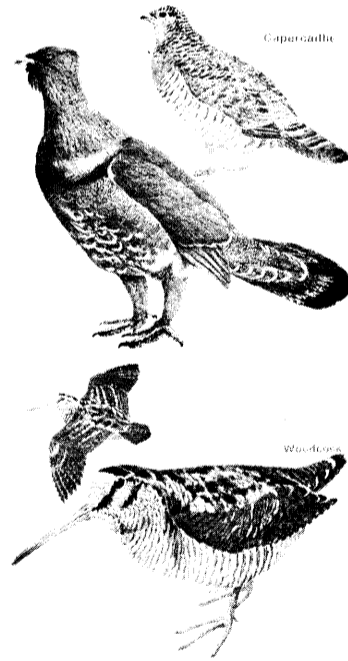
Meanwhile, their families can go beagling, sailing, pony trekking or learn to shoot or fish.

The Prince says that no-one need feel out of place. Everything is done to ensure that the conventions and traditions of British sport are not flouted. Visitors will be given advice on 'safety, behaviour and general sporting conventions'.

International sport at this level is a two-way traffic Prince Yuri said.

'We have many inquiries from people in this country who want to try sport in other countries—hunting wild boar in Turkey, shooting partridges in Spain, or fishing in Iceland, where we have fishing rights on the two best rivers in the country.'

Sounds just the thing, doesn't it. Grab a gun and go out and slaughter tiny birds. Thus the ruling class finds its pleasure.



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LETTERS



Alan Williams, Bernie Steer and Vic Turner waiting at Chobham Farm to be arrested

Dear Editor,

Having read your reply to the article published in the 'Yorkshire Evening Post' and the 'Doncaster Evening Post', I am happy to see you are not letting the Tory press get away with this planned witch-hunt.

But I believe you have failed to go deep enough into this article and expose the real reason behind this one of three articles. The first one on Lord Robens was just a lead up to an all-out attack on the SLL and the Communist Party, but you make no mention of this attack on the CP.

It is League policy to defend all left-wing parties against the onslaught of the ruling class as with the International Socialists. But you have failed to do this in your article. I would like to know who was this agent of the Tory press Graham Wiles gets his information from.

To say that three Trotskyists organized the 1970 miners' strike is living in dreamland.

To make this statement to any sensible miner would mean being laughed out of the Yorkshire coalfield. It was the miners themselves who organized the strike because of the falling standard of living and the onslaught being launched by the government on the working class.

The Trotskyists in Yorkshire played their part, as always, but it would be impossible to organize such a strike by just three Trotskyists.

We also must look at the timing of this article by Graham Wiles. It is too much of a coincidence that it came only two weeks before the union elections when a large number of left-wing members of the National Union of Mineworkers were coming up for positions in different branches around Yorkshire.

I will say this to Graham

Wiles. He has failed to whip up any feeling against the lefts in the Yorkshire coalfield because the working class is now fighting to defend its basic rights.

Christopher Rigg, Bentley, Doncaster, Yorks.

Chris Rigg is right, that much more could have been said in reply to the 'Yorkshire Evening Post's' witch-hunting series on the miners.

Wiles (Industrial correspondent of the 'Post') included the Communist Party in his attack because the Yorkshire area NUM, the preserve of the right wing like Sidney Schofield, has in recent years voted along with areas where the Stalinists and their sympathizers have a majority in the area executive (South Wales, Scotland and previously Derbyshire).

While the capitalist class has proven these Stalinists perfectly amenable (for example, Will Paynter and Arthur Horner) they prefer as strong a right-wing ballast as possible, and no doubt Wiles' article was timed for the area elections.

It is certainly the policy of the Socialist Labour League to defend the Communist Party and its members from such attack.

It must be said, however, that the Stalinists were noted by Wiles as being very well-behaved. Undoubtedly his main target was the SLL and Workers Press.

Not only that, but the Stalinists lent themselves to Wiles' plans. Whereas SLL members refused him any interviews, because we knew it was for the purpose of witch-hunting, James Miller, Communist Party secretary of the Kellingley NUM branch, answered a whole series of questions for

Yorkshire miners during the strike earlier this year

Wiles and was quoted at length.

Miller did not, of course, mention his own role at the end of the 1970 strike. Having made grossly exaggerated claims about his own part in that strike, he omits the fact that he personally ensured a return to work at Kellingley by giving the impression in a crowded branch meeting that other coalfields had already returned. This was in fact quite untrue, and indeed Kellingley's return was then used to drive back the other areas!

Graham Wiles, who took 90 per cent of his material from the Workers Press columns and the rest from his fertile imagination, did not choose to extract his particular piece of news which we printed at the time. We see that his witch-hunting was not quite indiscriminate!

Chris Rigg makes the main point. What the Tories fear is the gaining support among miners for policies and leadership which allow them to get to grips with the Tory government, to answer the burning questions of wages, prices and unemployment brought about by the capitalist crisis.

The Stalinist leaders in the NUM have always separated the wages fight from the political struggle against the government. Miller and Kane in Yorkshire and men like McGahey nationally, fought tooth and nail against the policy of the SLL in the 1972 miners' strike, which was to unite the trade union movement behind the miners, create the conditions for the government to resign, and return a Labour government pledged to nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

Dear Editor, Through your paper, I wish to express my admiration for the three dockers who were willing to face jail rather than become Tory chattel serfs.

I am very pleased to see that the dockers responded with a strike. Every one of us in the working class, employed or not, should stand and back these men to the hilt because if these Tories can break the dockers, they will go on to attack the rest of the working class.

Dockers have always been known for their militancy and for the way they stuck together more than any other section of the working class in the world.

My father was a docker in the old days under the same Tories we have in now and I can remember him going to the docks every day and standing with other men in the pens like cattle begging for work.

My father hardly worked for years under the same system which they are trying to return to now and I saw him die a broken man from suffering misery and poverty of the Tory dole life.

I know why these lads are

fighting. They saw what happened to their parents years ago. This is what every trade union man and woman should do instead of accepting a life on the dole.

Of course we must not blame the Tories altogether. We must blame those spineless people who keep them there, also the TUC and union leaders who have consorted all along with the Tories.

Heath thinks that because he has all his cronies and capitalist friends behind him that he can go on and suppress the working class, like Churchill did. But he forgets that there are a different breed of men who have learned from the bitter experiences of their fathers.

We must go forward now and clear out the compromisers in the unions and the TUC and the traitorous Labour MPs who voted with the Tories last year and kept them in office.

Mrs S. McInerney, St Helens, Lancashire.

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FOUR THOUSAND Chrysler workers at the Stoke engine plant in Coventry will take part in a secret ballot today and tomorrow to decide on whether to accept the company's latest five-point offer.

The offer is in response to a nine-point claim lodged for this year's pay review.

The secret ballot was introduced because shop stewards could not decide at last Friday's mass meeting whether the offer had been rejected or accepted.

The stewards originally lodged a nine-point claim based on the 13 points of the national engineers wage claim.

In the counter-offer the management increased wages by £3.60 as against a claim of £6; two days' extra holiday for 20 years'

Stewards enforce secret ballot on latest offer Chrysler deal is MDW

service as against a week's extra holiday for all workers.

They have also offered slightly better lay off pay arrangements and an increase in the percentage women's rate as against a men's rate with equal pay in 1975. There has been no offer on the 35-hour week nor other aspects of the claim.

The company also wants the work force to accept the introduction of an incentive scheme and is offering an extra 40p per week if discussions with the stewards can begin on this.

Right-wing AUEW district secretary, Andrew Boyle, intimated to the last Coventry district committee meeting that this represented some sort of victory over the company's insistence on the extension of Measured-Day Work in the factory.

The company says that since efficiency at the Stoke plant has dropped by 10 per cent over the past 12 months, they see the incentive scheme as a logical refinement of MDW geared to output and attendance.

Many Chrysler workers cor-

rectly see the incentive scheme as a further tightening of the screws in order to help meet the intensified competition of the present trade war that must flow from the monetary crisis.

Roy Storey, an AUEW production worker, told Workers Press he was against the incentive scheme.

He voted against acceptance because he was against MDW and sees the new incentive schemes as a means of trying to get Chrysler workers to cut their own throats.

Internal truck driver Noel Ring said: 'This incentive scheme is not a return to piecework where the man decides himself how fast he will work. It will be a means whereby the management can crack the whip more thoroughly. At present if there is no work for me driving, they cannot put me on production.'

'We have never allowed this at Stoke like they have at the Ryton plant. You don't have to be a lawyer to know this is what they are after. And this is why I am against the new deal.'

Engineers' fight taken to far north

CONSOLIDATED Pneumatic Tools' factory at Fraserburgh, 45 miles north of Aberdeen, is the northernmost factory so far actively involved in the engineers' national pay fight.

The 700 AUEW members there are involved with Aberdeen engineers—including the CPT factory there—in the four-week old district-wide strike for the full national claim.

The employers' latest offer of £2.25 across the board was dismissed by the men, who are mounting a picket daily to prevent the movement of goods out of the factory.

Convenor George Lillie says there is absolute determination now to get at least the average engineering wage in Scotland, which would mean a £4 increase.



The picket line at Consolidated Pneumatic in Fraserburgh, near Aberdeen, where the men have come out for the engineers' national claim

Others on the picket line said that now that the fight was on they would stick it out for the full claim.

Alex Lee said that he disagreed with the calling off of national action in January. Ernest Thom agreed: 'We've got to get rid of the Tories.

When Labour was in the firm got grants for new machinery. That's not happening any more.'

CPT, by far the biggest factory in the fishing town of Fraserburgh, has already experienced substantial redundancies. Last November, 90

men were paid off.

There is little alternative employment in the area. This has only increased the men's determination to fight for a living wage.

Fifty police were imported from Aberdeen last week to escort lorries out of the factory

carrying compressors made there. 'They couldn't have got away with it in a national strike,' said one of the pickets. 'Look at what happened at Longannet. They didn't dare convict the miners—they knew they would have had to face another strike.'

CP block on Council of Action angers unions

UNION BRANCHES in Coventry are hitting back at manoeuvres by Communist Party leaders in the town to try to block the setting up of a local Council of Action by the trades council.

The original scheduled meeting is due tonight when the trades council has a public meeting on the fight against unemployment.

AUEW Coventry No. 49 and No. 73 branches have tabled resolutions to the next trades council meeting re-affirming their previous resolutions calling on it to set up a Council of Action. The TASS branch at Rolls-Royce Parkside has also sent in a resolution calling for the setting up of a Council of Action.

Coventry AUEW No. 25 branch has sent the following resolution: 'This branch condemns the

leadership of Coventry Trades Council for refusing action on the formation of a Council of Action. We regard this as a particularly urgent matter in view of the fact that the meeting which refused to take action was only one day before three dockers' shop stewards were due for arrest by order of the National Industrial Relations Court.'

Coventry AUEW No. 49 branch has sent a resolution 'condemning the bureaucratic action of the Coventry trades Council president in stopping the resolution passed at the May meeting of the Trades Council from Coventry No. 49 branch for the setting up of a Council of Action from being carried out. The branch demands an assurance that in future all resolutions from union branches will be adequately discussed and the chair be conducted in a democratic manner.'

Tube men call for Council of action

RAILWAY workers on London's West End Piccadilly tube line have passed a resolution supporting the call for a Council of Action.

Members of the West Brompton ASLEF branch called on the Hammersmith and Kensington trades council to set up a Council of Action in the area. The resolution goes on:

'The Councils should be made up of shop stewards, and representatives of all trade union organizations, plus the local Labour parties, Communist Party, Socialist Labour League and all socialist tendencies with all tenants' committees, co-operative committees and organizations of unemployed workers.

'Thus it would bring together all sections of the labour move-

ment. The programme for the Council of Action must be:

- For a General Strike to defeat the Tory government and to force the TUC leaders to prepare such a strike or to be dealt with at a re-called Congress.
- To return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies including:
 - Nationalization of all major industries without compensation and under workers' control.
 - Withdrawal of all British troops from abroad.
 - Publishing all secret agreements and Cabinet minutes.
 - Repeal the Industrial Relations Act and restore all Tory cuts.
- 'This is the only way to defend the rights and living standards of workers today and only such a Council of Action can prevent the sell-out by the union leaders and the growth of dictatorship and militarism.'

ITV

11.35 Seven Seas. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Yak. 1.35 Skippy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Film: 'Half Angel'. 4.40 Enchanted House. 4.55 Lassie. 5.20 My Genie. 5.50 News.

6.00 YOU AND THE WORLD. First of six dramatized documentaries about young offenders in court.

6.20 CROSSROADS.

6.40 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

8.30 ALCOCK AND GANDER.

9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. A Mug Like Me.

10.00 NEWS.

10.30 THE NAME OF THE GAME. The Garden.

11.55 CAN BUSINESS AFFORD A CONSCIENCE ?

Regional TV

CHANNEL: 2.40 Once upon a time. 2.55 Puffin. 3.00 Yoga. 3.25 Film: 'The High Terrace'. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. What's on where? 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 Theatre of stars. 11.16 University challenge. 11.45 Visages de France. 12.00 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 2.30 Gus Honeybun. 2.58 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 10.30 Format. 11.13 News, weather. 11.45 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Cooking. 3.20 Heckle and Jeckle. 3.30 Bird's eye view. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Twizzle. 4.25 Junkin. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.10 Marcus Welby. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.

HTV: 2.15 Sinister man. 3.15 Sara and Hoppity. 3.30 Enchanted house. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Superman. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Embezzler'. 11.40 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.10 Weather. HTV Wales as above except: 1.35

BBC 1

9.20 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 12.55 All in a Day's Work. 1.30 Pogles' Wood. 1.45 News, weather. 1.53 Wimbledon 1972.

4.50 Magic Roundabout. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Penelope Pitstop. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.

6.15 WIMBLEDON 1972.

8.00 PANORAMA.

9.00 NEWS, Weather.

9.20 DOOMWATCH. Without the Bomb.

10.10 THE SPINNERS.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.15 ATHLETE.

TV

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Wimbledon 1972.

7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.

8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL.

8.50 HIS LORDSHIP ENTER-TAINS. Ronnie Barker.

9.20 HORIZON. The Ways We Move.

10.10 MATCH OF THE DAY. From Wimbledon.

11.00 NEWS, Weather.

11.05 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

board. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'Nightmare'.

TYNE TEES: 2.00 Bewitched. 2.30 Cookbook. 3.00 Film: 'Seven Hills of Rome'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 HR Puffin. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Hard rock, soft rock. 6.45 London. 10.30 Brass tacks. 11.00 Spyforce. 11.55 News.

BORDER: 3.40 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Here's Lucy. 4.40 Pingwings. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. Look around. 6.15 University challenge. 6.45 London. 10.30 Edgar Wallace. 11.35 Waterlook. 12.05 News.

SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Simon Locke. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 University challenge.

GRAMPIAN: 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Lucy show. 6.45 London. 10.30 Challenge. 11.00 Saint.

Dock stewards call one-day strike

BY DAVID MAUDE
Our Industrial Correspondent

A ONE-DAY national dock strike is now almost certain when union delegates meet in three-and-a-half weeks time to discuss the report of a 'high-powered joint committee' into the industry's jobs crisis.

This week dockers' leaders are expected to demand shop stewards are represented on the inquiry team, which is chaired by Jack Jones, Transport and General Workers' Union secretary, and Tory banker Lord Aldington, of the Port of London Authority.

Dockers plan to be at the T&GWU delegate conference in force anyway to make their feelings about the report known. One big port may bring 500 men to the mass lobby on a special train.

A meeting of the national port shop stewards' committee the following Saturday will call an all-out unofficial strike if the report's terms are unsatisfactory.

However, militants in the northern ports are disappointed and bitter at the outcome of a meeting of the committee in Birmingham on Saturday.

Communist Party stewards from London are believed to have voted against all three proposals before the meeting for industrial action.

Bernie Steer, secretary of the committee and one of the three London stewards who recently escaped jail over the container 'blacking' issue, refused to comment on what had been decided.

'We have nothing to say,' he told reporters.

But I understand that Steer and Royal docks CPer Danny Lyons had a great deal to say inside the meeting in opposition to all forms of strike action.

Two proposals were apparently withdrawn after hints of a walk-out by the London delegation.

The first was a Hull move, which had lain on the table since a previous meeting, that the port employers be given seven days notice of a strike for the stewards' longstanding 'four points'.

The second was a Liverpool motion to call an all-out strike for the four points from midnight on July 25, the day before the Jones-Aldington report is due to appear.

The four points are: stuffing and stripping of containers to be registered dockers' work; retention and extension of the 1947 dock labour scheme; no misuse of the temporarily unattached register; no reduction in the current overall register. Originally there were nine points, including nationalization under workers' control. Some months ago the London stewards used the walk-out threat to get the other five shelved.)

I understand that the London stewards also voted with those from Southampton against the proposal for a one-day token strike, leaving it to be carried by a narrow 27-23 majority of northern delegates.

Lyons' argument, which was taken up by Steer, seems to have been that the stewards had already proved they could stop the ports and didn't need to do it again.

They said it was questionable whether mass participation in a lobby of the kind a strike would bring was preferable to an orderly picket just of stewards.

WEATHER

WALES and the southern half of England will be cloudy with some rain or drizzle, though some bright periods will occur in the east of England at first. Over Scotland, Northern Ireland and northern England there will be sunny spells with some showers. Temperatures will be near normal in the north and east of Scotland, but below normal elsewhere.

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YOUNG SOCIALISTS' REGIONAL RIGHT-TO-WORK CAMPAIGN

Young marchers 'true spirit' of working class

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN MANCHESTER



THE SECOND regional Right-to-Work march got underway in the bright Manchester sunshine on Saturday and the unemployed youth got their first morale booster with a magnificent £50 in factory donations.

After a night in the Ashfield Labour Party club, Salford, the march set out on the first leg of its journey to Liverpool via the industrial centres of the North West.

The march began Saturday afternoon with a demonstration through the twin cities of Manchester and Salford.

They got a warm response from shoppers and in the big Salford housing scheme by the central precinct tennants waved from the balconies of the high flats that lined the route.

Liverpool dockers and other trade unionists joined in the demonstration that saw the campaign off on its 80-mile journey.

The marchers will take seven days to complete their journey which takes them through working-class towns like Oldham, Bury, Bolton, Wigan, Kirkby and the city of Liverpool.

Support is already building up along the way—the backing from trade unions and factories has already ensured that the youth will not lack places to stay or food to eat along the route.

If the support from the Manchester area is anything to go by, the North West campaign promises to be even more successful than the Scottish march, which finished triumphantly in Glasgow on Saturday.

Donations included £13.50

from Massey Ferguson plant on the Trafford Park industrial estate; £5 from the Tesco warehouse workers in Winsford; £4 from ICI workers, Winsford. Other backers included Bredbury steel works, Stockport, the Wilmslow tenants' association, Metal Box, Winsford, and Qualite, Winsford.

Leader of the march, Young Socialists' national secretary John Simmance, thanked the workers who made the donations: 'This kind of support means the workers back the demand of this march—basically that to defend the right to work the working class must be mobilized to force this Tory government out.'

Mrs Constance Fahey, Labour Party member and Wilmslow tenants' leader welcomed the spirit of the marchers.

AT THE first march public meeting in Salford, shop stewards and Labour Party members explained why they backed the youth on every step of their journey through the North West.

Their words had a big effect on the young marchers because it made them realize they stood for something very important in the working-class movement.

RAY HEDSON, Liverpool building workers shop steward:

'The demand for the right to work is a transitional demand

because it cannot only be achieved through socialism. This march recognizes that because it is calling for Councils of Action to get the Tories out and begin the fight for a socialist society—that is why it is important and that is why I back it.'

PETER MARTIN, ex-chairman of shop stewards, English Electric, East Lancs Road, Liverpool:

'People think Victor Feather is the leader of the labour movement. But what is he doing now when the working class are facing attack from the Tory government? He is knocking on the door of No 10 Downing Street wanting to collaborate with Heath.

'I say these people are not the leadership of the working class—the true leadership will be walking down that road from Salford to Liverpool through the industrial centres of the North West where the working class live. Yesterday's leaders are the men who knock on the Tory door. Tomorrow's leaders are tramping to Liverpool. I know who the working class will choose—these young marchers.'

MRS CONSTANCE FAHEY, Labour Party militant and Wilmslow tenants' leader:

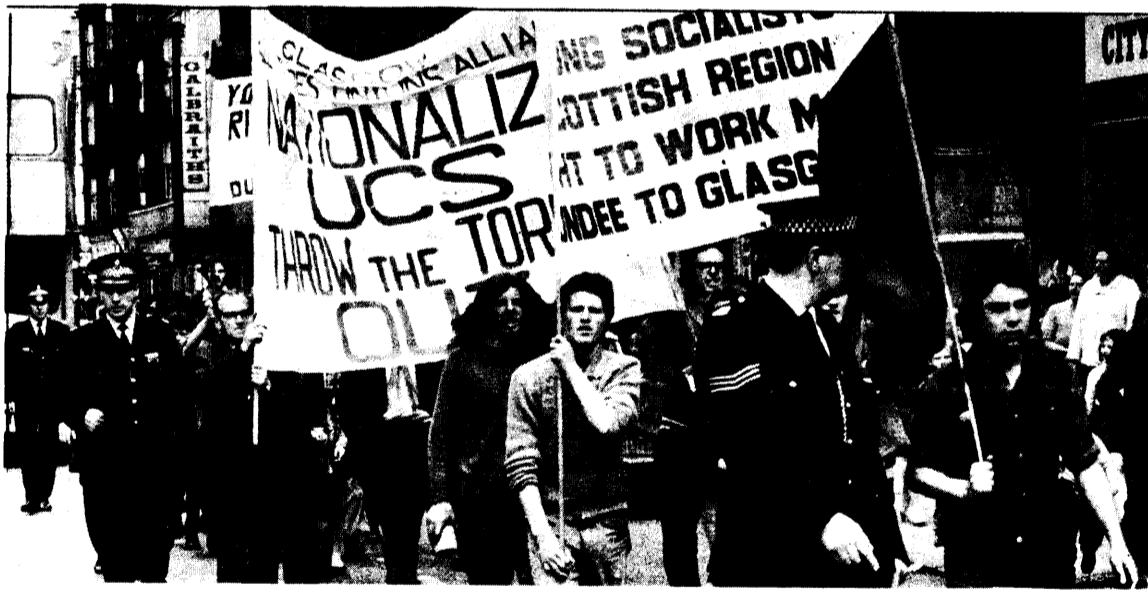
'I was born in the slums of Manchester and have been Labour all my life—for ten years I have been an active member of the Party but the leadership of my Party refuses to fight this government.

'We don't want councillors or MPs whose only difference between the Tories and themselves is their political label. This is not what I fought for.

'I am sick of people like Roy Jenkins who devotedly kept the Tory Party in power when he voted with them over the Common Market.

'These young people speak for the true spirit of our movement.'

Scots' march great success



The Scottish Right-to-Work march arrives in Glasgow after the five-day campaign from Dundee.

AS THE Scottish Right-to-Work marchers entered Glasgow on Saturday on their last lap from Dundee they were joined at Parkhead Cross by Young Socialists and trade unionists in a march through the city's streets.

As the march proceeded through the working-class streets of east Glasgow, shoppers lined the street. Many copies of Workers Press and 'Keep Left' were sold. A number of unemployed youth joined the march.

The Dundee-to-Glasgow march had repeated the experience of the five week Glasgow-London march earlier this year in that it was the labour and trade union movement which had come out and supported the unemployed and the fight for basic rights.

But since the London march,

there had been a tremendous change in the political situation with confrontations between the Tory government and dockers and railwaymen which made big advances in the political thinking of workers.

Opening the end of march rally Tommy Campbell from Castle-milk spoke about the way the Right-to-Work march had taken the fight against the Tory government into every town and village from Dundee to Fife and mid-Scotland. He particularly paid tribute to the miners who had given the march great support in Glentworth, Cowdenbeath and Dunfermline.

March leader John Barrie said the most outstanding thing about the march was the way the young unemployed workers had fought for the policies of the YS. This was in contrast to Communist Party policy at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders of appeals to the Tory government which had resulted in a big increase in unemployment on the Clyde and the imposing of retreats on workers.

Sam Cameron, secretary of the outside branch of the Union of

Post Office Workers in Dundee, speaking in a personal capacity, said that the greatest tribute which could be paid to the Right-to-Work marchers, was to go back into the trade unions and fight for the YS and the Socialist Labour League policies.

'We must go into all the areas which the march has passed through and campaign for the setting up of Councils of Action, not committees of protest, but real movements to fight to bring down the Tories.'

Ian Bannaghan, unemployed youth from Renfrew, spoke about the frustration of young workers on the dole.

On the dole youth felt isolated from the trade unions.

'But I learned on the march that the employed and unemployed must unite to bring down the Tory government.'

Ian McCalman, SLL Central Committee, congratulated the marchers in carrying the struggle for the policies of the YS and the SLL through the industrial belt of Scotland.

Greetings were conveyed to the rally from Ian Wallace, a member of Irvine Trades Council.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

The currency crisis and the working class

CROYDON: Monday July 3, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday July 4, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Rd, Kings Cross.

NORTH KENT: Tuesday July 4, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday July 4, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking.

SOUTH WEST LONDON: Tuesday July 4, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4.

EASTLEIGH: Tuesday July 4, 7.30 p.m. The buffet room, Town Hall.