

Private police spied on dockers

BY PHILIP WADE

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Pickets were also photographed, it was revealed in the National Industrial Relations Court yesterday.

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He was told by pickets the place was blacked. While he was there he tape recorded a conversation he had with the dockers. The recording was played to the court yesterday.

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The dockers' conversation in the pub was overheard and recorded although it didn't turn out to be satisfactory.

When the case against seven London dockers, members of the port shop stewards' committee, opened Mr Alan Campbell, QC, counsel for Midland, asked to hear some of the evidence in private.

'The situation is such that it is extremely difficult to call evidence before this court on account of the intimidation,' he said.

'It is very difficult to get anyone to come and give evidence and you will hear in due course that certain evidence is available only on the basis that it has been given to us in confidence.'

During the lunch adjournment both Victor Feather of the TUC and Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union made attempts to get the case called off.

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Mr Campbell said he had a message sent to Feather saying that the company must go ahead unless undertakings about picketing were given to the court.

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● See Dockers shun NIRC on p. 12.

FRENCH GOVERNMENT RESIGNS

Another sign of giant cash crisis



Pompidou, Brandt and Chaban-Delmas at the meeting on Tuesday

BY PETER JEFFRIES

THE FRENCH government resigned yesterday amid a wave of panic and anxiety over the economic crisis which is galloping through the capitalist world. The sudden departure of the three-year-old Chaban-Delmas administration follows top level talks in Bonn on Tuesday between the French and the Germans.

Those attending this secret summit included Chancellor Brandt, his Economics Minister, Dr Karl Schiller, President Pompidou, his Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas and Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing.

IN PARIS when the French Cabinet met yesterday morning Chaban-Delmas presented his resignation along with the rest of the government.

It is understood the resignations were demanded by Pompidou.

Late yesterday the president was busy preparing a new government to take over until the legislative elections early next year.

The resignation was announced following the weekly meeting of the French cabinet by M Denis Baudoin, director of President Pompidou's press service.

'The President of the Republic received the Prime Minister who presented his resignation following the cabinet meeting. The chief of state accepted the resignation and thanked M Chaban-Delmas for what he has accomplished in the last three years,' M Baudoin said.

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Who knew what?



One man who knew what was going on: Exactly a week ago we reported the fateful words of French Finance Minister, M Giscard d'Estaing: 'The scale of speculative movements of capital is such that they can in a few days bring down a national currency.' Or national government, he could have added.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

URGENT—calling all trade unionists

LOBBY

TUC, Congress House, Great Russell Street, WC1

Wednesday July 12, 9.30 a.m. BREAK OFF ALL TALKS WITH HEATH!

RECALL THE TUC!

FORCE THE TORIES TO RESIGN!

Workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY JULY 6, 1972 ● No. 810 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Korean example used to twist Hanoi's arm

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE MOVES towards a peaceful reunification of Korea almost certainly stem from the talks US President Nixon had in Peking and Moscow. The Korean example is now being used to bait the North Vietnamese.

South Vietnam's Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam yesterday openly urged Hanoi to follow the Korean example and take part in reunification talks.

He said a first step in joint discussions between the two Vietnams could be an agreement to exchange prisoners of war and to allow divided families to make visits across the frontier.

This could be followed by an exchange of economists and teachers leading to eventual talks about reunification.

This is without doubt a pattern of events favoured by the Kremlin dovetailing neatly with their world policy of 'collective security'.

The Kremlin has wanted the North Vietnamese to show more flexibility in a search for a settlement. The continuation of the war embarrasses Soviet diplomacy and the Stalinists are reported to wonder whether Hanoi assesses accurately the effects of its attitude on international relations generally.

A film shown to journalists at the North Vietnamese Embassy in Moscow last week showed the Soviet flag torn by the explosion of American bombs.

The commentary on the solidarity of socialist countries which accompanied this film inevitably had a certain ambiguity.

Moscow has made little secret of the fact that the prospects for 'peace' in Indo-China would be much brighter if Hanoi would soften its all-or-nothing attitude and settle for National Liberation Front representation in a Saigon government.

Such a formula, avoiding either coalition or communist government in South Vietnam, but at the same time offering NLF representation as a sop to Hanoi is likely to be acceptable to Nixon.

The Soviet Stalinists remained silent once again this week while the US stepped up its mine blockade of Haiphong and flew record numbers of saturation bombings over North Vietnam and the occupied south including Quang Tri.

Yesterday two South Vietnamese divisions entered the near-deserted centre of Quang Tri city abandoned two months ago.

The Thieu forces met next to no resistance from North Vietnamese troops who, short of munitions, have been forced back on a severely limited and mainly diversionary shelling of Hue and An Loc.

Meanwhile in the Indonesian capital, Djakarta, Tory Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas Home said that the centre of power politics had shifted from Europe to Asia.

He said it was clear the USSR wanted to 'stabilize' the situation in Europe but drew attention to their naval build-up in the Indian ocean. The West should not panic over this but build up their own navies.

His emphasis on prudence is presumably a hint that the same system of 'collective security' emerging in Europe will, given time, characterize the politics of Asia as well.



Home during his talks with Smith

'Yes' conspiracy in Rhodesia deal

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

NEW PLANS for provincial government announced by the Rhodesian regime yesterday reveal that a majority of right-wing tribal chiefs agreed to the Smith-Home settlement terms.

This comes hard on the heels of Home's statement that he would activate the agreement and end sanctions if 'responsible African leaders' said 'yes' to the terms 'publicly or privately'.

Smith plans to give the chiefs more power—at the expense of the African National Council which wants nothing less than black majority rule.

Observers say that new legislation is expected to be rushed through parliament before the end of the year.

Smith is clearly anxious to normalize Rhodesia's relations

with the rest of the world, but whether this new ploy to break the ANC leaders' power will succeed is open to question. It is one thing for the chiefs to speak and another for them to be obeyed.

While promoting the chiefs, Smith's police and troops are busy harassing both the border guerrillas and ANC leaders and members in the towns.

African provincial government in Rhodesia at present rests on the twin assumptions that the chiefs are the African people's true representatives while democratically-elected tribal councils will be able to prepare their electors for an eventual provincial system with wider responsibilities.

Having noted the discrepancy between the views of the chiefs and their followers, the Smith regime now intends to merge the two patriarchal and demo-

cratic institutions into one using the chiefs and the tribal hierarchy as a bulwark against nationalism.

The government is also considering increasing the power of the chiefs in the electoral colleges which elect the 16 African members of the 66-strong parliament.

The fusion of the chiefs with the elected councils will take the form of regional parliaments.

But the aim of these is very definitely to create the basis for a separate development of Rhodesia's African population along the lines of the African Bantustans.

In other words the Tories are openly conniving with Smith to set up an apartheid regime in Rhodesia through the mechanism of the reactionary chiefs whose 'yes' will give the sell-out a final seal of democratic respectability.

Andreotti looks for middle way

PRESENTING his law-and-order government to the Italian Chamber of Deputies Prime Minister Andreotti struck out at both the neo-fascists and the Communist Party.

Before he spoke the Justice Ministry had asked for permission to take legal action against Giorgio Almirante, leader of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI). He is accused

of attempting to revive the illegal fascist party of Mussolini.

The charge also involves a speech in which he called for preparations for 'a physical clash' with the communists.

Besides rejecting the possibility of an alliance with the MSI, Andreotti also attacked the communists. He reflected the Italian middle classes' search for a middle way through the profound social and economic crisis which has the country in its grip. This is the reason for his emphasis on law-and-order.

A large part of Andreotti's opening speech was devoted to

economic problems. He called for the achievement of closer European monetary integration and criticized the present system under which, he said, European countries appeared ready to absorb unlimited quantities of US dollars while reciprocal credits among themselves were restricted.

It is likely that Italy will be plunged into turmoil after the summer period recalling the 'hot autumn' of 1969 when mass strikes and demonstrations were only prevented by the Communist Party from becoming a bid for working-class power.

Students a new threat to Mujib

REVOLUTIONARY students in Bangla Desh are giving the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman considerable trouble.

They played a leading role in throwing off the Pakistani yoke and do not take calmly to the reaction which has set in under the rule of the Awami League. Many conserve the arms which they used against Yahya Khan's troops last year.

The universities and high schools are far from having returned to normal and the Sheikh has made a strong appeal to students to devote their energies to 'constructive work'.

The student movement is split into various groups, one of which follows what is called 'Mujibism'. Others call for the overthrow of the regime and its replacement

by a revolutionary government. The pro-Moscow Students' Union holds a majority at Dacca University and gives its full support to the Sheikh, though calling on the government to take action against profiteers and speculators.

'Condensed courses' are being put on to give students who took part in the fighting a chance to pass their examinations.

Medvedev ordered back home

ZHORES MEDVEDEV, the Soviet geneticist, noted for his outspoken criticism of the bureaucracy, has been prevented from attending the Ninth International Congress of Gerontology (concerned with the ageing process) being held in Kiev.

The authorities ordered him back to Moscow where he lives.

The star ballet dancer Valery Panov of the Kirov theatre in Leningrad who asked to be allowed to emigrate to Israel and was imprisoned for ten days is now likely to find himself back in jail.

Not having been able to find a job he is likely to be accused of 'social parasitism'. He is rated one of the top three male dancers in the Soviet Union.

We'll keep colonies —

Portugal

PORTUGAL will not give up its overseas territories said Prime Minister Marcello Caetano in a TV speech in Lisbon.

Speaking of the national liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, he said that they would have been defeated long ago but for outside assistance. He said that the only opposition came from bands of guerrillas.

He claimed that China and the Soviet Union coveted Portuguese colonies and wanted to take them over because of their great strategic importance.

Japan's new PM hopes to save yen

JAPAN'S new prime minister, self-made millionaire Kakuei Tanaka, will fight hard to prevent a revaluation of the yen, which would hit the export trade.

He also aims to improve relations with China and to conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. Formerly Finance Minister, he has a keen eye for new trade prospects as the world market crumbles under the pressure of the monetary crisis.

At home he faces soaring prices, urban congestion and pollution and a chronic housing shortage.

Briefly...

INDIAN police shot dead one man when they opened fire on demonstrating farmers armed with sticks at Manamadurai in the southern Tamil Nadu state yesterday. The farmers were trying forcibly to close shops whose owners had not responded to a strike call by the state Agriculturalists Association.

URUGUAY'S security forces continued a major round-up of Tupamaros guerrillas yesterday capturing 21 and wounding four.

CAR spares today cost 50 per cent more than they did a year ago, according to the consumer magazine 'Which?'

Nearly half the 23,500 drivers who took part in a 'Which?' reliability survey had difficulty in getting spares. Waits of months were common. The situation is often worse with recent models, the magazine added. Reliability in modern cars is 'more of a pious hope—and an often disappointed hope at that'. They are prone to transmission and exhaust problems.

Engineers, students, builders, call for Councils of Action

ERITH, Kent, district committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has passed a resolution calling for the setting up of a Council of Action.

The resolution, passed at the quarterly shop stewards' meeting, states:

'This AUEW shop stewards' meeting calls for the setting up of Councils of Action in the district to defend the working class against attacks by the Tory government. These Councils of Action would unite all political and trade union organizations within the working class to defend our basic rights that have been won over 200 years of struggle. To defend these rights this government must be defeated and replaced with a Labour one pledged to socialist policies.'

The resolution will be taken up by a joint meeting of the Orpington Labour Party and the trade union branches in the Orpington area. Proposals are now being drawn up to build a Council of Action in the Orpington and Sidcup area.

The Huddersfield Polytechnic Students' Representative Council has passed a resolution calling for a Council of Action in which students will unite with workers.

It says its executive should approach Huddersfield Trades Council to obtain student representation on the Council of Action.

Building workers in Tooting, South London, No. 3 UCATT branch have overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling on the Wandsworth Trades Council to form a Council of Action.

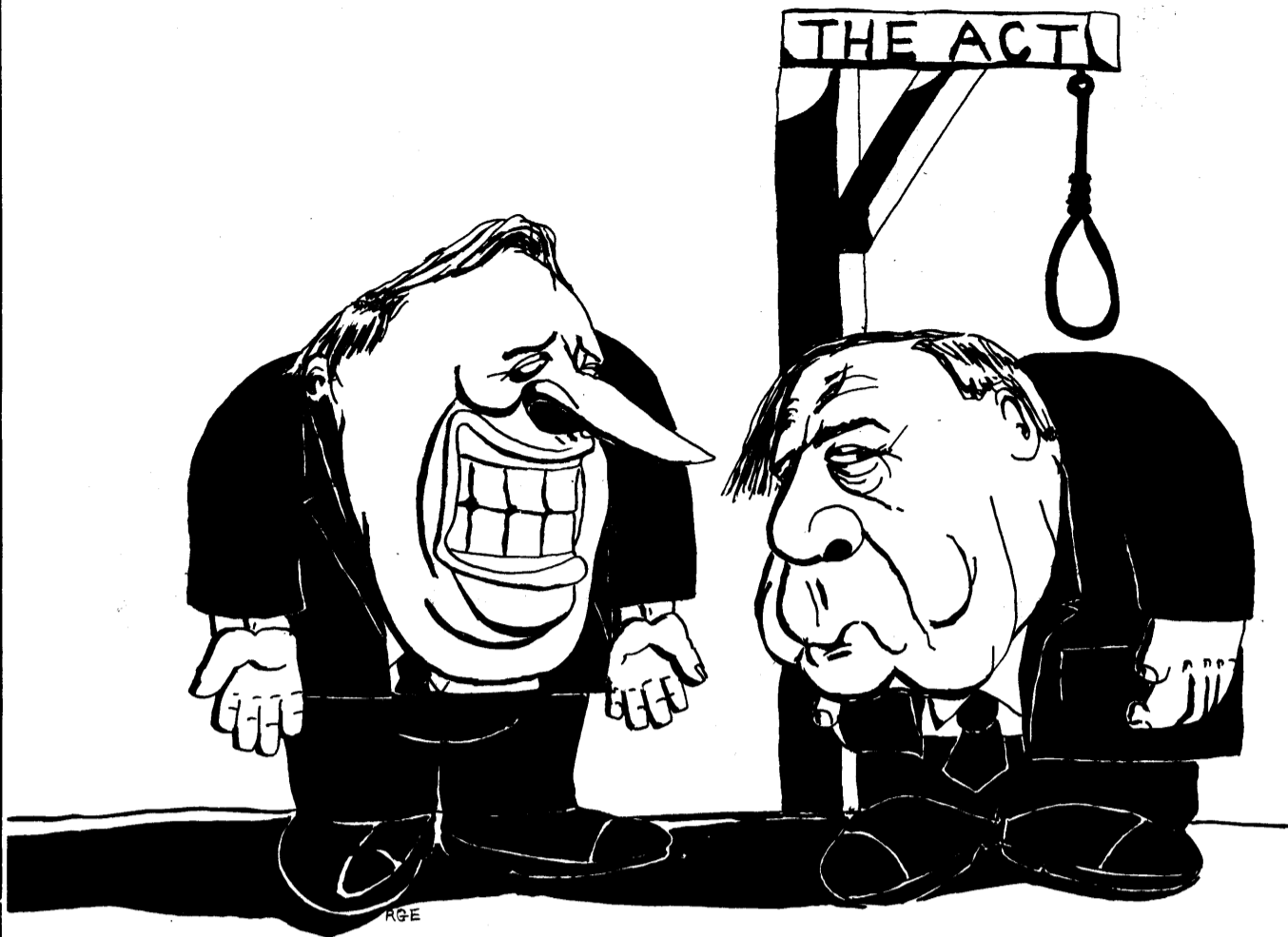
The discussion on the Council of Action was preceded by a heated debate on a proposed rule change to levy members not on strike £1 a week in support of the selective strikes policy on which UCATT is now fighting for the building workers' pay claim.

Delegates who proposed the Council of Action fought to point out that the only way building workers could win their claim was to 'mobilize the strength of 300,000 building workers nationally'.

UCS fear

SUNDERLAND Trades Council has called on the local Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to call a meeting of Wearside shop stewards to warn of the dangers of a UCS situation developing, particularly since the recent Court Line takeover of local shipyards.

They also want to discuss the unemployment situation on Wearside with local Labour MPs. For a number of years unemployment in the area has stood at over 10 per cent.



Come on Vic, try it, and if you don't like it then perhaps we'll change it.



Widgery with wig . . .

Widgery praise for Donaldson

LORD JUSTICE Widgery of Bloody Sunday inquiry fame has paid tribute to the work of Sir John Donaldson president of the National Industrial Relations Court.

Whether one agreed with Sir John's decisions or not, he had carried out his task 'with great courage and enormous energy,' he told a dinner to Her Majesty's judges given by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Howard.

He said that High Court judges should be prepared to undertake inquiries outside the courts—provided they are judicial.

'I do not think that our hands

should be tied—provided the inquiry we are asked to engage in is really judicial. If all that is required is to listen to evidence and form a conclusion, no one is better suited than Her Majesty's judges. Even if there are heavy political overtones, we should not excuse ourselves.'

Widgery said, however, that if a judge was asked 'to embark on a political inquiry he is being asked to stick his neck out in the direction and to the extent to which a judicial neck should not be stuck'. Judges were not 'political trouble-shooters', he added.

Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, spoke of the 'danger



Donaldson without one

of popular pressures' endangering the 'administration of justice'.

'Mass opinion and group pressure can be as cruel as individual tyrants or Dukes or landlords or oppressive employers.

'It is the business of the judges to protect the legal right of the unpopular man and to defend the right of the nation against the splinter groups who defy the law.'

●Immediate dismissal of Sir John Donaldson was called for by a Labour MP in a Commons motion tabled yesterday.

Hugh Jenkins (Putney) gave as one of the reasons the fact that Sir John is a Conservative political figure. He once opposed him in a local government election in 1949, and he had been a member of the Inns of Court Conservative and Unionist Association.

Jenkins's motion also said that Donaldson had 'played a leading role in selling the Tory Party the ludicrous proposals which form the Industrial Relations Act'.

Land prices push up cost of houses

HOUSE PRICES rose by almost 17 per cent in the first six months of this year, according to figures released yesterday by the Nationwide Building Society.

This compares with a rise of 12 per cent in the same period last year.

At least part of the huge rise was because of land price increases.

The Society said that over the past five years prices of new houses have risen on an average by 72 per cent, while those of modern existing houses have risen by 74 per cent and of older properties by 83 per cent.

The figures, compiled on a series of index numbers the Society has been keeping since 1951, showed that prices of both modern and older existing properties rose by about 18 per cent compared with rises of 12½ per cent and 12 per cent respectively in the preceding six months.

The average price of new houses mortgaged to the Society in the second quarter of 1972 was £6,919.

This average ranged between £11,531 in London and the South East and £5,244 in Northern Ireland.

Over Britain as a whole, the average estimated value of the plot of land on which new houses were built was 25 per cent of the purchase price. In London and the South East it was more than a third.

Concern over Kitson

SUNDERLAND Trades Council has expressed concern at the appointment of Brigadier Frank Kitson to the position of the School of Infantry at Warminster.

They were also concerned at the prominent positions held in the armed forces by those who subscribed to Kitson's political and philosophical views in his

book 'Low-Intensity Operations'.

The TUC has been asked to launch a public campaign to remove these people and a meeting with the northern group of Labour MPs is to be sought to discuss the whole issue.

In the debate reference was made to the lessons of Greece in 1966 and the dangers of a military junta attitude amongst top army personnel.



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STERLING DEVALUATION

A CRISIS OF CREDIT

BY PETER JEFFRIES

The monetary crisis has always been seen as merely a 'technical' question by the revisionists. They have either ignored it, or suggested it could be resolved through the creation of some new means of exchange by the International Monetary Fund.

Only the Socialist Labour League has understood the real nature of this crisis and warned the working class of its real implications.

To understand the role of gold one must understand that capitalism is a system of production not for use, but for profit. The aim of capitalism is to accumulate surplus value, extracted from the labour of the working class; in order to take part in the process of capital accumulation, the capitalist must be able to convert the surplus value contained in his final commodities into some universally acceptable form.

The Ford Motor Corporation is not interested in producing cars. It is interested in the realization of the surplus values which its cars contain, back into the money form.

Historically, gold has filled the role as this money commodity, the only form in which surplus value can be realized. After the financial collapse of 1931 this role, however, was supplemented by that of the dollar. And since the war, firms and governments were willing to hold dollars instead of gold so long as they were confident that should the need arise, they could be re-converted into gold at some established and known rate.

But it is only in a crisis that the demand for gold becomes insatiable. During a period of boom, or expansion, the capitalists spurn gold; to hold their wealth in gold means that they are holding idle assets. It is only in a crisis, when there is a general lack of confidence, that gold becomes the only way in which wealth can be held, as against 'profane' commodities.

March, 1968, the period of the general rush into gold, was a decisive turning point. It opened up a period in which it could no longer be merely the dollar which was in crisis but the entire currency system.

As we saw in the last article, this crisis was preceded by a sterling devaluation.

Barber's forced devaluation, on the other hand, followed a gold crisis, reflected in Nixon's August 1971 measures. Here alone is the indication of the profound international nature of the crisis facing the Tory government. The decision to float the £ was determined not merely by the lack of competitiveness of British industry, nor merely as a preparation for entry into Europe. It was a reflection of the lack of any confidence in the value of any currency in the world.

In another respect, the latest, 1972, crisis was also a negation of the 1967 sterling crisis. The Callaghan devaluation was carried through with the knowledge of the Ameri-

cans and only, as we have said, after a long struggle on their part to preserve the old parity against the dollar. On this occasion, it is the Europeans, not the Americans, who fought against sterling devaluation and sacrificed their reserves in a vain attempt to prevent it.

Here we also see a fundamental and new feature of the crisis. The Tory decision has now thrown the entire monetary arrangements of Europe into disarray.

After August 15 last year the Europeans spent weeks attempting to come to agreement about the ratios in which their currencies should exchange after the link between gold and the dollars was broken. And by June this year this agreement was shattered.

The efforts of the Common Market countries to create a united monetary front against the Americans lies almost in ruins. The stage is once more being set for a decisive confrontation between European capital and American imperialism.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s any European country in financial and economic difficulties had turned to the Americans. Now both the major currencies—sterling and the dollar—found themselves in crisis together.

No help for the Tories was forthcoming from the Americans. In fact, the root of the inflation in Britain is not only the strength of the working class and its determination to force up its wage levels, but the continuing US balance-of-payments deficit.

So the general, historical, decline of the capitalist system is revealed in this crisis. When the national government in England broke the link between sterling and gold in 1931 the Americans were eventually, in 1943, able to assume their role. Under the 1943 gold-exchange standard the dollar was fixed in terms of gold at a fixed rate and from that point onwards the dollar was the world's leading currency, with sterling reduced to very much a subordinate position.

Today's crisis is quite different.

With the dollar in crisis, there is no currency which can possibly replace it, now or in the future.

The fact that the richest capitalist country in the world can no longer provide the basis for a stable world financial system—as Britain was able to during the 19th century—is a measure of the decline of a system which has sustained grave losses in the form of the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the loss of territory in East Europe after the last war.

With the dollar under considerable pressure, capitalism is rapidly reaching a point where there will be no suitable medium to carry out world trade, apart from gold.

And when one considers that over two-thirds of commercial transactions are at the moment conducted in terms other than gold, one gets a glimpse of the extent of the crisis which is rapidly maturing.



Top: unlike the devaluation of 1967, Chancellor Barber's forced devaluation followed a gold crisis, reflected in Nixon's measures of August 15, 1971

Above all, the capitalist system relies upon confidence. Transactions are made and credits arranged on the basis of expectations about the future. That is why a currency crisis must also be a credit crisis.

All the leading multinational enterprises conduct their business on the basis of long-term credits. With nearly every major currency threatening to 'float' in retaliation against Barber's measures, the basis for any confidence in prices in the immediate future is quickly disappearing.

For example, it is now rumoured that the Americans may soon have to convert with a two-tier dollar system. This would mean that there would be one value for holders of dollars now, with a new rate fixed for future holders. Not

only would this mean that many holders of the billions of dollars now circulating in Europe would see the value of their assets—on which they have in many cases raised considerable loans—marked down overnight; the confidence of the capitalist class and its willingness to hold dollars in the future would be fundamentally shaken. This would have a disastrous effect on European Exports to the USA.

It must be remembered that for Marxists—if not for Mr. Kidron and the state capitalist International Socialism—imperialism is finance capital. The main levers of power are in the hands of the banks and other financial institutions. That is why a monetary crisis, far from being a 'technical' crisis, represents the highest point of the crisis. For it involves the future and stability of the European and American merchant banks.

And a series of bank crises would instantly reflect back on every major European industry which is entirely dependent upon these financial institutions.

So the Tory devaluation is unlike any other previous sterling devaluation. In no sense is it a question of giving British exports some temporary respite, as was the case as recently as the November 1967 devaluation.

Anybody who bases his poli-

tics on this conception is living in a world of illusions.

The devaluation was forced on Heath by the incurable nature of the world economic crisis and the strength and determination of the working class to preserve and extend the gains which it has made over the last 25 years.

This crisis cannot be patched up. For the capitalist class 'regulation' and 'stability' in the financial system cannot mean a return to Bretton Woods. The Bretton Woods agreement is dead for all time.

Billions of dollars of paper are now circulating throughout Europe which nobody wants. This is the meaning of the West German and Swiss attempts to curb the entry of dollars into their economies. Order will only be restored if this mass of paper, claiming to represent value, is forcibly destroyed.

But such a destruction would mean chaos on every stock exchange and a crisis for every major monopolist and merchant banker.

Above all, however, it would mean an all-out, immediate and vicious war against the working class.

Barber's measures have therefore posed revolutionary tasks immediately before the working class. It is either capitalist anarchy or socialism. This is the real, living, and urgent lesson which we must draw from the decision to float the £.



A personality cult boosts the rule of President Bourguiba of Tunisia who appears in publicity posters with characteristic smile and flowers

FRENCH STRANGLEHOLD ON TUNISIAN ECONOMY

The visit to France by President Bourguiba of Tunisia from June 28 to 30 bore witness to the continued domination of that country by French capital.

Bourguiba has always stood for a policy of moderation, compromise and reconciliation with France since he came to power in 1956. This has not prevented conflicts breaking out as they did over the great base at Bizerta in 1961 and again when land belonging to French settlers was nationalized in 1964.

The end of the Algerian war enabled the Bizerta question to be settled amicably with the withdrawal of French forces. The confiscation of land owned by French settlers, which was uncultivated or under-used, does not stand in the way of French investment in Tunisia, which Bourguiba is out to encourage in every way.

During his visit there was an opportunity for a number

of matters of common interest between the two countries to be discussed. The Tunisian need for French aid and investment was one of the major ones. The country is still highly dependent on the French market for her primary exports and needs capital for development.

Tunisia also wants its status as one of the associated states of the Common Market improved and seeks French backing for this.

Ruling a country where he is the subject of a nauseating personality cult, Bourguiba can offer French and other capitalists attractive guarantees of good behaviour.

Having won the right to represent his country in the struggle for national 'independence', he can now go back to the colonial power and offer his collaboration, on behalf of the national bourgeoisie, in exploiting the workers and peasants.

The one-sided and underdeveloped Tunisian economy remains dependent upon French imperialism, despite a

certain extension of contacts with other countries in the strained period following 1964. The economy is kept going by French aid and France remains the country's principal client and source of supply.

Tunisia is dependent for solvency upon the sale of a few primary products in the world market under highly competitive conditions. Its balance of payments is in chronic deficit, which means that Bourguiba's regime is kept going by aid and loans. Still there is profit in it for local compradore capitalists, as well as French firms.

Poverty and disease are widespread and incomes are low for the mass of the people. There are about 140,000 Tunisian workers in Europe because there are no jobs at home. French firms are encouraged to open branch plants in the country by low wages, the low rate of taxation and the benefits which the Bourguiba regime offers to foreign capital. One of the big French oil concerns is prospecting for petroleum and a

small field is already in production.

The regime suppresses strikes with a heavy hand and is facing a good deal of opposition from the students. Many arrests were made during the student revolt of February and some 20 students are still in prison. There are signs of growing opposition both from the working class and the universities and schools.

In a recent move to split up the students, it was decided to divide the university between the capital, Tunis, and the southern city of Sousse. Sections of the militant students are to be carted off nearly 100 miles to be taught in the hotels which abound in the growing tourist area.

Bourguiba's political moderation extends to the Palestine question. Advocate of an agreement with Israel, he tried to dissuade Nasser from war in 1967. He also fears the extension of Russian influence in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. He looks to a Mediterranean agreement, backed by the US, to oppose a barrier to the Soviet advance.

BANZER GETS US JETS

The Banzer regime in Bolivia which seized power last August is increasing the armament of the army and air force to deal with any threatened popular uprising.

Five special units will be organized in different parts of the country with equipment and jet planes provided out of US military aid funds. The re-equipment programme includes modern equipment and takes account of lessons learned when the armed forces supporting Banzer took over in the face of popular resistance.



The Banzer regime also received military equipment from Brazil, including eight planes loaded with arms after last year's coup. Air force General Luis Adrizola particularly wants more BT-21's, a low-flying single-engined plane especially suitable for repressing rural guerrillas.

BUILDING BRIBES

The New York building industry pays out at least \$25m a year in bribes and pay-offs to city officials, inspectors and trade union representatives.

On any building job, from a small repair to the erection of a giant skyscraper, these payments are reckoned as a necessary item in costs. Firms described to investigators from 'The New York Times' the ways in which the bribes are paid.

Sometimes a note is passed during a hand shake or a wad comes in a plain envelope. Expensive jobs may be carried out free in an official's home and charged to the account. Failure to pay bribes would result in harassment and delays in obtaining official permits. Union officials collect pay-offs on the understanding that they will prevent strikes.

Key officials employed by the City or the Federal Housing Administration can add thousands of dollars to their incomes in bribes which are obviously not declared to the tax inspector, who is probably collecting bribes himself.

Construction contractors accept the bribes as the grease which keeps their business moving. Building regulations are so detailed and the operations of construction so complex that small delays in obtaining permits or getting work inspected would cost more than the bribes.

Even reforming civic groups hesitate to expose practices which have now become standard procedure, accepted by all sides.

On at least two occasions in the period 1917 to 1920 the Russian Revolution inspired British workers to form workers' committees as organs to defend their conditions and overthrow the capitalist order. This series by Alan Clinton and George Myers (reprinted from 'Fourth International', November 1967) examines the building of these committees, the 1917 'Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates' and the 'Councils of Action' in 1920.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS

PART 2

Already the overthrow of Tsardom and the events of early 1917 had prompted the forming of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The Leeds Convention of these bodies in June expressed the solidarity of British workers with the Russian Revolution and resolved to carry forward the struggle for peace and 'the complete political and economic emancipation of international labour'.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October revolution provided at the same time an inspiration and an object lesson for British revolutionaries. A leading figure in working-class struggles of the period later described their hopes and fears: 'How we watched and waited in those days for every scrap of news from the East! Would the Bolsheviks hold power? Lenin; Trotsky; Could they hold on?'²⁴

Only the sectarian, syndicalist-orientated SLP at first understood the decisively different nature of October. Within a month they said 'The

Russian revolution has so far meant the defeat of the middle class and the triumph of the workers'. The SLP was, however, over-enthusiastic in identifying itself with the Bolsheviks. 'The theories as put into operation by the Russian Maximalists (i.e. Bolsheviks) are similar to those advocated by the international Socialist Labour Party.'²⁵ The BSP, in the period before the October revolution, was closely following the course of events in Russia. As early as the beginning of October they called for the Soviets to take power because 'the Soviets is the only body that can rally the people of Russia in the defence of the revolution'. Thus, the BSP saw the October revolution as a necessary development. Within a week of the revolution its paper said: 'The expected has happened, Kerensky and the provisional council have been overthrown and the Soviet has taken control of Petrograd.'²⁶

As news of the actions of the Bolshevik government arrived—in particular the publication of the secret treaties and the call for peace negotia-



Kerensky; the British Socialist Party paper said: 'The expected has happened, Kerensky and the provisional council have been overthrown and the Soviet has taken control of Petrograd.'

October 26 the BSP was mainly responsible for the establishment of a London organization. On November 7 the national body was set up again 'representing the united forces of the political and industrial working class movement without distinction of opinions or tendencies.'²⁷ By the end of the year the 'Hands Off Russia' movement was running campaigns in every major city every night of the week. These were usually addressed by Lieutenant-Colonel Malone, Liberal MP, recent visitor to Russia and recruit to the BSP, or by Principal Goode who had also been to Soviet Russia. These meetings were continued during 1920, and other activities of the campaign included the circulation of union branches and the leafleting of factories and dock gates.

During 1919 these campaigns began to bear fruit. British sailors refused to sail to Russia from Rosyth, Invergordon, Portsmouth and a number of other ports. At Rosyth, dockers had supplied SLP pamphlets to the men who brought their cruiser back to port rather than go to Russia. These sailors had to be demobilized as a result.²⁸ In March the Miners' Federation of Great Britain called for the withdrawal of British troops.²⁹ On April 16 this demand was taken up by the Triple Alliance, though opposed by the TUC. At the Labour Party Conference in early June the national executive was instructed to consult with the TUC leaders 'with a view to effective action being taken to enforce these demands (i.e. the ending of intervention) by the unreserved use of their political power.'³⁰ Only the revolutionary groups fought to carry out these policies. On Sunday July 20 there were international demonstrations against intervention. A joint leaflet issued by the BSP, the SLP, the WSF and the South Wales Socialist Society called for support of the Sunday demonstration and the workers to 'Down Tools on Monday July 31!' This call was disowned by the Labour Party leaders, but received some response, notably from London dockers.³¹ By September the TUC Conference condemned its Parliamentary Committee for failing to sup-

CONTINUED TOMORROW

- 24 J. T. Murphy *New Horizons*, p. 68.
- 25 *The Socialist*, January and February 1918.
- 26 *The Call*, October 4 and November 15, 1917.
- 27 *Labour Leader*, January 24 and 31, 1918.
- 28 *Ibid.*, February 7, 1918. An article on March 7 entitled *The ILP and the Bolsheviks* is hostile to the Soviet government, largely on a pacifist basis.
- 29 B. Webb, *Diaries 1917-1924*, (1952), p. 106.
- 30 *Davison Papers*, January 10, 1918, quoted in R. C. Middlemas, *The Clydesiders* (1965), p. 89.
- 31 A. Hutt, *Post-War History of the British Working Class* (1937), p. 13.
- 32 T. H. Wintringham, *Mutiny* (1936), pp. 305-328, gives an account of many of these events.
- 33 *The Herald*, January 11, 1919.
- 34 B. G. A. Connell, *From Monk to Busman* (1935), pp. 80-82.
- 35 R. Groves and A. Hodge, *The Long Week End* (1940), pp. 25-26.
- 36 W. Crook, *The General Strike* (1931), p. 240-243.
- 37 T. H. Wintringham, op. cit., p. 328.
- 38 W. Gallagher, *Revolt on the Clyde* (1936), p. 234.
- 39 *The Call*, December 11, 1919.
- 40 *Labour Leader*, July 11 and August 1, 1918.
- 41 *The Call*, November 14, 1918.
- 42 *The Call and Workers' Dreadnaught* during 1919 and 1920 make clear the extensiveness of the campaign. See also Harry Pollitt, *Serving My Time* (1940), ch. 6.
- 43 A. Hutt, op. cit., p. 36.
- 44 T. H. Wintringham, op. cit., p. 36.
- 45 S. R. Graubard, *British Labour and the Russian Revolution* (1956), pp. 71-72.
- 46 Labour Party, *Annual Conference Report* (1919), p. 156.
- 47 *Workers' Dreadnaught*, July 19 and 26, 1919.
- 48 S. R. Graubard, op. cit., pp. 81 and 87.
- 49 *Labour Leader*, November 13, 1919.

tions—more and more workers rallied in support of the revolution. At a meeting during the Labour Party Conference in January 1918 delegates gave a rousing reception to the Bolshevik emissary Litvinov, the *Red Flag* was enthusiastically sung and there were cheers for the Russian Revolution and for Trotsky. On January 27 a massive pro-Bolshevik demonstration was mounted in Glasgow.³² While all this was happening the ILP leaders refused to comment on the course of the revolution. Only in February did they express any reaction, and their enthusiasm was somewhat muted.³³ After this, members of the ILP sympathetic to the Bolsheviks had to wage an increasingly bitter struggle against the leadership.

THE WAR OF INTERVENTION

From mid-1918 to the end of 1919 Britain saw numerous mass class actions and many isolated revolts of revolutionary potential. In the months when the BSP, SLP and other organizations were going through their tortuous negotiations to form the Communist Party, the militancy of the British working class was

at a high peak. At the same time, British armies were leading an imperialist offensive against the new workers' state. Opposition to this intervention, in which the revolutionary groups played an essential role, is one of the most glorious chapters in the internationalist history of the British working class.

In 1918, with big strikes threatening in every industry, Mrs. Webb, arch-Fabian and later admirer of Stalinist Russia, wrote: 'The leaders of the labour are distinctly uneasy about the spirit of revolt among the rank and file, which openly proclaims its sympathy with the lurid doings of Petrograd.'³⁴ At the same time, growing unrest in the army and in the police force was causing increasing concern to the authorities who thought that the rank and file committees being set up amongst policemen and soldiers represented 'a determined effort to emulate the Russian Bolsheviks in this country.'³⁵

In August of 1918 there were extensive police strikes in many cities, and again in the following July in Liverpool combined with large scale rioting. In the summer of 1918 lower-deck committees were elected in south-coast naval bases and there was news of riots at base camps and the

shooting of military policemen.³⁶ In November of 1918 a revolt at Shoreham in Sussex involved over 1,000 men. 'Antagonism to officers' is listed as one of the major causes of revolts which broke out in Folkestone on January 3, 1919.³⁷ Ten thousand soldiers marched into Folkestone and put up pickets to prevent troops from being demobilized. At the same time it was said that 'everywhere the feeling is the same: "the war is over, we won't fight in Russia and we mean to go home".'³⁸ Further mutinies against conditions at Valdelure and elsewhere in Northern France resulted in the camps being taken over and being run by the men, who forced the officers to come and go only with the authorization of permits signed by the camp committees. At Vendroux, the whole of an ordnance corps group went on strike until two of their number who had been arrested were released.³⁹ At Shoreham, in March, a further outbreak involved 2,000 unarmed troops marching into Brighton to the cheers of the populace.⁴⁰ In January the War Office sent out a circular to all Commanding Officers asking them whether the troops under their command would be willing to break strikes or to fight in

Russia, and also whether there was any sign of trade union organization or rank and file committees amongst the troops. The government was clearly worried.⁴¹ This unrest in the army was often consciously linked with the struggles of the working class in Britain. It was the failure to materialize of 'the expected general strike which had begun on the Clyde' in January 1919 which was 'largely responsible' for the failure to extend the Valdelure soldiers' strike.⁴² A leading participant in the engineering strikes themselves later said that 'a rising was expected. A rising should have taken place. The workers were ready and able to effect it: the leadership never thought of it.'⁴³ It was in January that the coal miners decided to campaign for nationalization and improved conditions and in February the transport workers put in for a big wage rise. The November national railway strike was one of the most bitterly fought class battles the country had ever seen, in many aspects foreshadowing the General Strike of 1926.

While all this was happening the struggle against imperialist intervention in the Soviet Union was rallying thousands of British workers to the defence of the Russian

Revolution. At this high point of militant struggle it was said that there was 'no single issue that has ever within living memory so amazingly moved the imagination and heart of the working class as the intervention in Russia.'⁴⁴ As soon as the intervention began in the middle of 1918 the ILP echoed the protests of the Bolsheviks. They did so only while dissociating themselves from the revolution itself. Ramsay MacDonald took to advising the employers that 'intervention . . . even from a capitalist point of view . . . is bad.'⁴⁵ The BSP on the other hand called for the end of intervention on the grounds that 'the cause of the social revolution in Russia is the cause of the workers of the world'. By November, the BSP was centring its campaign inside the Labour Party on opposition to intervention. It issued an appeal to the Labour Party Conference which began 'Long Live the Socialist Republic! No Intervention Anywhere!'⁴⁶ By December even the Labour Party had issued a manifesto calling for the withdrawal of allied troops but the parliamentary party did nothing about it until the following July.

During 1919, the revolutionary groups were actively involved in the struggle against

Tanks in the Saltmarket, Clyde-side in 1919 were sent to control strikers and to meet 'a rising that was expected'. intervention. On January 18, in the week when Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered, a conference mainly organized by the shop stewards in London set up a national 'Hands Off Russia' committee. The five hundred delegates represented 350 organizations including 48 from trade union branches and district committees, and leading figures from the shop steward movement and all the main revolutionary groups. Motions were passed at the conference during the day and at a mass meeting in the evening calling for strikes and other sympathetic action to defeat not simply intervention in Russia but also the blockade of Germany.⁴⁷ Mass meetings were held in early February at the Albert Hall and the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, which passed identical motions asserting that 'intervention must be ended' and 'that the working class must see this demand enforced by the unrestricted use of their political and industrial power'. Further efforts to co-ordinate the national movement were made at a Manchester meeting in June, and in September Harry Pollitt became national organizer. On



London Policemen on strike in August 1918.

W. H. AUDEN IS ULTIMATE BOREDOM

BY DAVID SPOONER

Fleet Street is desperately trying to stir up some interest in the 'struggle' for Poet Laureateship, fallen vacant on Cecil Day Lewis's death.

In the lead editorial on Thursday June 22 (the day before the floating of the pound!) 'The Times' treated its readers to the following pronouncement, under the Merrie England title of 'Worthy of a Tun of Sack'.

'The best argument for keeping the post of Poet Laureate going is the interest each new appointment generates among those who never read a line of poetry. This has become one of those periodic sporting tussles, like the Oxford and Cambridge boat race or the leadership of the Labour Party [sic], on the outcome of which everyone feels entitled to hold views.'

Among those poets most widely canvassed for the post has been W. H. Auden, a fellow-traveller of the Communist Party from around 1934-1938 who left England in January 1939 and is now an American citizen.

Having renounced Marxism, the press and literati are now pressuring him to capitulate entirely and prodigally 'come home'. Understandably, Auden has found this a little too demanding and that doyen of suburban banality, Sir John Betjeman, is favourite for the sinecure.

The poetical and political career of Wystan Hugh Auden was shaped in the 1930s. Auden was, like the majority of prominent left-wing writers of the 1930s, a son of the bourgeoisie who found that because of the economic crisis none of his placid expectations were realized—the unearned income or the academic post.

He was undoubtedly a poet of promise in the early 1930s, technically skilful though often facile; intellectually sharp, if somewhat brittle. The early poetry tends to picture a mythical communist party as a group of conspiratorial schoolboys, the cliquish 'gang' that Auden, Isherwood, Spender and their pals constituted at public school.

'We made all preparations, Drew up a list of firms, Constantly revised our calculations, And allotted the farms.'
(Poems XII - 1930)

By 1933 his poetry was generally characterized by a mixture of flippancy and philosophical eclecticism and banality, together with the hesitant beginnings of an attempt to incorporate into the poetry the conflict between idealism and materialism.

But Auden was always primarily concerned with remaining an agnostic and even Stephen Spender, his artistic companion, has complained that Auden's work is marred

by 'a guardedness about this philosophy... perhaps because he is unwilling to state it'.

Nonetheless, with the collapse of the Liberal Party and reformist collaboration of Labour Party and the continuation of the crisis in the 1930s, he drifted closer to the Communist Party and did what he could to amalgamate Marxism and Freud. Unlike Spender he never joined the Communist Party, but went to Spain as an ambulance driver for the Republicans between January and March 1937. Poet of doggerel Roy Campbell suggested that Auden was playing ping-pong most of the time in Spain. Auden is extremely reticent about his activities in 1937.

In an interview with the International Herald Tribune in October 1971 he said: 'There are certain things in my history that rather embarrass me. I don't withdraw them or deny them.'

Auden's alleged embarrassment is caused by decades of evading the important role he played in the Popular Front covering up the Moscow Trials and giving his artistic prestige to the Front.

The left-wing intellectuals in Britain almost without exception (Orwell was one) became willing accomplices of the Stalinist bureaucracy, often disguising the willingness with which they served their new masters by a studied political coyness and naïvete. Auden wrote in 1962:

'I did not wish to talk about Spain when I returned because I was upset by many things I saw or heard about. Some of them were described better than I could ever have done by George Orwell in "Homage to Catalonia".'

But it is not a question of 'better than I could have done'. He has never to my knowledge spoken explicitly of the wholesale slaughter of anti-Stalinists and Trotskyists by the GPU which he came to know about and which were an integral part of the Popular Front of which he was perhaps the most famous and talented member in England.

Over a year after his return from Spain where he was apparently 'upset by many things', he was still faithfully pursuing the Stalinist line on the war, remarking in a review of Malraux's scintillating and mendacious novel 'Days of Hope' that Spain was a country where 'freedom has discovered its virility' ('Town Crier': October 14, 1938).

Auden pedantically insisted, following the Menshevik line of the Stalinists, that the tasks of communists were determined by the 'fact' that: 'Democracy must continue to develop the bourgeois revolution not only politically but also economically.'

The Communist Party's



Top: W. H. Auden in his 20s. Right: today. Above: Auden, Spender and Isherwood together on the island of Ruegen in 1932

Popular Front was constructed around the deliberate political miseducation of a generation of workers and intellectuals, who, to varying degrees, wanted to be communists.

So far as Auden was concerned, he was extremely sceptical about Marxism and derisive towards the working class (see 'To a Writer on His Birthday'). Nonetheless no conflict was taken up with Auden, with the result that when radical middle-class opinion shifted against communism and the working class at the time of the impending defeat of the Spanish Revolution in 1938 and the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact in August 1939, Auden shifted firmly with it.

He himself fled the country

for America in January 1939—and has been theoretically, politically and artistically on the run ever since.

Writers like Auden became fellow-travellers with the Communist Party in the Popular Front period when the wholesale revision of Marxism had reached an advanced stage and when all theoretical disagreements within the Party had been suppressed in the name of a counter-revolutionary 'unity' with liberals, churchmen, boy scouts, girl guides, Tories—anyone and anything but 'Trotskyites'.

What effect did this political degeneration have on the art of a writer like Auden?

His poem 'Spain', published in May 1937 with the proceeds going to 'Medical Aid For

Spain', is the most important poem that he and his generation attempted. And if we centre our comments upon it, it is because it sums up the artistic failures of a whole generation of intellectuals struggling, however haphazardly, and half-heartedly in the case of Auden, to come to terms with Marxism. He himself excluded it from the 1967 edition of 'Collected Poems'.

In it, the Spanish war is seen in terms of Auden's 'mythology' of disease and fear. The war is an idealist externalization of what he regards in liberal fashion as an internal, psychological disease. Auden believed, following the psychologist Groddeck, that it was through neurosis that individual and political development takes place.

'On that arid square, that fragment nipped off from hot Africa, soldered so crudely to inventive Europe; On that tableland scored by rivers, Our thoughts have bodies; the menacing shapes of our fever

Are precise and alive. For the fears which made us respond To the medicine ad, and the brochure of winter cruises Have become invading battalions.'

The abysmal and absurd incongruity between the subjective, psychological meanderings of the poet and the historical magnitude of the war and betrayal of the revolution which decided the fate of



millions cannot be bridged by technical adroitness and schematic patterns.

The Oxfordian sceptic finds that all his reputed brilliance and panache count for nothing in the face of history. The rhetoric collapses into a series of banalities that are, to say the very least, a gross and obscene insult to the thousands of workers who fought against fascism in Spain, and who found themselves at the same time in conflict with Stalinism.

The rhythmic failings of this and his other poems crystallize the artistic decline that inexorably coincided with the political accommodation to the Popular Front. Rhythm is not merely a technical question. It conveys the totality, or otherwise, of the writer's experiences and is the very pulse of the relationship between the poet and the objective world.

Because Auden refused to come to terms with his rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and of Marxism, he is left agnostically aloof from the conflict. His poems have no inner dynamism since his conceptions do not flow from his participation in—or alternatively conscious alienation from—the struggle external to himself.

The poetry is shapeless and, except for arresting images, lifeless. Its movement obeys the passionless rhythm of the poet's thinking and not the conscious grappling with the

movement out there in history which never corresponds to the 'perfection' of the idealist's conceptions. Under pressure, the rhetoric collapses into the sheerest trivia.

So Auden's scepticism with regard to materialism—the independent existence of the external world—comes home to roost, artistically speaking. The weaknesses of his poetry in the mid- and late 1930s derive from hesitations in his philosophy which were not consciously taken to the sharp, creative point of contradiction, but which remain on the level of a shallow vagueness.

However, if Auden did not want to recognize religion, religion had, by the 1940s, recognized Auden. But his adoration of Kierkegaard has today given way to the most trivial obsession with intellectual bric-a-brac: aphorisms, conundrums, marginalia. His attempts to construct a Christian metaphysics to answer Marxism has been utterly disintegrated by the economic and political developments of the 1960s. The concentric circles of his thinking have become progressively smaller.

In 1966 he published 'About the House', a momentous sequence of poems about the various rooms of his house in Austria! In 'Academic Graffiti' (1971) we find the following masterpiece:

'When Karl Marx

Found the phrase "financial sharks"

**He sang a Te Deum
In the British Museum.'**

He has come the full circle—from the radical 'left-wing' Oxford intellectual to a more sophisticated and snobbish version of his rival for the Laureateship, John Betjemen—and he is still travelling.

It could well be that, notwithstanding the impossibility of Auden's becoming Laureate while remaining an American citizen, the ruling class feel that Auden is too sodden by 'the cigarette-alcohol culture' as he calls it, to act as a cultural rallying-point for the middle classes in this unprecedented crisis.

He is altogether too cynical, pessimistic and downright 'unpatriotic' for the job!

The problem for 'The Times' and the Tory government, which makes the appointment, is that none of the competitors are on a level with the much-quoted Will Shakespeare, artistic harbinger of the 17th century bourgeois revolution, whom the British ruling class unjustifiably appropriate as their own, enforce on their schoolchildren and emasculate in their own interests.

It is a powerful indication of the political desperation and intellectual and cultural decay of the British bourgeoisie that they have to make a mountain of the Poet Laureateship with the only contenders in sight a gang of artistic moles.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

POISON

Poisoner Graham Frederick Young has some curious friends. His idol was Hitler. And when police went to search his premises after his arrest they found his membership card of the extreme right-wing National Front. He belonged to the Broadmoor branch.

NF VICTIM

The extreme right-wing National Front has lost yet another chairman, the second in 18 months.

John O'Brien, a former horticulturalist in Shropshire, was the Front's only salaried official. He became chairman after the resignation of A. K. Chesterton.

It seems that O'Brien, a former member of the Tory Party for 20 years, became a victim of the National Front's most extreme wing who did not like his 'moderation'.

They forced him out of his job as office manager and then he quit the chairmanship and the NF.

GOPS ROBBERS AND ANGELS

Martha Mitchell, the talkative wife of President Nixon's ex-campaign boss, has always been on the side of the angels.

A life long communist-hater she had caught the Nixon administration bending over with its fingers in the till and her 'You're as bad as they are' squawk was soon being heard around the world.

A graduation couplet about her notes: 'I love to wind my tongue up and I love to let it go.'

Last week she seems to have let it go once too often. She was roughed up by her husband's security men in her own home and when she threw a tantrum was thrown onto a bed and had a needle jabbed in her backside.

Eluding her guards she blew the lid off her 'captivity' to New York political writer Helen Thomas. She said: 'It was a horrible experience.'

Whatever it was she was yelling about—which drew the

wrath of her husband's 'Re-elect the President Committee' security guards—it came only days after five men, including the Committee's security co-ordinator, were arrested at gunpoint bugging the Democratic Party's offices.

Within hours of Mrs Mitchell's phone call to Helen Thomas ex-Attorney-General John Mitchell had resigned his post.

You can almost imagine the conversation up at the White House.

'John, I don't care what you do but you make sure and shut that goddam woman's mouth.' He did. He resigned.

Arkansas Martha—she water-skied her way through university at Miami, did her stuff in the war pen-pushing for a US general and ended up a respectable, moneyed, suburban American lawyer's wife—had discovered, rudely, that if it gets hot the angels' gilt begins to melt.

'I love my husband very much,' she said. 'But I'm not going to stand for all those dirty things that go on.'

Politics, she concluded, 'is nothing but a cops and robbers game and I'm trying to get my husband out of it'.

She got her husband out of it. But that won't solve her problem or the crisis of the rest of the politics-weary bourgeoisie longing only for truth, dollars and the time when 'it never used to be like this'.

People like Martha Mitchell end up abandoning the angels and trying to get closer to God.



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Our economics correspondent takes a look at the £ which has recently hit the headlines

BOLTON TUESDAY

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS ON THE MANCHESTER-LIVERPOOL MARCH

SUPPORT from trades unions and political parties in Bolton has been the best of the march so far.

Ken Abbott, divisional organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, gave us an immediate £5 donation and sent a delegation to meet the march.

Mr Mackiver of the General and Municipal Workers' Union arranged an evening meal at the Brightmet Labour Club and Jack Brown, the general secretary of the Bolton and District Union of Textile and Allied Workers, also gave us financial help and encouragement.

So despite the drizzle, which continues to fall without a pause, morale continues to improve. Our numbers have been boosted as well by two youth from Bury. They joined the march after listening to speakers at our public meeting in the town.

Bolton is like any other mill town except that it's larger and has the worst unemployment rate of the three we have visited.

With 5,000 on the dole the rate is 5 per cent—higher than the North West average. To this figure another 600 redundancies must be added. On June 23 the textile combine J. P. Coats shut their Eagley mill at Bolton.

In 1958 Bolton had 85 mills. There are 12 now. Over 15,000 jobs have been lost in the industry over the last decade and total employment in the industry has shrunk to around 5,000.

The Tory government's economic

Nationalize to save jobs Bolton demand



Some of the marchers hold a meeting from the Bolton town hall steps

policy has accelerated this decline. Jack Brown warned that the ingredients for a slump equal to that of the 1930s are all present today.

'In terms of employment we are not as bad as the 1930s. But economically we have the conditions that produced the

1930s. Unless unemployment shows a sharp and prolonged decline, the situation could become very, very grave indeed,' said Mr Brown.

He said light industry had come into the area to replace textiles.

'But there is by no means

enough to absorb the labour thrown out of work. You must remember that many of the women who used to work in the mill are married and do not always register as unemployed.

'The situation is therefore far worse than the figures

show. There is also the loss in skills. Trained cotton operatives suffer a loss of job satisfaction and status if they are forced to work for the mail order firms for example.'

He admitted that the scale of the problem raised the issue of nationalization of the industry.

'We asked the Labour government to nationalize in 1945 with the mines—but what was the answer? They told us the job was too complex. Every year our conference goes on record demanding nationalization. We passed it again last year, but what chance is there of achieving that with a Tory government in power?'

'It is an indictment of this system and Tory rule that youth have to go to the lengths these marches have taken to bring publicity to their plight. They should be backed.'

The recession in Bolton has also hit the town's main source of employment—engineering.

Brian Northey, AUEW district committee member, who came out to greet the march, has escaped redundancy seven times over the past 12 months.

Redundancies declared over the last year include, 170 at Ryders, 300 when Lister engineering closed, 390 in two nearby Hawker Siddeley plants, 90 at Edbro Tipplers and a dozen smaller pay-offs.

Brian is disgusted with the role of the TUC General Council:

'I went to the conference last September. I thought I was listening to a Tory Party gathering when some of them spoke.'

Bolton youth are hard hit as well.

Teenage unemployment is in excess of 200, but here, as in Bury, the number out of work is much greater. This figure does not account for those who do not register or are school leavers who do not qualify for unemployment benefit.

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Shaun McMahon



Frank Gordon

Commercial radio chief appointed

JOHN THOMPSON, former editor of the right-wing Tory magazine 'Time and Tide' has been named as the head of commercial radio.

He will take over as head of radio at the newly-created Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) which is to replace the Independent Television Authority (ITA).

For the past 12 months Thompson has been close adviser to the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications on commercial broadcasting.

Apart from editing 'Time and Tide', Thompson has also been assistant editor of the 'Observer' and editor of its colour magazine; New York correspondent of the 'Daily Express'; and newscaster for ITN.

When he first arrived in Fleet Street, however, Thompson was not a journalist. He was an advertising man. He will play a key role in handing out local radio licences.

Two more join the march in Bury

OUR last stop at Bury brought two recruits to the march, Shaun McMahon and Frank Gordon, both 18 years old.

Since he left school three years ago, Shaun has had a string of bad jobs which offered low pay and no prospects. The official unemployment statistics in Bury record 13 boys on the dole. Shaun says this figure is ridiculous.

'When you go for your money the queue stretches right outside onto the pavement—there are about 50 to 100,' he says.

'My best job was my first one as a lab assistant at a paper mill. I liked the work, but I was getting nowhere, they were just keeping me at one level.'

'It's hard to get any kind of job now. You can spend all week tramping around looking for one. Last week they sent me for one job and there were seven other boys in for it.'

'I've always been against the Tories but I have never done anything political before. But when I came to the meeting in Bury I just agreed with everything that was said so I decided to come along.'

Frank is working, but on holiday. Talking with the marchers at Bury so impressed him that he decided to join Shaun.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

The currency crisis and the working class

PORT TALBOT: Thursday July 6, 7.30 p.m. Progressive Club (Band Club), Talbot Square.

HAVANT: Thursday July 6, 7.30 p.m. Leigh Park Community Centre.

AYLESHAM: Thursday July 6, 8 p.m. The Legion, Burgess Road.

LUTON: Thursday July 6, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Road.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday July 6, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Stn).

ACTON: Monday July 10, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Rd.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday July 11, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy Street, E.14. (nr Blackwall Tunnel).

NORTH LONDON: Thursday July 13, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd. (nr White Hart Lane).

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BY IAN YEATS

'British' computer firm eats up cash aid

AS INTERNATIONAL Computers' half-yearly profits slumped this week from £4.5m to £1.5m the Tory government stepped in with aid to the tune of £14m to cover the cost of research and development up to 1973.

The US Burroughs Corporation—third in the world computer league—wants to acquire a controlling interest in ICL.

Commenting on the rumours, Tory Industrial Development Minister Christopher Chataway said that any possible association with an overseas firm should provide for maintenance of a substantial computer research and development, manufacturing and marketing capability controlled in the UK.

ICL had asked for £107m over the next five years, but a spokesman claimed the company was

satisfied with what must be an interim handout.

Burroughs have ruthlessly pruned their adding machine and mini-computer business in the UK, particularly Scotland, in a bid to relieve the pressure on their own profit margins by stepping up efficiency.

They have already bought up nearly 2 per cent of ICL's shares and should their negotiations with the company and the Tory government succeed, the purchase will be used to corner a bigger slice of the shrinking world computer market.

The takeover would bode ill for British workers in the industry since there is considerable duplication in the middle ranges of Burroughs and ICL's products. A key point in the takeover would be to eliminate this.

Burroughs already have a stronger world-wide sales organi-

zation than ICL and once they stripped the combine of any surplus branches they stand to end up with the viable heart of ICL and a much-improved competitive position in world markets.

The British government owns 10.49 per cent of ICL and GEC and Plessey a further 17.98 per cent.

Any sale of ICL to Burroughs would require permission from Chataway.

In line with their Common Market policy the Tories would prefer a European firm to take over ICL and talks have been going on with the German

groups Nixdorf and AEG-Telefunken, so far without success.

ICL shares on the stock exchange, which have been slipping all year, rose at the news Burroughs were interested.

The Tories have already given over £40m to ICL and although the new subsidy reflects the government's determination to maintain a considerable UK-controlled computer operation the chances are slim.

ICL was cobbled together by the Labour government in a desperate bid to halt the computer industry's slide into extinction during the 'brain drain' years of the 1960s which precipitated a

handful of American firms to the status of world giants.

ICL has no chance of catching up or competing either with US or Japanese computer technology and the pretence that it has merely threatens to turn it into a bottomless well into which many more millions will have to be poured.

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

IT HAS been brought to our notice by some of our subscribers in the Republican movement that the phrase 'Bog-trotting Republican' used in a Workers Press Editorial (June 20, 1972) could be misconstrued as a chauvinist connotation, when in fact we were referring to the middle-class nationalist supporters of Republicanism.

CAV's laboratory assistants sit-in over withdrawn deal

ABOUT 120 laboratory workers at the CAV factory, Acton, north London are continuing to occupy their section. They claim the company has gone back on an agreement made with them.

Stewards say the original pay settlement meant a differential of £2 between the highest and lowest paid in the laboratory.

Now management wants to extend unilaterally the number of grades and lengthen the differential to £6.80.

Although only 5 per cent of the laboratory workers, mostly AUEW members, will be worse off, the other 95 per cent are fully behind the occupation, which began on June 28.

'The history of this claim goes

right back to 1969,' says leading steward Arthur Mason.

'It culminated in a week's strike in April 1970. And shortly after a works' conference conceded everything we wanted. There were no strings and it was a good settlement.'

After the site deal reached at the CAV factory last July the company went back on the agreement, said Mr Mason.

For nine months they argued for a restoration of the position. An agreement was reached in March 1972.

'But when it was time to settle they wanted to increase the differential between the top and the bottom men by three times as much as it is now.

'What they are really after is to try and make sure workers in other sections do not see our rise and come after it. It is a question of principle for us.'

Meanwhile an attempt has been

made to pull the pay fight into some sort of order.

A summoned meeting of shop stewards was told last week that the site was in chaos with groups taking individual action and others submitting pay claims.

A recommendation from the executive committee of the joint shop stewards was passed by the meeting. It said:

- All individual i.e. departmental, claims should be dropped.

- An all-round general increase should be sought and not one based on differentials like the Lucas offer at Birmingham.

POLICE and troops attacked thousands of demonstrators in Argentina's major cities yesterday on the 12th day of a wave of anti-government unrest.



Queen Elizabeth (Glenda Jackson) addresses the troops before the defeat of the Spanish Armada—the fifth of the six Elizabeth R. series being repeated on BBC 1 tonight.

ITV

11.10 Future of the Family. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Cook Book. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Zingalong. 1.40 Arthur. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Racing. 3.45 Marcus Welby. 4.40 Nuts and Bones. 4.55 Atom Ant. 5.20 How. 5.50 News.

6.00 WRECKERS AT DEAD EYE. 1: The Stranger.

6.30 CROSSROADS.

6.55 FILM: 'THE SILENT ENEMY.' Laurence Harvey, Dawn Addams, Michael Craig. Story of Lieutenant 'Buster' Crabb, set in 1941, and how he trained frogmen to sink ships.

9.00 NEAREST AND DEAREST.

9.30 THIS WEEK.

10.00 NEWS.

10.30 CINEMA.

11.00 SOMETHING TO SAY.

12.00 CAN BUSINESS AFFORD A CONSCIENCE?

BBC 1

9.20 Along the River. 11.18 Schools. 12.55 Hen Allorau. 1.30 The Herbs. 1.45 News, weather. 1.53 Wimbledon. 4.50 Magic Roundabout. 4.55 Boss Cat. 5.20 Barrier Reef. 5.44 Adventures of Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 YOUR REGION TONIGHT.

6.15 WIMBLEDON 1972.

7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.

8.00 THE GOODIES.

8.30 THE BURKE SPECIAL.

9.00 NEWS, Weather.

9.20 ELIZABETH R. The Enterprise of England.

10.50 24 HOURS.

11.35 WINDOWS OF THE BRAIN. Small Eyes.

TV

Regional TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Wales: 6.00 Wales today. 6.15 Tom and Jerry. 6.20 Heddiw. 6.40 Wimbledon. 8.00 Week in week out. 8.30 Goodies. 12.02 News.

Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 12.02 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00 Scene Around Six. 12.02 News, weather.

England: 6.00 Look North, Midlands today, Look East, Points West, South today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 12.02 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Wimbledon.

7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.

8.00 GREAT PARKS OF THE WORLD. 3: The High Tatras—Czechoslovakia.

8.30 THE VISITORS. Part 4.

9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK. Morecambe and Wise.

10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY. From Wimbledon.

10.55 NEWS, Weather.

11.00 WORLD CINEMA: 'KAM-ERASCHAFT.' A passionate plea for international peace founded on working-class solidarity.

CHANNEL: 1.45 Racing. 4.05 Nuts and bones. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Funny face. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Dead of Night'. 9.00 London. 11.02 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.18 News. 6.00 Diary. 10.59 News. 11.55 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 2.30 London. 3.45 Heckle and Jeckle. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Dithers. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lionheart. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Dr Simon Locke. 7.15 Film: 'Midnight Story'. 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Film: 'House of Dracula'. 12.20 Weather. Guide-line.

HTV: 2.15 Racing. 3.20 Cook Book. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Joe 90. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.10 Film: 'Tiara Tahiti'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Once upon a story. 11.00 Spy-fare. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd. **HTV West as above except:** 6.18 Sport West.

ANGLIA: 1.00 Royal show. 2.20 Racing. 4.10 News. 4.15 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 Film: 'The Little Red Monkey'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Avengers.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.00 Royal show. 2.20 Racing. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Family affair. 4.35 Rupert bear. 4.50 Pretenders. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'Rogue's Regiment'. 9.00 London. 11.00 O'Hara. 12.00 Epilogue.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Racing. 2.15 Under these roofs. 2.30 London. 3.40 Ugliest girl. 4.10 News. 4.15

Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 It takes a thief. 7.25 Film: 'Man in the Middle'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Mannix. 11.55 Something to sing about. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 1.45 Racing. 3.40 Scotland yard. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.50 Make a wish. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'A Little Plot at Tranquill Valley'. 8.50 Sylvester. 9.00 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.35 Scales of Justice.

TYNE TEES: 1.45 Racing. 2.15 Slam Bam Frank. 2.30 London. 3.45 Ugliest girl. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Coronet blue. 7.25 Film: 'The Lady Killers'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Police call. 11.35 Short story. 12.05 News. 12.20 Epilogue.

BORDER: 1.45 Racing. 3.40 Headlines. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Simon Locke. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Onionhead'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Man in a suitcase. 11.57 News.

SCOTTISH: 1.45 Racing. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 UFO. 7.10 Film: 'Pandora and the Flying Dutchman'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Expansions. 11.35 As others see us.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 Racing. 3.34 News. 3.35 Job look. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Pippi. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Top team. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Black Hand'. 8.30 Shirley's world. 9.00 London. 11.00 Young view. 11.30 Avengers.

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FRENCH GOVERNMENT RESIGNS

From page 1

The exit of the French government is the first glaring repercussion of the Tories' desperate decision to float, and in effect devalue, the pound.

Attention is now bound to focus on the Brandt coalition which is already threatened by a walk out of Karl Schiller, the chief economic adviser.

Schiller's resignation is in protest against the exchange regulations introduced by the West Germans last week to stem the flood of unwanted dollars pouring into Europe.

Schiller feels that such moves could undermine completely the free flow of capital and intensify a trade war.

However it is clear that many sections of financial opinion in Frankfurt feel that last week's moves are totally inadequate. There is now considerable speculation that the mark may soon be allowed to 'float' in retaliation against the Tories' decision.

IN FRANKFURT the West German banking authorities had to intervene further in support of the tottering dollar. During the past two days the Central Bank has had to buy an estimated \$550m to \$600m to prevent the dollar value falling below the fixed minimum level of DM 3.15.

The Central Bank said earlier it spent about £1,000m last month buying unwanted dollars and pounds on the foreign exchange markets.

IN TOKYO yesterday the foreign exchange market was swamped by a rush to sell US dollars. The volume of trading was estimated at \$175m of which the Japanese

Central Bank was believed to have bought more than \$150m.

This follows purchases of dollars by the bank on Tuesday amounting to \$80m to prevent the dollar collapsing below its floor level against the yen.

'We might have a very bad situation coming up,' said one leading dealer. 'No one has any faith in the dollar.'

Behind this turmoil in Europe stands American capitalism. As Workers Press alone has insisted—against every reformist, Stalinist and revisionist—this is a world crisis. There can be no reformist solutions to it.

Nixon and the American ruling class deliberately allow inflation to rip, knowing that it must bring the ruin of large sectors of European capitalism. It is now all-out war between American capitalism and its weaker European rivals.

Poured

The American monopolies continue to pour unwanted dollars into Europe. The Germans, French and Swiss reply with exchange restrictions in a hopeless attempt to arrest the flow.

As the American balance of payments goes from bad to worse, so the crisis in Europe must intensify in the same degree. For an American payments deficit means more dollars for Europe, dollars which are totally unbacked by gold.

The August 15 measures of last year, in which this rupture between gold and the dollar was finally made was provoked

largely by the announcement at the very end of July of an American trade deficit which was the biggest of the century. This was closely followed by news of a record American budget deficit.

The depth of the crisis was revealed in the lame statement of the International Monetary Fund's director general, M Pierre-Paul Schweitzer on Tuesday.

Announcing that the Group of Twenty's report outlining possible plans for the solution of the international money crisis will be published in August, he said that he very much hoped that the role of the dollar would be 'significantly reduced' in any future arrangements.

Gold would continue to play an important role, he said, although he thought that an increase in its price would solve nothing.

Yet as every financier knows, there is **nothing** which can replace the dollar.

The source of stability for the last 25 years, the dollar, is now the source of acute crisis and instability.

Capitalism has no solution to this crisis. A return to 'regulated' capitalism of the type established as a result of the 1944 Bretton Woods talks now means the 'regulation' of the class struggle through the most brutal dictatorship.

This can be the only direction of Tory policy in Britain. The decision of the TUC leaders to continue their dealing with the working class only underlines the enormous dangers which the reformists now open up to the working class in this time of crisis.

Dockers shun NIRC case

BY PHILIP WADE

IT WAS an unfair industrial action for dockers to use threatening and intimidatory methods in picketing a cold store depot, it was alleged in the National Industrial Relations Court yesterday.

Midland Cold Storage Ltd. of East London were seeking restraining orders under the Industrial Relations Act against seven London dockers and the London docks joint shop stewards' committee.

None of the dockers, who include Bernie Steer and Vic Turner—both of whom narrowly escaped arrest last month over Chobham Farm—was in court for the hearing, which could last for three days.

Three unions were joined by the NIRC to the action. They are the shopworkers' union USDAW, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers and the Transport and General Workers' Union.

A solicitor was in court with a 'watching brief' for USDAW. The other two unions were not represented.

Official Solicitor Norman Turner was present to assist the court on the law of picketing. He had instructed two counsels,

None of the dockers named in the application appeared in court. Official Solicitor Norman Turner appeared on their behalf without their knowledge and without their consent. This is the second time Mr Turner has stepped forward to appear for London dockers in cases with which they are refusing to cooperate.



Norman Turner

Mr John Vinelott and Mr Robert Alexander.

For the company, Mr Alan Campbell QC said that picketing by dockers of the depot was costing the company upwards of £2,000 a week and would force them to close.

He said his application was not to restrain picketing as such. It was perfectly in order for dockers to seek work which is not dock work under the National Dock Labour Board scheme.

'But it is the means by which they make this request which are both unlawful at common law and also constitute unfair industrial practices under the Act.

'They are intimidatory both in a direct and indirect sense.'

Pickets had said to his clients' drivers that if they crossed the picket lines they would be blacked nationally.

This threat was carried out unless the companies concerned find an agreement not to deliver to Midland Cold Storage.

Dockers, alleged Mr Campbell, also said they would withdraw their labour in support of such action. This was a breach of their statutory obligation under the NDLB scheme and also was an unfair action.

At present the depot employed 28 USDAW members to handle cargo.

It was direct intimidation to say to the firm that unless they dismissed the USDAW men 'we shall kick you out of business'.

Mr Campbell said he wanted the court to sit in camera to hear certain witnesses because of the situation.

At the same time proceedings had been initiated against the dockers in the Chancery Division of the High Court.

If no satisfaction was gained in the NIRC he would move his case to that court.

Mr Campbell also said an application had been made under the Act to have the Commission on Industrial Relations determine that USDAW had sole bargaining rights at the depot.

WEATHER

ALL DISTRICTS of the British Isles will have sunny periods, and there will be scattered showers chiefly over western Scotland. Over eastern Scotland, Northern Ireland, England and Wales all showers will die out during the afternoon and evening and many places will escape them completely.

Temperatures will be near or a little below the seasonal normal.

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Mainly dry at first with sunny periods. Some rain later. Rather cool.

JULY FUND £178.12- KEEP UP THE FIGHT

AS THE pound sinks even lower, the reformist union leaders remain down on their knees before Heath. But the results of such rapid devaluation must force millions of workers into action against the Tories.

Workers Press is the only daily paper to expose the treachery of this leadership. Each day it fights to build a revolutionary alternative. This is the only way the great strength of the working class will be mobilized to make this Tory government resign.

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NUM ducks anti-Tory actions

BY DAVID MAUDE

TRADE UNIONISTS could not afford to wait three months, let alone three years, to get the Tories out of office, miners' leaders were told yesterday.

But in resolving to fight the Tory government pay and rents policies, the National Union of Mineworkers' conference drew back from declaring itself for concrete action to force the Tories to resign.

They went on to support a call for a European 'collective security' pact.

The union's Midlands area received unanimous backing for its resolution that 'whatever action is necessary' to defeat the Tories' wage norm policy should be taken.

Kent delegate Joe Holmes sought guidance from the mover, Arthur Pratt, on what sort of action he had in mind.

The ambiguous reply was: 'It may be another Saltley, it may be something else.' (Saltley coke depot was closed during the miners' strike when thousands of engineers joined miners on the picket.)

NUM president Joe Gormley, however, made it clear that the motion was so worded that it was put to the executive to decide what was done about it.

It was Emlyn Williams from South Wales who warned that unionists could not afford to wait for the Tory government to complete its allotted term of office.

His area's resolution declared complete opposition to the Housing Finance Bill and called on the union executive to consult the TUC, National Council of Labour and Parliamentary Labour Party about organizing a protest demonstration throughout the country to demand the Bill be withdrawn.

Calling on councillors to refuse to implement the Bill, Williams said:

'The Tories cannot send us all to jail, but the Labour movement can send the Tories to hell if we stand together.'

However, he thanked the Kent area for withdrawing their

amendment that the proposed protest should be supported by industrial action.

Jack Collins, Kent's member on the NUM national executive, justified the withdrawal on the grounds that it had been done to 'get some unity'.

In this atmosphere the right wing eagerly supported the South Wales motion calling for a European Security Pact, and the disbandment of the NATO and Warsaw alliances.

The executive's report on the Industrial Relations Act brought no comment from any section of the conference and was adopted without dissent. The conference therefore moves to a close today with no discussion on the latest moves under the legislation — for instance the Industrial Court's decision to debate the law on picketing.

Miners ready for pay fight—but are leaders?

THE NATIONAL Union of Mineworkers' conference is expected to end today with demands for an integrated national fuel policy and for a complete change in the financial structure of the National Coal Board.

Earlier this week, the conference decided on a new, 'flexible' wages policy which if determinedly pursued would bring rises of £5.50 to £7 next year.

It did so however, in a context of falling demand and increasing stocks which will certainly stiffen the Tories' resistance to their claims.

The miners are confident in their strength, having trounced the Heath government in the confrontation it forced with them earlier this year. But the Tories are desperate in their weakness and can be expected to fight to a finish next time.

I talked to Emlyn Jenkins, a member of the South Wales area executive of the NUM, about what he thought the conference had achieved.

'I'm disappointed,' he said. 'During the strike the members

doubled over the same period: 21.5 cwt per manshift in 1947, 46 now.

In his speech on Monday, NUM president Joe Gormley talked of ways of whipping his members even further into line with the requirements of the NCB and its big-combine customers.

The danger of conferences such as the miners' is that the left wing replies in the tones of pure militancy alone, leaving the rank and file disarmed in front of the real implications of the struggle. And for this the Communist Party must bear chief responsibility.

It was the CP which provided the political cover up and down the country this year when the NUM executive decided not to press ahead and force the Tories out of office, but settle for the Wilberforce-plus award.

At Morecambe this week, the miners showed themselves once again prepared for struggle. That fact gives added urgency to the struggle for an alternative revolutionary leadership with which they can win through.

Productivity has more than