

AS THE WAGES BATTLE OPENS

TORIES STRING THE TUC ALONG

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dispute
overtime:
locked out**

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It is already a foregone conclusion that state pay laws will be introduced during the next session of parliament. In the face of this unprecedented attack on wages the trade union leaders stand accused of complete two-faced treachery.

ON ONE hand they tell their members to ignore Heath's state pay plan which will cut the standard of living of million of wage-earners.

By ALEX MITCHELL

ON THE other they attend the very talks at No. 10 Downing Street which pave the way for the next phase of the wage-cutting legislation.

By their deceptive policies the trade union leaders are deliberately misleading their members as to the true implication of the present attack on wages and wage-bargaining.

It is leaving workers all over the country confused and disarmed as the Tories press ahead with their legal attack on the basic right to a decent wage and a decent standard of living.

The truth is that although food prices—particularly meat, fruit and vegetables—are skyrocketing, the Tories plan to introduce permanent legal machinery to hold down wages. This is the awful truth which the bureaucrats want to keep from their members.

Take Jack Jones, general secretary of the country's largest union, the Transport and General Workers' Union. He was a member

of the initial tripartite talks which opened the door for the first stage of Heath's state control over wages.

In the latest issue of his union's magazine he puts forward the following 'policy': 'It is the vital job of every T&GWU negotiator to carry on negotiating, to keep the wages machinery well-oiled, and the cause of industrial justice in battle order. All this action can take place as usual.'

Nothing could be further from reality. On December 15 last Heath wrote a personal letter to Lord Cooper, head of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, banning any further wage negotiations leading to a firm offer. Is this 'usual'?

Of course it isn't! It's dictatorial. At a stroke Heath has outlawed wage negotiations. The letter to Cooper marked the end of the reformist era of wage rises being won by consent. Now it can only mean class war.

Feather's actions have been just as reprehensible. At the TUC General Council meeting following the receipt of the Heath letter Feather sent out letters telling member unions to 'disregard any statement calling for the suspension of negotiations'.

But only two weeks later, on January 4, Feather was presenting himself at Downing Street to inaugurate Phase Two of the state pay plan.

This Thursday he is due at No. 10 for yet another round of talks prior to the introduction of Heath's corporatist wages policy.

While workers are left disarmed as to the nature of the impending conflict over wages, the capitalist Press is treating the trade union leaders' role with the utmost cynicism.

The Times' reported on its front page yesterday that many Labour MPs 'took the view that the government has been "playing the unions along".'

The 'Daily Telegraph' was more outspoken.

The paper's political staff said: 'On Thursday the government will discuss limiting pay claims with the TUC.'

'If no agreement is reached the government will put its own plan into operation and will place the blame for the breakdown on the union leaders.'

This is the Tory trap which Workers Press warned about on last Saturday's front page.

But despite the craven capitulation of the trade union leaders, the Tory Cabinet knows that it has eventually to take on sections of workers in a big political and industrial confrontation.

That is why there is such intense behind-the-scenes manoeuvres involving the secret police, the uniformed police and small private 'armies' of strike-breakers which have connections with the military.

The police are proceeding with their plan to establish a 'heavy mob' along the lines developed in France and all constabularies are to receive issues of the newly-designed 'Police Gun' capable of firing CS gas canisters and rubber bullets.

The Tories will prosecute the class struggle to this sharpest



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'The members have responded magnificently. We are 100 per cent. I am delighted with the response from the other trade unions such as the unions in the confederation of Shipbuilding and

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'They have given 95 per cent support.'

Big factories such as Reyrolle's in Hebburn and the Swan Hunter shipyards at Wallsend on the Tyne have received support from the boilermakers and other unions such as the G&MWU and the T&GWU.

The engineering apprentices were all out. The employers bitterly attacked the strike as being anarchy and pointless.

OVER 17,000 engineers on Wear-side also staged a one-day strike yesterday.

All major factories and works were closed including the shipyards, Rolls-Royce, Plessey, David Brown's, Jopling's and Thorn's.

District secretary Henry Wilkinson told a 500-strong meeting at Steel's Club that the Goad affair could only be solved by industrial conflict.

After the meeting he told Workers Press he favoured a national strike by the AUEW to get rid of the Industrial Relations Act once and for all by forcing the Tory government to resign.

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workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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What we think

Rents—the next step

THE SIZE of Sunday's march in Camden in support of the Labour council's refusal to implement the rent-doubling Housing Finance Act marks a step forward in the campaign.

Supported by well over 2,000 tenants, trade unionists, Labour Party members and youth, it was the biggest demonstration seen in London against the Tory government's 'fair rent' Act.

In the campaign's next steps the point has to be made clear that demonstrations in themselves as protest actions will not bring victory in the face of the Tories' determination to destroy the basic right of millions of workers to municipal housing.

To date the fight has been consciously sabotaged by Labour Party leaders who, at all costs, insist on collaboration with the Tories on every issue, refusing either to alert or lead workers.

Towards the end of 1971, when the Housing Finance Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by ex-speculator Peter Walker, the Labourites were declaring that all hell would be let loose if the Tories dared to proceed.

'Labour Weekly' the Transport House organ declared in a special supplement: 'Their fight is your fight. Support your local Labour councillors,' urging tenants everywhere to prepare for 'the big fight of 1972'.

On that basis many tenants' associations were formed to assist in the fight against the Tory plans to put an end to council housing in Britain, opening the field wide for every property speculator.

In the 1972 municipal elections, Labour councils were swept back or made huge gains on the basis they would fight the rent increases. There was much talk of non-implementation.

But the Labour Party leadership began to move swiftly to cut off any possibilities of an open

confrontation with a Tory government which had absolutely no mandate to destroy the basic right to decent housing at a reasonable rent.

The decisive stab-in-the-back came in March when the National Executive Committee met to discuss the question of the Housing Finance Bill, as it still was.

In a most pathetic statement, the NEC said it could not advise Labour councils to refuse to implement the legislation, giving weight to statements made in public by housing spokesman and right-winger Anthony Crosland.

'The effects will be different from authority to authority,' the NEC declared. 'Therefore... it was not possible to give advice to local authorities on a national basis. Each Labour group must decide in the interests of tenants and in the light of local circumstances its own methods of fighting the legislation.'

It was the escape route the Party right-wing was looking for. Suddenly resolutions began to

be put in council chamber after council chamber, calling for the implementation of the legislation in the 'best interests of the tenants'.

Then, in October, Frank Allaun, 'left'-talking MP from Salford, spoke for the NEC at the Labour Party conference and declared a future Labour government could not be committed to reimbursing Labour councillors penalized by the Tories for not implementing the Act.

Although this policy was reversed the next day by the floor of conference, the seeds of betrayal had been well sown. And last month the NEC voted in London to overturn conference policy yet again, leaving the rebel councillors disowned and isolated.

Today, just 20 Labour councils throughout Britain are standing out against the Tories—while another 360 have implemented the Act. The defiant councils face severe financial penalties, bankruptcy, disqualifications and the loss of all powers to government-

appointed Housing Commissioners.

Now the fight of councils like Clay Cross in Derbyshire has come together with the movement of the whole working class to defend their democratic rights against the Tory government's onslaught.

The fight against the Housing Finance Act cannot and must not be separated from this overall struggle of the class to defend their unions and fight Tory preparations for the corporate state. Nor is the fight inseparable from the struggle to bring down the Tory government.

It is most urgent to go forward in each area where tenants and councillors are in struggle to construct Councils of Action to mobilize the entire working class.

Such Councils, comprised of delegates from the tenants' associations, trade unions and every political tendency in the labour movement, must prepare the campaign to force the Tories to resign.

In its place must be elected a Labour government pledged to socialist policies of nationalization of the basic industries, the land and the banks under workers' control and without compensation and the repeal of all Tory legislation, including the Housing Finance Act. That is the way forward after Sunday's march.

A direct hit... on wrong target!

FIVE AMERICAN fighter-bombers—an airforce Phantom, two marine corps Phantoms and two navy Corsairs—yesterday dropped 34 500 lb bombs on the Da Nang air base in South Vietnam.

Da Nang used to be the headquarters of the US marine corps in South Vietnam. It is now run by the South Vietnamese and is one of the largest bases in the south.

The bombs set a fuel dump on fire, damaged a US Huey helicopter, injured several men and killed between five to nine Americans and one South Vietnamese airfield guard, according to US command in Saigon.

NELSON Rosario Dos Anjos (22) has been sentenced by a Lisbon court to three years imprisonment and 15 years 'deprivation of civil rights'—supervision by the Portuguese secret police. He was accused of making an armed attack on the Portuguese consulate in Amsterdam in May 1972.

A US spokesman said of the raid on their own base: 'The cause of the error is not yet known. An investigation is being conducted. I would say that all the aircraft dropped their bombs on the airfield.'

He added that the jets were flying on a 'tactical' bombing mission in South Vietnam.

Cambodians' Paris fight

A FIGHT between rival factions of Cambodian students at Paris university using swords and rifles left one man dead and 20 injured.

The fighting between supporters and opponents of exiled Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk continued overnight yesterday until police intervened.

The dead student was Suk Kim Huos (24) from the Cambodian capital Phnom Penh. He was killed by a bullet from a .22 calibre rifle.

No progress towards monetary union

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE BIG European bankers have failed to make any progress towards monetary unity within the Common Market at their latest meeting in Basle, Switzerland.

The main result of the three-day conference was a plan to allow Italy to repay massive balance-of-payments debts in dollars. This in fact represents a deterioration of European monetary relations.

Britain became the first country to tell the EEC bluntly that it would not honour its debts in gold or gold-linked assets (Special Drawing Rights—SDRS) but merely pay the balance in paper currency.

Both the British and Italian decisions further dim the prospect of European monetary union which will be discussed by the first full meeting of Finance

Ministers in Luxemburg on January 15 and 16.

The Basle summit also failed to reach a common view on the role of SDRs and gold for settling debts in the future monetary set up.

The Italian move is another blow to the world's two-tier gold system under which debts were settled in gold officially priced at \$38 an ounce—far below the free market price. Now both Italy and Britain say they will release no gold until a monetary union is formed but at the same time their decision makes such unity harder to achieve.

The EEC's main aim is to devise a means of debt settlement between member-countries which confines fluctuations in the price of one currency against another with narrow limits.

The switch to dollar settlements and the floating pound both undermine these plans.

Agreement is now a matter of urgency. The United States

monetary authorities have made it clear that they will not make any concessions to Europe in the forthcoming talks on the world monetary system. This aggressive attitude mirrors the mood among the American capitalist class which is in favour of trade war on Europe.

Italy and Britain are key countries in the European set up since they both have hefty balance of payments deficits with the rest of the EEC. But they now propose to honour their commitments by pouring out dollars which, after Nixon's decision 17 months ago to remove all gold backing from the currency, have a purely fictitious value.

The issue of monetary union in general raises questions which the Common Market, on its present predatory and capitalist basis will find it impossible to answer.

Despite fine words on unity, the capitalist governments within the Market are not prepared to sacrifice any real value to the European dream.

The latest economic survey by the London and Cambridge Economic Bulletin predicts a massive £1,000m balance of payments deficit by the end of this year.

This will be the result, says the bulletin, of the Tories' 5-per-cent growth policy.

They say even by the standards of previous 'reflations' the latest initiative has got off to a very bad start. Much of the extra expenditure has sucked in more imports—a 'disturbing' amount from the Common Market countries.

The bulletin warns if a crisis is to be avoided, personal expenditure and income will have to be strictly controlled.

The influential Tory economist Professor Paish has suggested in the Lloyds Bank review one remedy to curb expenditure. Unemployment would have to rise to a national average of 10 per cent before inflation could be halted, he says.

Many of these enormous problems facing the British economy are reflected in Tory policy.

The deflation is accompanied by record interest rates on bank lending to businessmen for investment.

These policies are accompanied by the Tory drive to make all wages and incomes a matter for state decision and control under the new corporate style machinery envisaged in phase two of the 'pay freeze'.

BRIEFLY

might jeopardize the resumed Paris peace talks. Meanwhile information has been leaked that there were more than 650 tactical air strikes in the north between December 26 and January 1. The payloads were more destructive than the combined capacity of the two A-bombs dropped on Japan at the end of World War II.

THE UGANDAN military government has raised the price of sugar by 25 per cent following a sharp production drop. This is due to the expulsion of Ugandan Asians who owned and operated the country's rich sugar industry. The largest was the Madhvani group at the township of Jinja. After being imprisoned for two months, the head of the family was deported.

JAPAN is to increase its export of steel to the enlarged Common Market during this year. The Japan Iron and Steel Exporters' Association has decided to export a total of 1.45 mil-

APPRENTICE airman Franklin Roundtree (20), a Negro, has been discharged from the navy following a race riot aboard the aircraft carrier 'Kitty Hawk' last October. He had pleaded guilty to charges of assault and rioting aboard the ship while it was stationed off North Vietnam. He admitted hitting a chief petty officer. During the fighting 46 crewmen were injured. Before he was discharged Roundtree served 60 days' detention.

JAPANESE and Thai investors have agreed to set up a £120m petrochemical industry in Thailand. A plant 75 miles south of Bangkok is to be built by the Thai Petrochemical Company Limited, in which the Royal Dutch Shell Group and local investors have a £56m holding. The Japanese interest comprises Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Teijin and Nippon Petrochemicals. The deal took two years to negotiate.

MELVIN LAIRD, the US Defence Secretary, has ordered a news black-out on further details of bombed devastation in North Vietnam because it

Socialist Labour League North West Rally

FORCE THE TORY GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

SUNDAY JANUARY 14, 7 p.m.

The Everyman, Hope Street, LIVERPOOL

'RIGHT TO WORK' FILM

- G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)
- CHRISTINE SMITH (Young Socialists)
- In a personal capacity:
- CONNIE FAHEY (Manchester Tenants)
- ALAN STANLEY (Vauxhall Shop Stewards)
- BRIAN GEENEY (U.P.W.)
- WALLY FOUCHS (CAV Occupation Committee)

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Fighting the Tories' rent Act

Bedwas fights the Commissioner... and the Labour Party

THE HOUSING Commissioner sent into Bedwas and Machen in South Wales has now given 1,700 tenants four weeks notice of rent increases of almost £1.

Appointed by the Tory government when the Labour council refused to implement the Housing Finance Act, the Commissioner—using the council's headed notepaper—has told tenants they can leave if they do not want to pay up.

But already the tenants are beginning to organize against the Commissioner and plan to refuse his rent demands.

Councillor Stan Nind is one of those elected representatives of Bedwas workers who—with other councillors—has lost any sort of control over rents to a government agent.

As he marched through the streets of Camden on Sunday in support of the

BY PHILIP WADE

rebel councillors there, he told me that resistance to the Commissioner was being prepared.

'The trades council and trade union branches are supporting our firm stand. Now a petition is circulating urging all the tenants not to pay the increases, and the councillors are supporting them.'

'In my opinion we can fight against the financial implications of the Housing Finance Act. But much more is involved.'

'For over 80 years of local government, councillors have been elected by the public. Now all powers have been taken out of our hands by the Secretary of State for Wales.'

Cllr Nind explained that with this year's reorganization of local government, there would be fewer councillors.

They would have less powers over things like

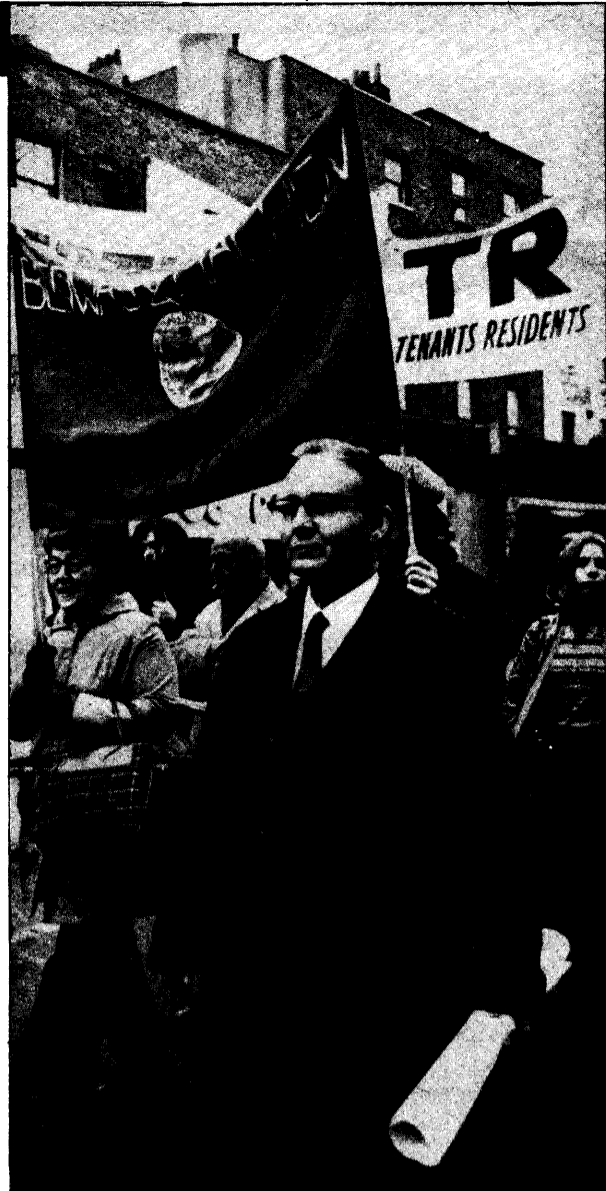
the administration of the National Health Service.

In his opinion, the fight to receive backing from the Labour Party's national executive had not yet ended, despite the NEC's recent reversal of conference policy supporting councillors fighting the 'fair rents' Act.

'The unions affiliated to the Labour Party will have to spell out in deeds the decisions of conference. So often in the past the NEC has interpreted these decisions against the wishes of the membership.'

'Now we have to make MPs and the NEC accept these motions from conference as binding on them.'

● Tenants and trade unionists will demonstrate through Merthyr Tydfil—the other defiant council in Wales—next Saturday afternoon against the Housing Commissioner who has also been installed at the local town hall.



COUNCILLOR STAN NIND... No control now over rents.

Fraud Squad

moves north

COMMANDER James Crane, head of Scotland Yard Fraud Squad, arrived in the north-east yesterday to begin his investigation into 50 councils said to be involved in the Pontefract-based Poulson empire.

In Pontefract four men have been committed for trial on charges of corruption relating to building contracts in Yorkshire and the north east.

They include the town's former mayor, Maurice Byrne (47), of Leeds.

Also accused are Brian Norman Woodcock (47), of Iretton, Derbyshire; Anthony Joseph Flannery (39), of Horsforth, near Leeds; and William Starling (44), of Barnsley.

They are to stand trial at Leeds crown court.

Byrne was committed on ten charges, Flannery on ten, Woodcock on two and Starling on nine.

These allege that being agents of Carlton Contractors Ltd (northern division), they corruptly accepted gifts in connection with giving contracts.

Flannery was also committed on a charge of acting as a director of Carlton Contractors when he was an undischarged bankrupt.

They have all been released on bail, but their passports have been confiscated.

The four men pleaded not guilty before Leeds magistrates last week.

White-collar difference over £400

BY WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

WHITE-COLLAR workers at Rolls-Royce headquarters in Derby staged a one-day protest strike yesterday over pay.

The 80 workers involved complain that their opposite numbers in the company's Scottish factories get £400 a year more for doing the same job.

Members of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, they want this anomaly ironed out, despite the Tories' pay-control law.

The company is resisting this demand. It blames the differential on wages being negotiated locally at its various factories.

In any case nothing can be done until the present phase of the pay law ends, Rolls claims.

Liverpool plea to London CAV plant

Don't do black work from occupied plant

THE OCCUPATION committee at CAV's Fazakerley plant, Liverpool, has appealed to workers throughout the giant combine not to undertake black work.

This follows news that the management is proposing to ask workers in other factories to make components normally made at Fazakerley.

The Liverpool works has been under occupation since October 9 last year when the management announced it was shutting down and making 1,000 men and women redundant.

The committee is also stepping up its picketing activities on Merseyside. Strong contingents were out yesterday at the Ford and Standard Triumph car fac-

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

ories where workers are being asked to black all Lucas products.

A 24-hour picket is now being mounted at the Lucas Aerospace works in Broad Green, Liverpool.

Tomorrow the joint shop steward's committee at CAV's Acton plant in London may have to decide on whether to handle black work.

The management desperately needs plungers and barrels to be

manufactured at Acton which has the capacity and know-how to make them. Both components are normally made at Fazakerley.

The management's line is to tell the Acton committee that unless their request is met, further contracts will be lost. This could lead to the jeopardizing of the £2m expansion plan at Acton.

Since the 14-week occupation began the Fazakerley workers have received strong financial support from Merseyside engineering factories and there is a complete ban on blacked goods at Vauxhall's at Ellesmere Port. Lucas drivers in the Midlands

have refused to run any consignments normally handled by laid off drivers from Fazakerley.

Shop stewards on the docks and at the two picketed car plants have so far dragged their feet on the occupation committee's call for blacking action.

At a recent demonstration against the fining of the AUEW by the National Industrial Relations Court, engineers' convenor Dave Martin said:

'We can't win this struggle on our own. We must have the support of every trade union organization, every political party. Without that solidarity we will be defeated.'

Meat: Dock moves to keep trade

SOUTH AMERICAN meat shippers are expected to reply this week to speed-up proposals which are designed to keep their trade in London docks.

London representatives of the four shipping lines in the South American conference are consulting their principals in Buenos Aires about the proposals.

These were put forward at a meeting between union officials, the Port of London Authority and Thames Stevedoring Ltd, the firm which handles the trade in the Royal docks, last week.

They include the reopening of No 4 berth at the Royal Victoria dock. All parties to the talks agreed this might achieve the substantial increase in output which the lines are demanding.

Another proposal under discussion is a PLA takeover of Thames.

Natural gas kills 11,000 jobs

ABOUT 11,000 workers stand to lose their jobs by 1977 when all Britain's town gas plants will have stopped production. That is the date when conversion to natural gas will be completed.

In some areas the closures will come earlier.

In the north-west, for example, the conversion programme will

be completed by 1975. Five major plants employing 1,100 production workers will close—including Warrington and Partington which went into production only in 1968 and cost £15m and £18m respectively.

The run-down has already begun and many men will lose their jobs in April and May this year. The figures are: Partington (117), Bradford Road, Manchester (30), Warrington (61), Linacre, Liverpool (36), Lostock Hall, Preston (17).

A plant employing 44 men at Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, will close in October.

Mr Jack Wilkinson, the General and Municipal Workers' Union official representing most of the north-west gasworkers, said:

'We are now negotiating for an improved severance-redundancy agreement. The production workers are highly-skilled men, but could have great difficulty finding alternative work.'

Campus crippled

A ONE-DAY strike against the Tory pay law crippled large sections of the administration at Warwick University yesterday.

The 270 weekly-paid staff at the university struck claiming they should have had a £2.40 per week increase agreed for local authority workers within a few hours of the law being announced in November.


Catering facilities, the campus bus service and mail distribution were hit. The university authorities claimed there was no agreement that the workers concerned were classified as local authority workers.

Dial Europe 50p.c. easier

A MAJOR extension to Britain's largest international telex exchange, St Botolph, in the City of London, which came into service yesterday, will enable 50 per cent more customer-dialled calls to countries outside Europe. It should be fully operational within a month. Automatic calls to countries outside Europe have increased by 62 per cent in the past year to over 100,000 a week.

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Left: General MacArthur and President Truman, on Wake Island in October 1950 after the special conference where they decided to invade North Korea.

KOREA: 2½ MILLION CASUALTIES

PART TWO ON TRUMAN AND THE KOREAN WAR BY JACK GALE

There is considerable support for the North Korean claim that three attacks across the border were made by South Korean forces and that the invasion of the south in June 1950 followed the repelling of these raids.

Normally, the direct observation of the border on the 38th parallel by United Nations military observers would have provided witnesses of what actually happened.

But these observers were withdrawn 48 hours before the conflict flared up.

And the first reports to reach General MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo reported not an attack by the north on the south, but one by the south on the north.

Syngman Rhee himself had boasted as recently as October 1949: 'If we had our own way we would have started up already. We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang within a few days.'

Both his and American governments felt the south would easily win any war. US intelligence services were to report a month after the war started that when it began the North Koreans had only six divisions ready for combat, although plans for any outbreak of war were based on 13-15 divisions.

The South Korean army was 100,000 strong, was regarded as the best in Asia, and was backed up by US might.

By contrast, the North Koreans were receiving and continued to receive totally inadequate support from the Soviet Union.

A Russian defector, Colonel Cyril Dimitrievich Kalinov, revealed in 1949 that the Korean Communist Party's Central Committee had appealed to the Russian Politbureau for an air force and had been refused 'for political reasons'.

Kalinov had been a member of the Russian military mission in North Korea and at the time of his revelations the western powers were anxious to prove that the North Korean military forces were being built up and strength-

ened by the Russians. They had no possible interest in spreading stories to the contrary.

But in reality, the lack of support for the North Koreans from Russia carried on into the war period.

On July 7, 1950, the 'New York Times' military commentator Hanson Baldwin reported 'encouraging signs that the Soviet Union is strictly limiting its commitments to North Korea'.

A briefing session of MacArthur's intelligence staff on July 26 reported that North Korean tank losses were not being replaced by further Soviet supplies.

WEAPONS SHORTAGES

A report to the 'New York Times' from Tokyo revealed that weapons captured included World War I rifles but no post-war Russian weapons.

Within one month of the outbreak of hostilities the North Koreans were suffering enormous shortages of men and supplies. Some captured North Korean soldiers had received only four days' training before being sent into the front line.

There is no doubt that had such help been forthcoming, the Americans would have been driven into the sea. At the decisive Battle of the Beachhead—which would have brought total victory to the north—the Americans discovered the North Koreans had no artillery. They were equipped only with mortars, machine guns and small arms.

It was this criminal treachery of the Stalinists which enabled MacArthur's forces to hang on and subsequently to drive back to the 38th Parallel and beyond to the very borders of China.

Nothing illustrates better than the Korean war that Lenin's description of the League of Nations as a 'Thieves' Kitchen' applied equally forcefully to the United Nations.

It simply rubber-stamped every action of American imperialism—usually after the event. Truman authorized

American intervention in the war on June 27. The United Nations endorsed the action on the following day.

On July 1 Truman authorized the bombing of North Korea, a naval blockade of the entire Korean coast (the Russians refused a Korean request for submarines to combat this) and the use of American ground troops under General MacArthur.

On July 7 a United Nations resolution—moved by Britain and France—endorsed this and agreed to 'make forces and other assistance available to a unified command under the United States'.

And on the day the United Nations placed its forces under this command, President Truman authorized compulsory enlistment in the United States for whatever manpower might be needed in the war.

There is no doubt that General Douglas MacArthur wanted to launch World War III. All the bourgeois obituaries of Truman made great play of his 'courage' in sacking MacArthur. But it was Truman who authorized the crossing of the 38th Parallel into the north. It was Truman who authorized MacArthur to demand unconditional surrender from the North Koreans.

And this was well after MacArthur's views were widely known. As early as August 1950 MacArthur told Truman's special emissary W. Averell Harriman: 'The United States ought to take a vigorous position against communism everywhere in Asia and Korea ought not to be an isolated case.'

Yet on August 17 a flight of American B29s—with Truman's authorization—launched a 500-ton bombing raid on Rashin, 17 miles from the Siberian border.

On August 26 MacArthur called for the 'defence' of Formosa so that the United States could 'dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore'. This statement was followed by the first bombings on Chinese territory.

MacArthur's supporters were equally vociferous in

the United States.

On August 25 Secretary of the Navy Francis P. Matthews—a prominent Catholic layman—called in Boston for a preventive war, claiming that this would 'cast us in a character new to a true democracy—an initiator of a war of aggression... the first aggressors for peace'.

On August 26, George N. Craig, national commander of the American Legion (to which Truman belonged) said that the USA should tell Moscow that any 'further aggression' by its 'satellites' would be 'the signal for our bombers to wing their way toward Moscow'.

The 'Pilot', organ of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston, declared on September 1 that offensive wars were moral under certain conditions and that a preventive war against Russia might be necessary.

Yet Truman kept MacArthur in command and, after a special conference with him on Wake Island, authorized him to invade North Korea. Truman was afraid of MacArthur's determination to spark off a full world war but he shared his hostility to peace in Korea.

PRESSURE FOR FREE ELECTIONS

There was a very good political reason for this. There would have been enormous pressure for free elections throughout Korea had the war been ended instead of MacArthur advancing north. Syngman Rhee did not have a hope in hell of winning such elections, despite his refined electioneering methods—threats to confiscate the rice ration cards of people who refused to vote for his candidate was one of the mildest.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States were publicly calling for all-Korean elections. But the catch was—who would supervise them? The US wanted this job to be in the hands of Syngman Rhee—who had just executed 1,200 communists and 'suspected' communists in South Korea.

Syngman Rhee's administration of such elections could

not be achieved and therefore the Americans decided to prolong the war and invade the north.

Free elections were unthinkable. Commenting on a plan for such elections, the 'New York Times' declared: 'Under this plan a unified Korea would go communist within four or five years... the United Nations could not prevent the establishment of communist governments if this took place by peaceful means.'

By the end of October 1950—having been authorized by Truman to advance within a few miles of the Chinese border on the Yalu River—MacArthur was approaching Manchuria. The battleship 'Missouri' bombarded Chongjin, only 50 miles from Siberia.

On November 25, the Chinese Red Army poured across the Yalu River. Truman and MacArthur had discussed this possibility and decided that the Chinese would not intervene and that even if they did they would be no match for MacArthur's forces.

In the event Mao's army turned out to have the best possible arms and equipment and was supported by ample air power.

It drove MacArthur's troops out of all the territory they had won in North Korea, pushed them out of Seoul and sent them reeling back across the 38th Parallel.

A desperate MacArthur called for the bombing of the mainland cities of China, an invasion of China from Formosa, and the use of atomic weapons.

All the bourgeois Press obituaries of Truman said that he dismissed MacArthur because the latter wanted all-out war. This is only partly true. MacArthur had made no secret of his desire for such a war from the beginning and Truman had not broken with him as long as an easy victory seemed likely.

Only after the victories of China's Red Army did Truman's fear of world war predominate.

The actual sacking of MacArthur in April 1951 was not over his line on the war, but because he lined up against Truman with the Republican minority leader in the House of Representatives, Joseph Martin.

He also gained the support of the two most powerful figures in the Republican Party—Herbert Hoover and Robert A. Taft.

On April 5, Martin read out in the House a letter from MacArthur declaring: 'There is no substitute for victory.'

What was involved here was an attempt by a military commander—in collusion with sections of the Republican Party—to challenge the right of the Democratic Party's civil authority to direct the war.

That was why Truman sacked MacArthur.

(MacArthur still had his supporters. Hoover described him as 'a reincarnation of St Paul'. When MacArthur addressed Congress an ecstatic Republican, Dewey Short, cried out that he had seen 'a great hunk of God in the flesh'.)

But the Americans could not win in Korea. They were helped off the hook by the Stalinists in June 1951 when the Russian delegate to the United Nations proposed an armistice.

Negotiations dragged on until June 27, 1953.

Truman's war cost the United States 30,000 dead and over 100,000 wounded and missing. South Korean casualties approached a million while North Korean and Chinese casualties were estimated at 1.5 million.

Korea—north and south alike—lay in ruins.

US OFFICIALS IN THE COLONELS' GREECE

The Greek military dictatorship which survives on a mixture of mass oppression and selective torture is supported 100 per cent by American imperialism.

But the colonels who head the junta are finding the friendship has its disadvantages. For one, the American officials tend to rub the colonels the wrong way. In true petty-bourgeois fashion the Greek dictators think a great deal about their ancient heritage—which they claim to represent.

But the Americans care little for such subtleties. At a recent party thrown in the US embassy to celebrate the Nixon victory the haughty Greek rulers were forced to eat hamburgers, popcorn and American sandwiches with their American masters. What is more they were forced to pay a \$1 a time for the food.

The officials also made it clear that they want little to do this the 'culture' they are supposed to be defending. They drive around in buses marked 'For Americans' only.

The American community has also brought financial hardship to the rich of Athens. The price of luxury flats has been driven up and there has been no compensating trade—the Americans prefer to buy their wares at the PX stores, duty-free.

There is also one interesting insight into what the US forces really think about the regime they are pledged to defend. Before they came to the colonels' Greece, they forced the junta to allow the withdrawal of any American citizen from the jurisdiction of a Greek court.

One Greek paper called this concession 'a mark of slaves more characteristic than their chains'.

FURTHER AUSTERITY PLANNED IN ALGERIA

Austerity for the masses and investment in heavy industry will be the key-note of the Algerian Four-Year Plan to begin in 1974.

The national bourgeoisie is ambitious to build up the economy and to exploit Algeria's natural resources, particularly gas and petroleum. Almost half of the investment envisaged in the plan will go into this sector.

It is planned to build a car factory and to expand the

capacity of the steel works at Annaba to 1.5 million tons.

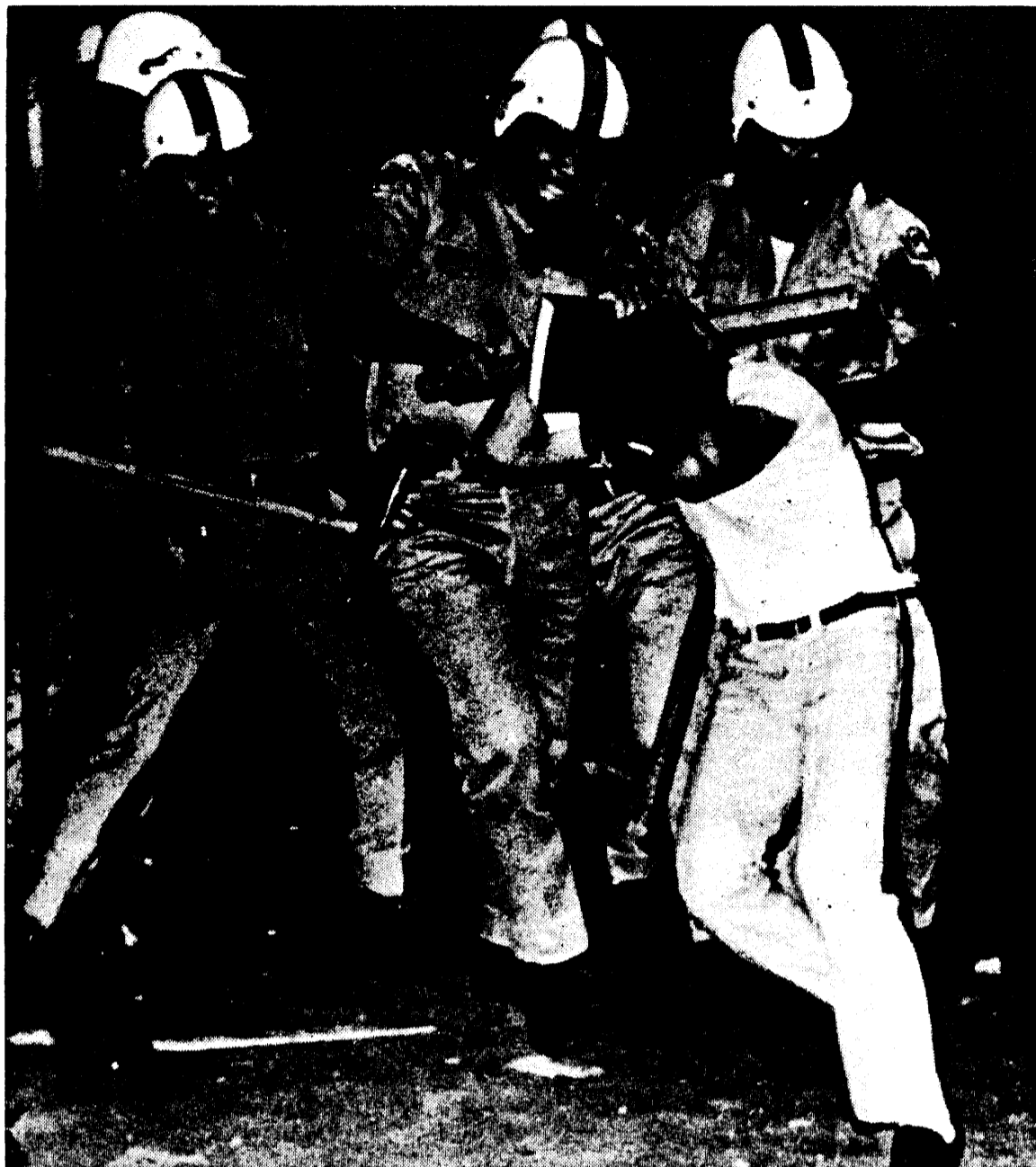
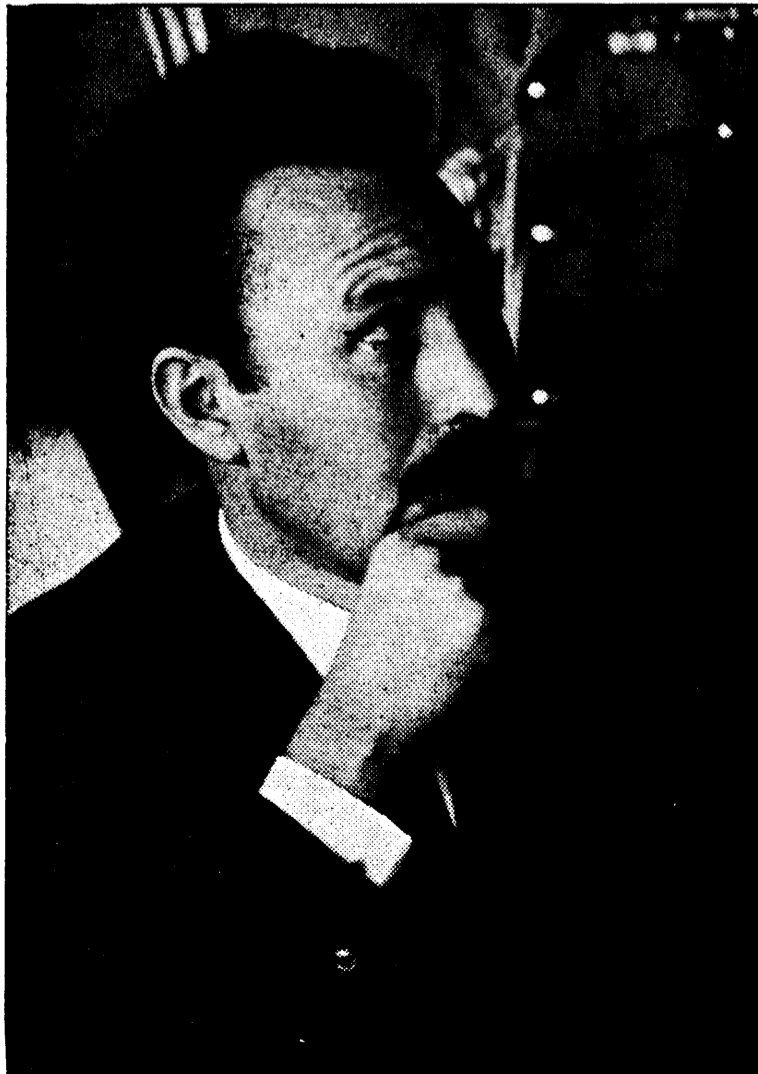
The Boumedienne regime is looking to the World Bank for financial help in carrying through these projects, as well as to private capital. Revenue from gas and petroleum sales, which make up 90 per cent of the country's exports, will be used to guarantee loans.

Despite the nationalization of French property, Algeria remains intimately dependent upon international capital. Without it the Plan has no chance of success.

In any case, chief administrator Kamel Abdallah-Khodja admits that if the Plan is to be realized, austerity will be necessary for some time to come. This will be nothing new for the Algerian masses whose age-old poverty has not been relieved by independence.

While the bourgeoisie makes its grandiose plans, agriculture remains backward and unemployment is rife. Algeria remains firmly tied to the imperialist world.

Below: Boumedienne, leader of the Algerian regime.



Repression on the streets of Manila. Under Marcos' constitution the army will hold all power.

ABSOLUTE POWER FOR PRESIDENT MARCOS

The Marcos regime in the Philippines, which has ruled for eight years, aims to consolidate itself as the result of a bogus plebiscite to be organized early this year.

A nationwide campaign is now in progress in support of a new constitution which, behind a smokescreen of propaganda about reform of government and a 'new society', will give President Ferdinand Marcos absolute powers. Under it he will temporarily assume the powers of president, prime minister and speaker of the new National Assembly.

Under the old constitution Marcos' presidential term would have automatically come to an end in December 1973 and he would have been ineligible for re-election.

The country is living under conditions of martial law imposed by the Marcos dictatorship to stamp out all opposition in preparation for the vote on the new constitution. Hundreds of oppositionists are in jail, most newspapers have been suppressed and only those expressing a government viewpoint are permitted to appear.

POSTPONED

Those being held include Liberal Party leader Senator Benigno Aquina and many politicians from Marcos' own Nacionalista Party. Only by mass arrests and pressure backed up by armed force could Marcos ensure the passage of the constitution by the constitutional convention.

The referendum on the new constitution, which was originally to have been held on January 15, has been postponed on the pretext that this will allow more time for debate. In fact the regime needs a

further period in order to condition the voters to give it their approval and to continue its repression of the opposition.

The first principle of Marcos' so-called 'new society' is that all power should be held by the army, which is equipped and backed by the United States. All democratic rights and liberties have been suppressed; strikes and picketing are prohibited; meetings and demonstrations are banned.

Curfews have been imposed in Manila and other towns which obstruct the movement of people and gives the army greater control of the streets. Soldiers commit crimes and exactions against the civilian population with impunity both during and outside the curfew.

The Marcos dictatorship is the guarantor of the investments of American imperialism in the Philippines. It is based on the support of the local big bourgeoisie and landlord class which ruthlessly exploit the masses of the population who live in poverty.

Poverty and unemployment has forced tens of thousands of Filipino workers to emigrate to the United States and other countries. Women and girls are coming to Britain as a supply of cheap, skilled labour for the 'rag trade' and the employers are crying out for more.

The regime is carrying out a campaign of unbridled terror against the peasant masses accused of supporting the Maoist New People's Army and other guerrilla movements which are strong in a number of places. Guerrilla war has been raging in parts of Luzon on and off since the time of the Japanese occupation.

The big increase in the military budget in recent years has been required in order to equip the armed forces to take on the guerrilla fighters with their roots in the people. The army now numbers over 65,000 men and is the principal arm

of the dictatorship.

An even larger and better equipped army will be necessary to carry on what amounts to a permanent civil war against a large part of the population. The dictatorship will have to be made still more stringent, attacks will have to be made against the living standards of the middle class as well as the workers and peasants. Taxes will have to be raised to meet rising military expenditure and to repay loans from US capitalists.

PUPPET

Despite the appearances of national independence and sovereignty, the Philippines remains a colony of US imperialism and Marcos is a classic puppet ruler.

The Nixon administration fully backs the Marcos regime which it sees as a barrier to revolution in the Pacific.

The US maintains important military bases in the archipelago which makes up the Philippines, a vital strategic post for the domination of Asia.

US investments receive privileged treatment and profits can be repatriated to the US without difficulty. US goods find a ready market.

Meanwhile Marcos and the big families who dominate the economy wax rich, acquire more stockholdings and take over more of the land.

The increasingly flagrant contrast between the luxury living of the ruling clique and the poverty and hardship of the peasants and workers feeds the anger of the masses.

The result of the plebiscite, which under conditions of police and army terror is a foregone conclusion, will do nothing to stem the rising tide of popular anger and the growing support for the guerrilla movements.

CASE OF THE 'BLACK POWER LEADER' AND THE EXTREME RIGHT-WING

BY CHARLES PARKINS

Around some streets in Manchester, as in some other cities, you can still find their slogans scrawled on walls—slogans like 'Support South Africa'... or 'Stop Immigration' or sometimes just 'Niggers Out'—invariably accompanied by the identifying trademark of the lightning flash in the circle.

Sometimes as a slogan they just use the one name 'Mosley'. The slogans are those used by supporters of Sir Oswald Mosley's 'Union Movement'—before the war it was the 'British Union of Fascists'—which since the 1950s has made a tactical shift away from its previous anti-Jewish emphasis to concentrate instead on the coloured immigrants.

With the ageing of Mosley, the movement has lost some of its limelight and supporters to the more active and apparently better-financed right-wing extremists of the National Front. But Mosley 'Boys' are still around. It was one of them, Danny Harmston, who led the Smithfield porters' anti-immigrant march last year. He also stood as a Mosleyite candidate in the Uxbridge by-election.

From the slogans they use, it would seem preposterous to find a connection between supporters of the Mosleyite movement and 'Black Power' advocates.

But clear evidence exists that a man who boasted about being a 'Black Power leader' was connected behind the scenes with people who associated with known Mosley supporters.

STABBED

The man concerned, who died last September in Manchester, was Enos Trevor Beach.

On December 15, at a Manchester court, Beach's wife Maureen was found not guilty of the murder by stabbing of her husband. The court had been told that on the evening of September 25, after Beach had been drinking, there was a row between them at their home in Yarmouth Drive, Wythenshawe. It led to a fight.

Beach was accidentally stabbed as he pulled his wife towards him by the hair, while she had a knife in her hand which she had taken from him. Apparently there had been previous rows over Beach's drinking and gambling, and on one occasion Mrs Beach had to have stitches in a head wound after Beach had kicked her.

Beach's death was big news last September. 'BLACK POWER CHIEF STABBED TO DEATH' was the headline on the front page of the 'Manchester Evening News' on September 26. The story also

made the front page of the 'Daily Mirror' and was reported in other papers. In each report in the capitalist Press, Beach was boosted as a 'Black Power leader'.

I met Enos Trevor Beach towards the end of 1969, when he was living at a house in the Moss Side area of Manchester. In a bed-sitting room decorated with 'Black Panther' and other posters, he offered me a glass of rum and I asked him some questions about the sort of 'Black Power' and 'community action'-type politics he was supposed to be involved in.

My initial curiosity had been aroused by a previous encounter with a man associated with Beach, a young white man called Anthony King.

It was around Christmas time, and I had been sitting in a Manchester pub with a friend when King came around with a collecting-tin asking for money. My friend recognized him as someone he had known at school, so we got into conversation.

I asked what the collection was in aid of, and King said something about 'helping old people'. I told him that I thought this could only be done through political action and not through charity. Whereupon King announced that actually, the organization he was working for, was political.

He revealed he was collecting for something called 'Campaign for Action for the Relief of Need', which in turn was connected with an organization called the 'National Freedom Movement'.

There were a number of points about this encounter which made me curious. One was that King had seemed a little too vague about just how his fund-raising would 'help old people' and had not mentioned politics until after I raised it.

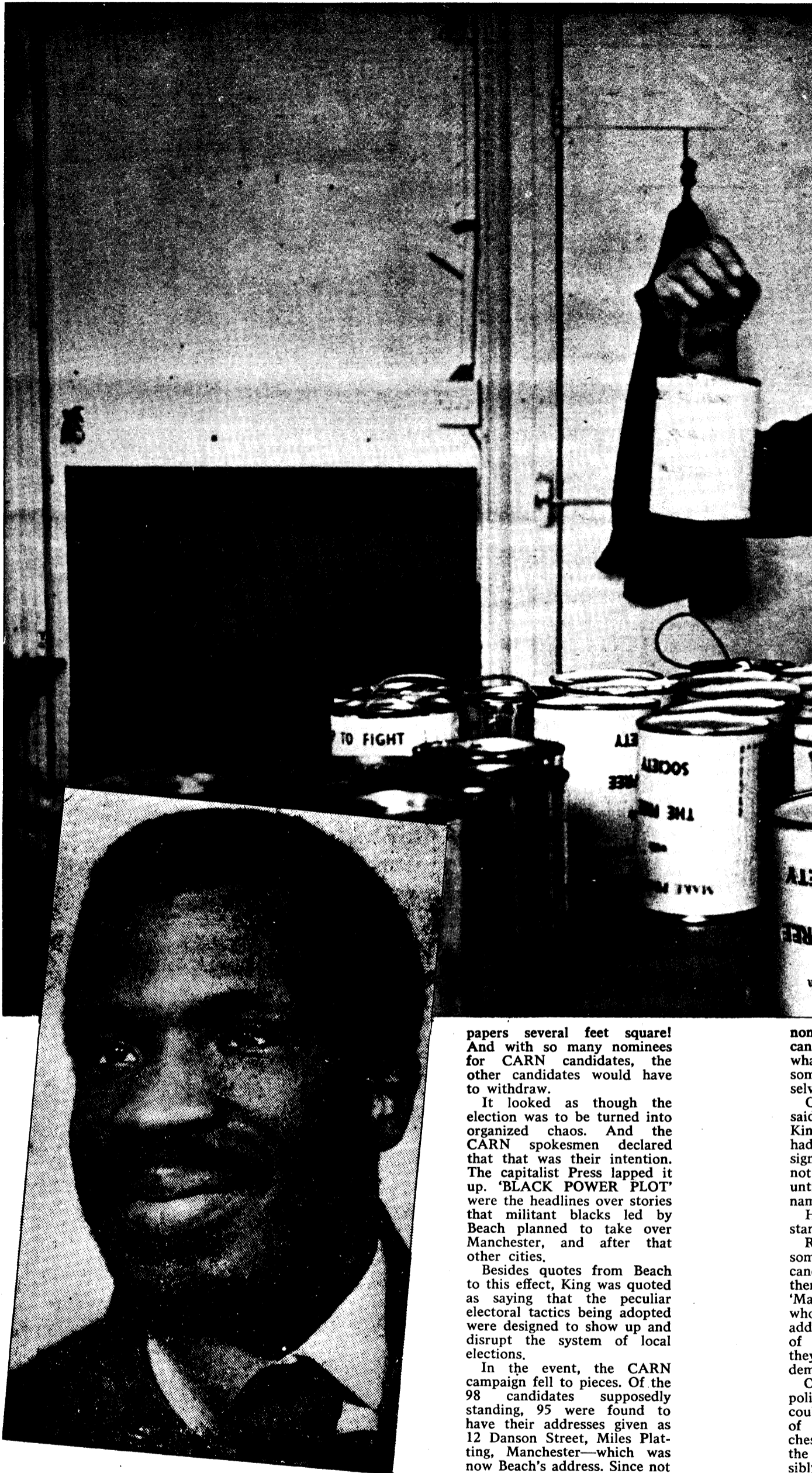
The second point was that even then, he seemed unforthcoming about the political aims of this 'National Freedom Movement'. Furthermore, he was unable to offer me any leaflets, papers or other material representing the views or activities of this movement.

I paid a visit to the Moss Side address used by King to find out more about this 'National Freedom Movement'.

King being out, the person who I met was a West Indian, Enos Beach. It seemed that both he and King were living at this address, both were unemployed, and they were both spending their time working for the 'Campaign for Action for the Relief of Need'.

Beach told me that they intended to take up problems of the people in the area and to encourage 'community action' in support of them. He said he was interested in movements such as the Panthers in the United States and that he would be particularly involved in organizing black people in the Moss Side area.

Once again, he had no publications to show me, not even so much as a duplicated leaflet



Enos Beach. Above: Mrs Stephanie Harris who was described as secretary of The Free Society shows collecting boxes used by the society to raise money. For a time the London branch of CARN and the Free Society used offices in Colebrooke Row, North London.

setting out the movement's views. In fact, Beach admitted that, to date, their only activities had been to collect funds.

But in May 1970, Campaign for Action for the Relief of Need (CARN) appeared on the political scene in Manchester with a surprising intervention in the municipal elections. No less than 19 candidates were fielded. None of them got many votes—the highest vote they got in one ward was 54.

Their big stunt was to come

in September that year. There was to be a municipal by-election in the St Peter's ward of the city. CARN announced that it would contest it. Not one, but 98 nomination papers were handed in! Beach was just one of the candidates.

Altogether, some 984 nominees were named for the CARN candidates—more people than had actually voted in the ward in the previous election! The electors, it seemed, would have found themselves facing ballot

papers several feet square! And with so many nominees for CARN candidates, the other candidates would have to withdraw.

It looked as though the election was to be turned into organized chaos. And the CARN spokesmen declared that that was their intention. The capitalist Press lapped it up. 'BLACK POWER PLOT' were the headlines over stories that militant blacks led by Beach planned to take over Manchester, and after that other cities.

Besides quotes from Beach to this effect, King was quoted as saying that the peculiar electoral tactics being adopted were designed to show up and disrupt the system of local elections.

In the event, the CARN campaign fell to pieces. Of the 98 candidates supposedly standing, 95 were found to have their addresses given as 12 Danson Street, Miles Platting, Manchester—which was now Beach's address. Since not even in the worst districts of Manchester is overcrowding that bad, these were not regarded as genuine!

Eventually, after all but Beach's own nomination had been declared invalid, Mr Tony King announced that Beach would withdraw his own nomination.

On September 10, 1970, it was reported that Beach had withdrawn.

The 'Ninety-five-in-one-house' bit was not the only strange thing about the CARN electoral intervention. It appeared that among the large number of electors who were supposed to have signed

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nomination papers for CARN candidates, few had any idea what they had signed. In fact, some of the 'candidates' themselves were equally bewildered!

One man, a garage worker, said he had been working when King, who he knew vaguely, had approached him for his signature on a form. He had not realized what it was about until he later saw himself named as an election candidate!

He had no intention of standing.

Reporters who tried to find some of the other CARN candidates could not trace them. Norman Jackson, of the 'Manchester Evening News', who was given a list of addresses by Beach, supposedly of CARN supporters, found they were all houses due for demolition and empty.

Obviously such a ridiculous political goon-show as this could hardly serve the interests of black workers in Manchester. The only effect that the CARN tactics could possibly have was to create confusion, and by the publicity they got, contribute to splitting black and white workers, and exciting anti-immigrant hostility among the whites.

PUBLICITY

Whatever Beach and King intended, the purpose their activities could actually serve was that of the Powellites and other anti-immigrant groups. And, of course, the capitalist Press saw to it that they got plenty of publicity.

Without bothering to find

out whether CARN actually had any followers, the Tory national Press always referred to Beach as a 'black leader'.

At the time of its September 1970 election episode, there were rumours that Tony King had contacts with 'fascist' groups. King himself was reported to have said that he did know the local fascists, and that 'they thought they could use him, but he was actually using them'.

A reporter from the 'Manchester Evening News' who went to see King at the house in Miles Platting where he was living with Beach, asked King whether he was, as had been alleged, really working for extreme right-wing aims. According to him, King, who described himself as a full-time organizer for the National Freedom Movement, rejected the accusation, and declared: 'I am a militant left-winger.' He claimed that he was to the left of the Communist Party, because he believed that there could not be a revolution without bloodshed. ('Manchester Evening News', September 7, 1970.)

The 'Evening News' reporter then asked King about his connection with a known supporter of Mosley's Union Movement.

'I use Walter Hesketh to supply me with information, the same as I would get it from anyone of hundreds of other people I use,' replied King. 'After all, it is several years since he was connected with the Union Movement as a paid organizer.'

Hesketh, an ex-policeman, is a former Mosleyite candidate for the Moss Side division in

the General Election. He was also involved with 'Fellowship and Service', through raising funds and through his position as head of the Young Britain Movement, a Mosleyite youth organization.

In actual fact, the connection between King and Hesketh has been a good deal closer than King's remarks in 1970 might suggest.

About a year ago, a number of young people answered newspaper advertisements asking for collectors for a fund-raising appeal called the National Welfare and Housing Society.

Those who were recruited received collecting tins and were told to send the money they collected to the Society's office in Manchester. Last June, the two organizers of this so-called 'National Welfare and Housing Society' appeared in court at Stockport, Cheshire, and were subsequently sent for trial at the Crown Court, accused of promoting an unlawful lottery.

The accused were Walter Hesketh, of Carnforth Road, Heaton Moor, Stockport, and Anthony William John King, of Duncombe Street, Moston.

Charges of defrauding the public were dismissed.

Both of the charges arose from the sale of lottery tickets and the collection of donations for the 'National Welfare and Housing Society', which was not a registered charity.

It was stated in court that collectors recruited from newspaper advertisements had been told they could keep some of the money they collected for themselves.

A 15-year-old boy said that

he had been told he could keep one-third of the money he collected. A young London housewife, Mrs Smith from Wimbledon, said she had collected over £200 after answering the advertisement. She said she had been under the impression that the money was to be used to help old people's homes. A man who had been recruited as an organizer for the Society's fund-raising told the court that he had resigned, because after being advised to ask for a statement of accounts, he was unable to obtain one.

Mr Cecil Franks, prosecuting, said there was evidence that the 'National Welfare and Housing Society' was a subsidiary of the National Freedom Movement.

CONNECTION

Readers can draw their own conclusions from the close working relationship between the one-time Mosleyite candidate Hesketh and the 'Black Power' promoter and 'left-winger' King.

Two things remain to be said. The first concerns the capitalist Press. Whenever the Tory papers referred to Beach, they proclaimed him as a 'Black Power leader'. It has, of course, become their common practise to boost obscure, way-out characters in this way, regardless of whether they are really leading anything or anybody, in order to give a completely wrong impression. Their aim in this should be obvious.

But in the Beach case there is something else involved. All the facts I have cited in this article about connections with the extreme right could have been obtained by the reporters for the national Press.

Indeed, if they had devoted a tiny fraction of the energy they expand on witch-hunting left-wing organizations and trade union militants into looking into these right-wing connections, then undoubtedly with the time and resources they have, they could have exposed the whole ramifications of this affair.

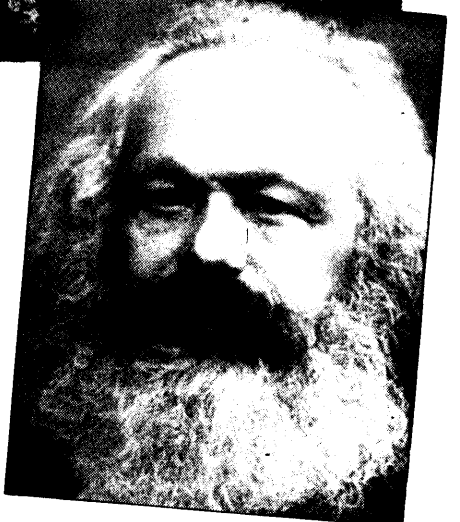
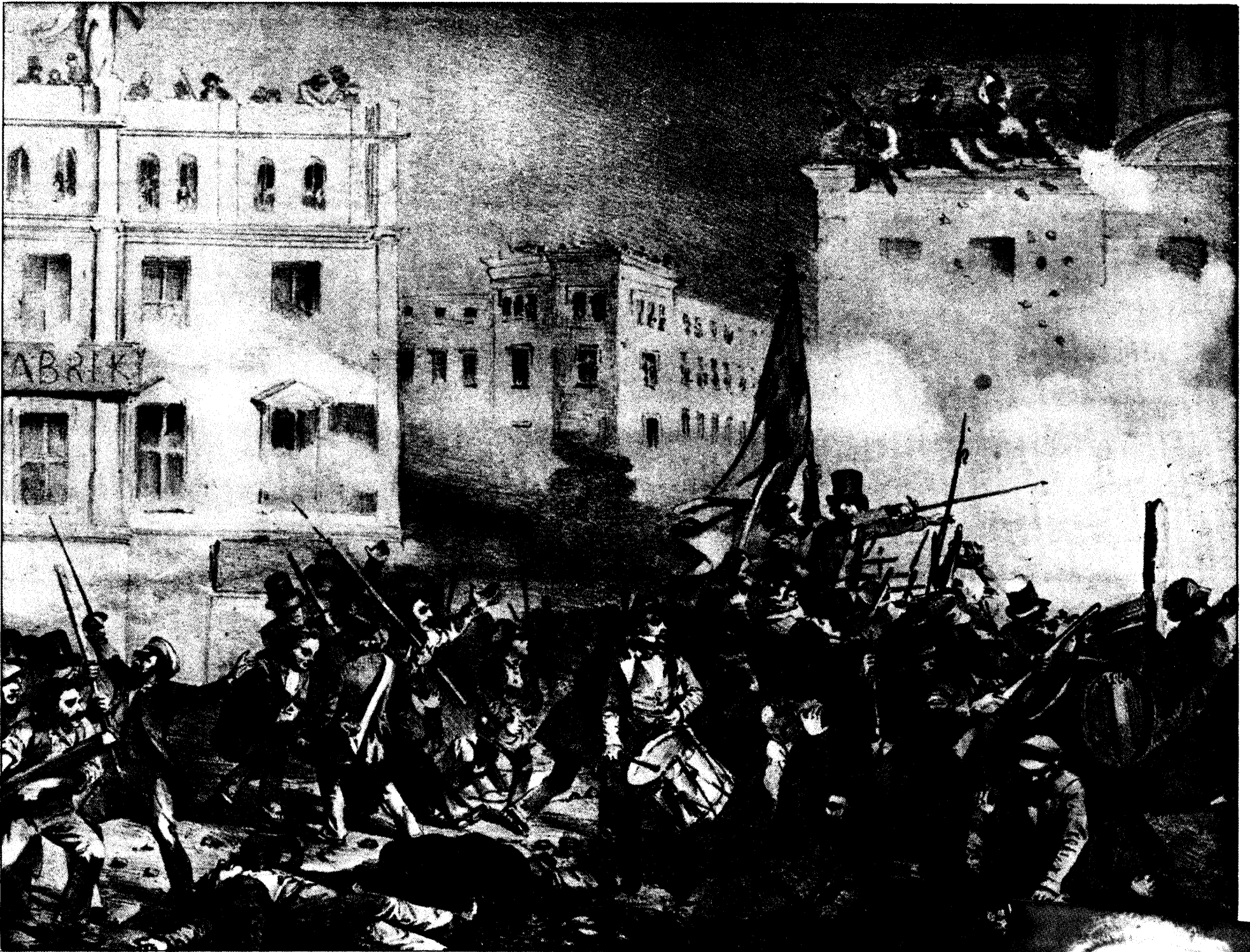
Yet, except for the odd snippet in the Manchester local Press and one mention in 'The Guardian', not one of the capitalist papers which gave Beach headline coverage has printed as much as a word about the right-wing connection.

The second, and final thing to say is that this story is recounted not simply as an interesting tale.

We have now entered a period when provocations and stunts and undercover schemes by the forces of the extreme right and by the secret services of law and order are very much to be expected.

The working class and the left must be on guard. The kind of atmosphere which flourishes around loose 'protest' groups and publicity-seekers eager to talk to the capitalist Press is precisely the sort of atmosphere in which infiltrators and provocateurs can best do their dirty work.

An alert labour movement, with a revolutionary party and its Press at the centre of this alertness, can deal with them.

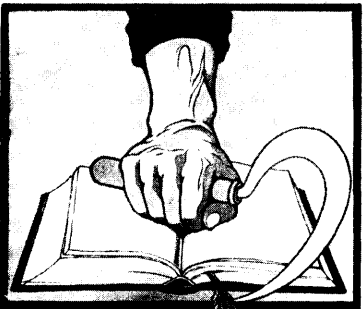


Marx—'The existence of revolutionary ideas in a particular period presupposes the existence of a revolutionary class.' Above: The March, 1848 revolution in Berlin.

A BOOK WITHOUT DEPTH

REVIEW BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

BOOK REVIEW



'From Alienation to Surplus Value'. By Paul Walton and Andrew Gamble. Sheed and Ward, £5.50.

This book, which won for its writers the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize for 1972, seems to aim to be a number of different things at the same time.

It details the fact that two young academics have found that they can understand and re-present some basic ideas in the writings of Marx. But it confuses these few ideas hopelessly because they are taken separately from other fundamental ideas of Marxism and from the 125 years of revolutionary practice of Marxism.

It then attempts to answer others, like Marcuse and Althusser, who have revised Marx out of recognition.

But it lacks the theoretical breadth and depth to do this. The best that can be said is that its authors appear to have begun some preliminary ground-work as students of Marx; if they were to keep

working hard for a year or two, participate in and study the workers' movement through revolutionary activity, and devote themselves to some branch of scientific study, they might produce a useful book.

It is very difficult to understand why they want to get into print at this elementary and confused stage. But since they do, and since the 'New Left' professional confusionists give them the accolade, their confusions had best be answered.

If the authors were ready to tackle the modern revisers of Marxism, and the opportunistic politics to which they give rise, from the standpoint of Marx's basic theory of value, as they appear to be groping towards, that would be excellent. Having said that, we must turn to criticism.

At the source of the confusion lies the following claim (p. 18):

The peculiar structural position of the intellectual frees his consciousness from the determinations that pervade the universe for the alienated producer. The intellectual can therefore choose whether to become an abstraction of alienated man establishing himself as a measure of that alienation, or a philosopher of the ruling class, who makes it his 'chief source of livelihood to develop and perfect the illusions of the class itself. The former will be acting as a **dereifying agent**, the latter as an **ideologist**'.

This suggests that Marxism, as a theory, is simply 'an abstraction of alienated man . . . a measure of that aliena-

tion' (whatever that may mean), and that the role of this theory is to 'dereify' the thinking of those who read it, i.e. to clear away the mists of 'reification' placed in men's minds by capitalist ideology.

This Utopian idealism is repeated in the author's talks about 'helping conditions where species-being can be realized (p. 21.)

In the first place, Marxism is not a reflection of the interests and experience of the working class and its alienation, but a comprehension of all those things through the development of the most advanced ideas developed (in bourgeois society) in philosophy, politics (history), and political economy.

Within and through the class-orientated (i.e. relative to its own class and time) thought of any particular stage of social development, there is the growth of objective human knowledge. The development goes off at all sorts of tangents, idealist and even obscurantist, but the development is there nonetheless.

Marxism itself must be seen in this dialectical way. It could arise only at a certain historic juncture, but it is not simply a reflection of that juncture.

The existence of the proletariat in Marx's day had a very specific relation to the origins of his revolutionary theory, which, of course, had nothing to do with the intellectual's 'peculiar structural position' (a sociological myth cultivated by Alfred Weber and Karl Mannheim, conscious opponents of Marxism).

Until the second quarter of the 19th century, capitalist political economy could exist and develop as a science, and could even analyse the division of national income between the classes (Ricardo). But it ceased to be so, and became an apology for capitalism, obscuring its real relations, when the working class, from being merely a class by definition of its exploited position, with only scattered manifestations of coming together as a class to fight the bourgeoisie, began to organize, unite and express its independent interests as part of the national life of the bourgeois powers.

At that point (after 1830 or so) only bourgeois thinkers able to go beyond their own class standpoint and grasp the historical process as a whole, synthesizing the most advanced developments in philosophy and history as well as economics, could go outside and beyond the trap of ideology. It was Marx and Engels who did this.

Walton and Gamble appear to think that it was all a matter of Marx's arriving at a new definition of man—man as producer—and then rethinking everything from the standpoint of the 'dialectics of labour'.

They ignore the central question: Marx and Engels did not, as the authors think, 'combine Hegel's concept of teleology [purpose] with Feuerbach's humanism' (p. 9). They brought French socialism, the political movement and thinking of the working class, into a conflicting unity with English political economy and the

Hegelian dialectic.

Hegel's contribution was not simply to work out a 'teleology', but to establish (even if 'upside down') a truly historical and dialectical (contradictory, negative) view of the unity of the natural and social-historical process.

The possibility of Marx arriving at his revolutionary synthesis is no mystery. 'The existence of revolutionary ideas in a particular period presupposes the existence of a revolutionary class'; ('The German Ideology'); capitalism's own development, besides every day 'manufacturing' alienated consciousness, produces this class and its revolutionary needs.

The role of revolutionary ideas is not to 'dereify' thinking, but to become the consciousness of this revolutionary class through a political struggle against its existing consciousness. This struggle takes place only in and through the leading of the working class against the bourgeoisie.

The authors of this book ignore this unity and conflict of theory and practice, even though, from time to time, they hail it from a safe dis-

tance. In the whole book—which is supposed to show us the relevance of Marx's political economy today—Lenin's 'Imperialism' and Trotsky's 'Permanent Revolution' the two fundamental developments of Marxist theory in the fight against 20th century capitalism in the epoch of proletarian revolution, are not even mentioned!

Stalinism somehow never happened. Rather than Lenin, Trotsky and the revolutionary movement, the authors seem to know about something called 'sophisticated Marxism' (p. 92).

It is true, of course, that many, many of the fashionable criticisms of Marxism can be dismissed simply by referring to what Marx actually wrote, instead of to the myths about what he wrote. Walton and Gamble seem to see themselves as inheritors of this 'real Marx'. Two things need to be said about this.

First of all, Marxism exists today, and has developed, because it has been fought for against revisionism, in the course of the work of revolutionists striving to lead the working class to the conquest of power.

Trotsky and the Fourth International, in struggle against Stalinism, represent the only tradition of this struggle. There is no understanding or developing Marxism except from the standpoint of its own real struggle for life. It is not a magic 'dereifying' spell to be discovered by scholars who happen to be 'sophisticated' enough . . .

Secondly, Walton and Gamble make numerous errors in their own reading of Marx, some of which we have dealt with already, and others of which are equally disastrous for a real understanding of Marx's fundamental ideas. In particular the confusion of 'labour' and 'labour-power' which recurs (pp. 36, 97, 209 etc.) again and again, despite their definition being correctly stated in other places.

At the risk of appearing 'unsophisticated', we will point out that Marx himself, besides the definitions of his political economy quoted by Walton and Gamble, wrote that his doctrine was distinguished above all by his theory that the class struggle was located in definite stages of development of the productive forces, that it issued, under capitalism, in the rule of the working class, and that this would give way to a classless society.

This historical, political, revolutionary essence of Marxism is not exhausted by the formula 'the dialectics of labour'. It will not do simply to insist that Marx's mature theories do not contradict his earlier basic assumptions.

The essential question is the relation between the development of the theory and the real world of the class struggle with which it dealt. Out of the fight to realize the historical mission of the proletariat came new attacks on Marxism, new defences of capitalism, new developments of theory.

Walton and Gamble want to be able to answer the critics of Marxism, however, from a purely scholarly standpoint. Whether they like it or not, they end up in the position of Althusser and his 'theoretical practice', and not of Marx's 'revolutionary practice'.

Our 'sophisticated Marxists' have discovered—with some foundation, and certainly correctly as against the vulgar theorists of 'the end of revolution'—that modern capitalism is economically at the height of its contradictions, with enormous revolutionary potential.

But they are unable to give this glimmering (from the 'Grundrisse') any real weight or direction because, like the ideologists described in the Communist Manifesto, they treat the class struggle itself, its real historical development,



Feuerbach and Hegel (above). Marx and Engels did not 'combine Hegel's concept of teleology (purpose) with Feuerbach's humanism' as Walton and Gamble, the authors of the book, think.

'with transcendental disdain'.

If, as they say, the productive forces are now rotten-ripe for socialism, then why no socialist revolution. The authors turn their backs on the fundamental thesis that 'the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership'. Because they will not go near this problem, Walton and Gamble put forward the idea, without any attempt to demonstrate it, that only now does capitalist society come fully into contradiction with the further development of the productive forces.

With a stroke of the pen they wipe out three generations of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, and this absolves from responsibility the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists who have betrayed the working class, and whose defeat is a precondition of proletarian victory.

(Only now are the relations of production turning "from forms of development of the productive forces . . . into their fetters".) (p. 212.)

This thesis renders the whole final chapter 'The Relevance of Marxism for the Present' negative. To conclude in this day and age that 'the proletarian revolution is still a possible outcome of history' is to reduce oneself to being the mouthpiece of some desperate idealistic hope of a disillusioned middle-class intelligentsia. This is the very opposite of the Marxist position on the relation between theory and the revolutionary movement.

The chapter 'Engels and Scientific Marxism' is no better than the rest. Once again our authors see themselves as men who have rescued the 'real' Marxism from the 'great damage' done it by lesser, more simple minds like . . . Frederick Engels! (p. 75).

They begin by quoting Lukacs at length against Engels.

Lukacs. ('History and Class Consciousness') was at pains to point out that the only reality is the relation between subject and object, and all the categories of thought, like dialectics, are derived from this relation. This was a conscious rejection of materialism, which sees ideas as a reflection of the movement of matter, of external reality.

But Lukacs was here rejecting Marx, and not only Engels! In this, as in every single theoretical question, Marx and Engels collaborated closely and had an identity of views all their lives.

The popularizing works of Engels, so often attacked by revisionists, were always read and approved by Marx, and often based on his notes. A large number of works were jointly written. It is nonsense to suppose that a fundamental difference between the two men would not have come through on a whole host of questions.

For two intellectual giants like these, who strove always to give practical expression to every one of their ideas, it would be unthinkable for such differences to lie dormant. Not a single one of the 'criticisms' raised against Engels in this book is worth answering, derived as they are from either misunderstanding or sheer ignorance of Engels' work.

If the authors of this book pursue their apparent interest in Marx's actual work, if they can get rid of the overwhelming conviction of their own mastery of theory, and if they take the present unprecedented historical opportunity of studying and working in the revolutionary movement, they will soon wish they had not published this book, and that they had not been offered the 'kiss of death' from the trustees of the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

NEVER-NEVER REWARD

Some of the more far-sighted economists are a little uneasy about the spending boom that occurred over Christmas and New Year. Now the big stores have got down to counting the money in their tills, one major factor on the spree has emerged—it has been a credit Christmas and a never-never New Year.

The banks cannot yet tell whether access to credit has meant an excess of spending until their computers give them the answer later this month. But there are already signs that much of the buying was done on the basis of fictitious value.

The 40 House of Fraser stores in Scotland have noticed a marked increase in credit purchasing.

'There is no doubt,' said one official, 'that the publicity given to credit cards has sparked off a spending spree particularly at Christmas.'

Like many other of the store chains the House of Fraser has noted a marked increase in credit. It began accepting credit cards in March, since then the never-never purchases have increased ten fold.

Credit purchasing adds enormous fuel to the inflationary fires. But this is one flare-up the Tories are not too keen to put out. The people who tote the credit cards around in their wallets and handbags are the wealthier middle class or the rich—good solid Tory supporters.

WILD WEST

The frightened people of Wolverly and Cookley want to bring back a little bit of the Wild West to their tiny Worcestershire community.

They want a sheriff—or rather a bobby—and they are prepared to pay the West Mercia police force £50 a week for the exclusive use of one of their strapping young constables.

The enemy is the vandal who has been breaking lamps in the village. Patrols in panda cars are not enough to catch this varmint.

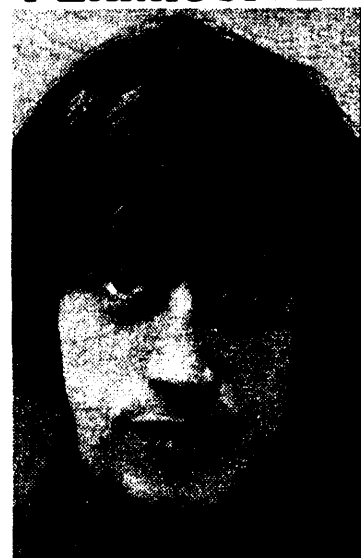
Only a man on the beat will do. A spokesman for West Mercia constabulary would not comment on the offer.

You must have read about the have-a-go types who foil bandits to save thousands of pounds for their firms. John Baker, a pensioner was one. He became a hero when he upset an attempt to rob Southport council of £3,500 in wages.

While robbers held a gun to his head, John a 65-year-old wages clerk, wedged his arms inside the steering wheel causing the gang to panic.

He got neither a reward nor a commendation from the council. In fact six months later they sacked him and two other colleagues and replaced them with professional security guards.

'PERMISSIVE'



Is Richard Neville, the editor of 'OZ' magazine, still celebrating the arrival of the 'permissive' and 'revolutionary' Labour government in Australia? Readers will recall that Mr Neville, the hippy, was recommending to his brother Australians to return home to enjoy the fruits of socialism à la Gough Whitlam.

But there must have been some 'bad vibrations' in the commune last week when it was announced from Canberra that Whitlam was refusing entry to a member of the Rolling Stones.

In their customary and arbitrary way the commonwealth immigration authorities announced that the musician was to be kept out. No explanation. No comeback.

BOOKS



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TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

12.10 Scene. 12.30 Ar y trywydd. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Andy Pandy. 1.45 The young idea. 2.20 A kingdom for all comers. 2.50 Going for a song. 3.20 Rolf Harris. 3.45 Behaviour and belief. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Josie and the pussycats. 5.15 Vision on. 5.40 Magic roundabout. 5.45 News. weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 **TOM AND JERRY.**

6.55 FILM: 'DOCTOR AT LARGE.' Dirk Bogarde, Muriel Pavlow, Donald Sinden, James Robertson Justice. Dr Simon Sparrow leaves St Swithin's to savour the joys of private practice.

8.30 WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE LIKELY LADS? 9.00 NEWS. Weather.

9.25 FASHION FANFARE. Fashion designers from Great Britain and Europe exhibit their collections together.

10.10 FILM 73. 10.45 MIDWEEK. 11.30 NEWS.

11.35 REFLECTION. Professor Moelwyn Merchant. **11.40 Weather.**

11.42 MEDICINE TODAY. Late Onset Asthma.

ITV

9.30 Is it a handicap? 10.30 Season of Gilbert and Sullivan. 11.25 Homes of history. 11.35 Galloping gourmet. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.05 Inigo Pipkin. 12.25 Pinky and Perky. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Lunch-time with Wogan. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 The splendour falls. 3.25 Family at war. 4.25 Junior showtime. 4.50 Magpie. 5.20 I dream of Jeannie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY. 6.30 CROSSROADS.

6.55 FATHER, DEAR FATHER. Home and Away.

7.25 FILM: 'DANGER ROUTE.' Richard Johnson, Carol Lynley, Barbara Bouchet, Sylvia Syms, Diana Dors. A secret agent wants to quit.

9.00 LOVE STORY. Do You Want To? **10.00 NEWS.**

10.30 LET THERE BE LOVE. Lovelace Watkins, Elaine Delmar, Roy Castle.

11.30 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING. 12.15 A PIECE OF TRUTH.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.

6.40 OFFICE. Why have offices?

7.05 SEARCH FOR THE IDEAL. Reflections on Neo-Classicism.

7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 ART AT ANY PRICE? Art and Money.

8.05 INTERNATIONAL TENNIS. Commercial Union master tournament.

9.00 THE EDWARDIANS. Anthony Hopkins as Lloyd George.

10.20 LEAP IN THE DARK.

10.50 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. J. Geils Band, John Prine.

11.15 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.



'Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?'—Rodney Bewes (Bob) and James Bolam (Terry) split up five years ago. Now you can see what happened, when they pair up again for a BBC 1 serial starting tonight. The first episode is called 'Strangers on a Train'. Rodney Bewes is seen with Brigit Forsyth, who plays Thelma, Bob's fiancée.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 4.20 Lottery. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Father, dear father. 7.30 Film: 'Johnny Nobody'. 9.00 London. 12.15 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.30 Tales of Washington Irving. 10.25 Gilbert and Sullivan. 11.15 Rainbow country. 11.40 Katie Stewart cooks. 12.05 London. 12.25 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 12.12 News. 12.15 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 10.00 Twizzle. 10.15 We need each other. 11.00 Gilbert and Sullivan. 11.50 Cartoon. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Junkin. 7.05 Father, dear father. 7.35 Banacek. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.25 Weather. Guide-line.

HARLECH: 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckle-

heads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 And mother makes three. 7.05 Film: 'Cripple Creek'. 8.30 Father, dear father. 9.00 London. 12.15 Time to remember. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd. 10.30 Gerard Hanley Hopkins. 11.00 Tro ar fydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.45 Contract. 10.30 Common Market cook book. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. 12.05 London. 2.30 About Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Smith family. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Father, dear father. 7.30 Film: 'The Man With a Gun'. 9.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.30 Cartoon. 11.35 Red hackle. 12.00 Today. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 5.20 Jackson five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Father, dear father. 7.30 Madigan. 9.00 London. 12.15 Peter Plant reports. Weather.

ULSTER: 12.05 London. 1.32 News. 1.35 Dick Van Dyke. 2.00 London.

2.30 Cartoon. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 4.22 News. 4.05 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.10 McMillan and wife. 8.30 Father, dear father. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 Lidsville. 9.55 Lord Kinross in Turkey. 10.50 Dick Van Dyke. 11.15 Test case for paradise. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Survival. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Father, dear father. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 McMillan and wife. 9.00 London. 12.15 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.05 Felix the cat. 11.15 Gilbert and Sullivan. 12.05 London. 2.30 Looking at... 2.55 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.35 Partridge family. 7.05 Father, dear father. 7.35 Film: 'Thief'. 9.00 London.

GRAMPIAN: 12.02 News. 12.05 London. 1.30 HR Pufnstuf. 2.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Country focus. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Father, dear father. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 McMillan and wife. 9.00 London. 12.10 Meditation.

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WOOLWICH: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage Road.

BRACKNELL: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. 'The Red Lion', High Street. 'Build Councils of Action. Defend Democratic Rights.'

SOUTHALL: Tuesday January 9, 8.00 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. (Please note date change.)

HARROW AND WEALDSTONE: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Railway Approach, Station Road, Harrow.

ROCHESTER: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. 'The Greyhound', Rochester Avenue.

LIVERPOOL: Tuesday January 9, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Mount Pleasant.

SHEFFIELD: Wednesday January 10, 7.30 p.m. 'The Grape Inn', Trippett Lane, Sheffield 1.

HULL: Wednesday January 10, 8 p.m. White Hart Hotel, Alfred Gelder Street (near Drypool Bridge).

HACKNEY: Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. The Parlour, Hackney Central Hall (opp. Town Hall).

TONBRIDGE: Thursday January 11, 8 p.m. 'The Foresters', Quarry Hill Road.

KINGSTON: Thursday January 11, 8 p.m. 'The Liverpool Arms', corner of Cambridge Road and London Road.

SLOUGH: Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. Community Centre, Class Room, Farnham Road.

GLASGOW Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. Partick Burgh Hall. 'The Common Market and the wage freeze'.

EAST LONDON: Thursday January 11, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street Market, E14. 'The crisis of leadership in the working class'.

LEEDS: Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane.

GLASGOW: Saturday January 13, 10 a.m. Keir Hardie House, Brougham Street, Greenock. 'The Common Market and Tory Wage Control.'

CENTRAL LONDON (Press and Entertainments branch)
Sunday January 14, 7 p.m.
 11 Floral Street, RSC Rehearsal Rooms, London WC1.
 Defeat the Tory Government
 Build Councils of Action
 Speaker: Philip Wade (Workers Press)

WATFORD: Monday January 15, 8 p.m. Watford Trade Union Hall, Woodford Road, opposite Watford Junction station.

BRISTOL: Tuesday January 16, 7.30 p.m. Building Design Centre, Colston Avenue (opposite SWEB building).

HOLLOWAY: Thursday January 18, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd (near Finsbury Park tube).

MIDDLESBROUGH: Sunday January 28, 7.30 p.m. Settlement Community Centre, Newport Road.

An appeal on behalf of the Fine Tubes strikers of Plymouth

The Plymouth Fine Tubes Strikers, their wives and 53 children have just spent their third Christmas on strike with very little money.

These men have waged a bitter struggle for the most basic right a worker can possess—the right to belong to a trade union.

Strike committee members have travelled over 100,000 miles to sustain their fight.

This Christmas has been the hardest of all. It has imposed a great financial burden. Now the 37 strikers face the rest of the winter with a depleted strike fund. January is always a difficult month to raise money to further their fight.

Yet they are determined to fight on. This is a struggle the working class cannot afford to lose. That is why the Socialist Labour League and the Work-

ers Press wishes to make a special appeal to all trade unionists to take collections in their factories and branches for the Fine Tubes men in order that their heroic and determined action can be carried forward. All money should be sent to:

Fine Tubes Treasurer
c/o 65 Bretonside
Plymouth, Devon.

The Jones-Aldington promises that never came true

New jobs for dockers: A cruel deception



BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

LATEST figures for the number of new jobs found for dockers at container depots show a huge discrepancy with the number of men who have left the industry or want to leave under special severance terms.

While 4,500 have already gone nationally and 2,000 more have applied to go, the new jobs total is . . . just 250.

So all the promises on which union leaders ended last year's national dock strike are shown to be frauds.

As Workers Press warned at the time, the promises were designed to inflict a permanent cut in the docks labour force and a major attack on dockers' hard-won rights. This is now happening.

Take Merseyside, where the register of dockers has been cut by 20 per cent.

There a new deal has just been signed with one of the biggest container operators which provides exactly 26 new openings for registered men.

The deal with the OCL-owned Containerbase Federation is hailed by the current issue of 'The Port' as 'following in the wake of the Jones-Aldington proposals that more container groupage work should be obtained for registered dock labour'.

In fact negotiations on the deal started well before the Jones-Aldington committee was established. And, in any case, 26 new jobs—and the possibility of 30 more before the end of the year—cannot in any way plug the gaping hole the committee's proposals have punched in the Merseyside labour force.

Since severance-pay terms were increased for five months in line with the committee's proposals last September, the port register has fallen from nearly 10,000 to 7,500.

Meanwhile tonnage and, therefore, productivity is increasing despite closure of the south end of Liverpool docks last August.

In other words, Transport and General Workers' Union general secretary Jack Jones' deliberations with Port of London Authority chairman Lord Aldington have already gone a long way to changing the face of the industry by stealth.

The agreement between the union leaders and the port employers has led to a situation where there may well soon be a shortage of labour. This in a port which had no problem of surplus labour before last year's strike.

Another 'new move' credited to the Jones-Aldington committee on Merseyside is the opening of a container group-

age depot at the old B and I Lines' terminal, Trafalgar Dock.

There registered labour employed by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company will stuff and strip containers for the Far East trade, recently transferred to Southampton. The containers will travel to and from Southampton by road.

But the depot will provide no new jobs for dockers, since the men required will be drawn from the 50 already working for B and I Lines at the dock.

A preamble to the Jones-Aldington interim report, published in July 1972, promised that a 'considerable number' of new job opportunities for dockers would be provided if its terms were accepted.

The main problem in the industry, the report said, was the existence of a large temporarily unattached register (TUR), then comprising 1,650 men.

Union leaders on the committee also accepted employers' estimates that they were carrying 10 per cent of labour surplus to their requirements. There was no suggestion that the intention of the report's proposals was to get rid of these other 4,000 men. Yet this is what has happened.

The report proposed abolition of the TUR and the sharing out of surplus men between all the employers in the port.

Compensation for carrying a surplus should be claimed by employers from the central fund of the National Dock Labour Board, the report said.

The dockers themselves would also be expected to make 'an appropriate contribution' by systems of work-sharing. As only Workers Press pointed out consistently, it was admitted by Jack Jones that this could mean a loss of earnings for dockers.

But the real sting in the report's tail was the proposal for a five-month campaign to persuade men to leave the industry by raising severance pay to £4,000 maximum.

This was hard, specific and far-reaching. It was quickly and enthusiastically taken up by the Tories.

On the other hand there was nothing hard or specific or definite about either:

- The interim report's promise of talks between unions, employers and port authorities on making groupage work available to dockers.

- Jones-Aldington's further pledge to 'continue its efforts to guarantee groupage containers and port-type work' to registered dockers.

The cruel deception involved in this trick has been shown on Merseyside.

Lord Aldington, Port of London Authority chairman, seen over the shoulder of T&GWU secretary Jack Jones during their early deliberations last year. Their committee promised more jobs for registered dockers—but these promises have never been fulfilled.

SLL LECTURES

TODMORDEN

Monday January 22

'Stalinism'

Monday February 5

'Trotskyism'

THE WEAVERS' INSTITUTE, Burnley Road, 7.30 p.m.

HULL

Wednesday January 17

Stalinism and Trotskyism

Wednesday January 24

Marxist theory and the revolutionary party

WHITE HART HOTEL Alfred Gelder Street (near Drypool Bridge) 8 p.m.

DONCASTER

Sunday January 21

What future for the labour movement.

Sunday January 28

The crisis and the socialist answer.

Sunday February 4

The revolutionary party in Britain.

Lectures given by Cliff Slaughter.

SPREAD EAGLE HOTEL Westlithgate 7.30 p.m.

MP proposes trade war tactics to save Concorde orders

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

ANTI-CONCORDE activities in the United States should lead to reprisals by Britain and France against American interests in the Common Market, says Bristol Tory MP Robert Adley.

He has written a strong letter to premier Edward Heath as American aircraft interests and their 'conservationist' allies intensify their campaign to persuade Pan-American Airways not to take up their option on eight Concorde.

Cancelled

On October 28 last year United Airlines, the largest US domestic airline, cancelled its option on six aircraft. If Pan-Am follows suit, there will be options for only 24 Concorde in the whole of the American market.

Workers Press pointed out on August 27, 1970: 'If Pan-Am's marked reluctance to commit itself to a definite purchase hardened into a rejection, other airlines grappling with the same problems, but with far inferior

resources, will be even less likely to commit themselves.'

Every capitalist airline has the same problem—a vastly increased capital expenditure launched in the mid-1960s on the basis of an expected expansion of the passenger market which did not materialize.

Now they face soaring costs in a declining market.

Profits turned to losses in 1969. Trans-World Airlines lost \$39.9m; United Airlines \$15.1m; and Pan-American \$25m (compared with a profit of \$49m in 1968).

This has led to world-wide rationalization, speed-up, attacks on wages, sackings, monopoly growth . . . and trade war.

The Concorde is in a weak position in this war because its development costs have increased more than eight-fold since the first Anglo-French development agreement was signed in 1962. These costs are now in the region of £900m.

On August 16, 1971, the French partner in the project—Aérospatiale—said each Concorde (with spares) would cost

£13m. Less than five months later this figure was revised upwards to £20m.

But the major threat to Concorde—and the 25,000 jobs at stake in Britain and France—is the determination of American capitalism to protect its leadership in civil aeronautics.

The US holds some 70 per cent of world aircraft exports and Britain and France about 25 per cent between them.

Opponent

But the American manufacturers still want to keep Concorde out of the US market until their own Boeing 2707 Supersonic Transport (SST) plan is ready in a few years' time.

The project's engineering director William Hamilton explained in November, 1969: 'We view the Concorde as an opponent—when our supersonic airliner is introduced, Concorde will suit a number of lesser routes.'

The 2707 will certainly be superior to the Concorde, which is small and has inadequate baggage space, narrow

fuselage, inaccessible components and high operating costs.

One thing can be asserted without a doubt—the jobs of thousands of European and American aircraft workers are at risk as this battle of the giants intensifies.

- The first flight of the second pre-production Concorde is expected today. Originally scheduled for Toulouse last Sunday, the flight was twice postponed because of bad weather.

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THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186a CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON SW4 7UG.

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Welsh and Scottish engineers in fines strikes

PRODUCTION was at a standstill at British-Leyland's truck and tractor division at Bathgate, West Lothian, as 2,000 workers staged one-day protest strike over the £55,000 fines.

INDUSTRY in South Wales was disrupted for the second time in four days as engineering workers staged a protest strike.

Union leaders said 17,500 workers in East Glamorgan stayed away.

The stoppage affected industry in Bridgend, Aberdare and Pontypool. Production was hit in various industries and several factories were closed.

Teesside schools reopen with conflict 500 teachers face suspension

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

SACKINGS in the Teesside teachers' dispute have now reached a total of 66, a spokesman for the National Association of Schoolmasters said yesterday.

About 60 teachers have been dismissed or sacked without a hearing, their cases being considered in their absence, the spokesman said. Another six had been dismissed after a hearing.

The spokesman, Mr George

Limburn, also said that the union was now considering claiming 'wrongful dismissal' under the Industrial Relations Act.

The NAS is still affiliated to the TUC and if it does decide to initiate action at an industrial tribunal, it will be flying in the face of official Congress policy.

Schools in Teesside reopened yesterday with another 500 teachers operating a work-to-rule and also facing possible suspension.

National Union of Teachers'

members, who are not directly involved in the dispute, are refusing to operate timetable changes to cover jobs they do not normally perform.

Regional NUT officer John Alderson said, however, the union was not officially blacking the jobs of sacked NAS members.

Before Christmas a total of 156 Teesside teachers—members of the NAS and the Union of Women Teachers—received suspension notices for working-to-contract in a dispute over demands for assurance of job-security with the local education committee's move towards comprehensive schools.

Most of the teachers had been invited to attend hearings of the education committee's staffing and general purposes, but the vast majority did not take part.

Many say they had been kept waiting at the town hall all day long and saw no possibility of their cases coming up and therefore went away.

Dismissal notices sent to them gave the teachers until yesterday to explain why they did not attend their hearings.

Trade unionists on the local Redcar trades council last week called for the resignation of the Education Committee chairman, Cllr Peter Fulton and the whole of his committee over the dispute.

The trades council passed a resolution deploring the attitude of the Labour-controlled education committee and its general mishandling of the dispute.

Said trades council chairman Cllr Garth Houchen:

'We are appalled that people who lay claim to having a trade unionist background—and may well have attained their office through the medium of their respective trade unions—should adopt policies which are reminiscent of those of the employing classes in the latter part of the last century.'

Last Friday, Cllr Fulton accused both unions of 'black-mailing' the committee.

'People have got to see,' he said, 'that they are being black-mailed and that compromise is no answer.'

And he added that, in his opinion, ordinary men and women of Teesside fully supported the local authority's actions.

PROVISIONAL IRA man Anthony 'Dutch' Doherty was arrested on the Clontarf Road in Dublin yesterday and later an application for his extradition to Northern Ireland was made to Justice Hullahdaigh in the Dublin District Court. He was remanded on bail until next Monday.

G&MWU gasworkers demand pay action



North Thames gasworkers going into yesterday's delegate meeting

LEADERS of the main union in Britain's gas industry will be asked this morning to call national industrial action as soon as possible against the Tory ban on pay negotiations.

A 2½-hour meeting of gasworkers' delegates in the General and Municipal Workers Union yesterday afternoon called for an immediate overtime ban and withdrawal of co-operation nationally.

If the government fails to allow meaningful negotiations to proceed, selective strikes should be called, delegates said.

There was a strong feeling for all-out industrial action at the

FROM DAVID MAUDE

meeting which was attended by 70 delegates representing 42,000 gas workers all over Britain.

The only reason this was not adopted, said the chairman, Jim Mason, was that delegates were aware of the safety implications to the public.

John Edmonds, G&MWU national officer for the industry, said that many delegates felt that since this was unique action by the government 'it should be matched by an equally unique reaction from gasworkers'.

Under the constitution of the union, yesterday's meeting could only advise the union executive which will take the final decision on what form action is to take.

The timing of this, Edmonds said, would obviously be co-ordinated with the Transport and General Workers' Union. A T&GWU delegate conference last Friday said that the first industrial action should start not later than January 17.

Besides the ban on pay negotiations, the meeting also discussed the possibility that action might be needed to force a realistic offer once the talks were resumed. But no firm decision was taken on this.

Gasworkers at East Greenwich and Croydon, who have been banning overtime and working-to-rule for almost a fortnight, will meet tomorrow for a report back on yesterday's conference and the executive's decision.

TORIES STRING THE TUC ALONG

FROM PAGE 1

point of confrontation if necessary.

Their other alternative is to call a snap election—which would be preceded by a red scare—with the hope of mobilizing the middle class to vote Tory.

If they won, the Tories would return to power and introduce a barrage of openly repressive legislation.

It is brutally obvious that this period poses great dangers for the working class as well as great possibilities.

The attacks on the standard of living of millions of working-class families means an attack on basic democratic rights.

Councils of Action, comprising all political parties, trade unions and tendencies in the workers' movement, tenants' associations and housewives' committees must be built in all the areas.

A central campaign of the

Councils of Action must be the defence of democratic rights which the Tories are trying to snatch away.

For every trade unionist the question is posed—are you going to let Feather, Jones and company sell out the rights your forefathers have won in 200 years' of struggle?

If you want to fight, then the way forward is the building of alternative revolutionary leader-

ship in the trade unions.

This campaign is inseparable from the campaign to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

- Defend basic democratic rights.
- Build Councils of Action.
- Force the Tories out.
- Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Goodyear pay claim 'frozen'

THE GOODYEAR tyre plant at Wolverhampton was at a standstill yesterday with 3,500 people laid off as a result of a strike by 250 mill room workers. The shop-floor workforce faces at least a week off, for the strikers rejected union advice and voted to stay out until Friday, when they will meet again.

The strikers want a new agree-

ment made and brought into operation, but Goodyear says this is not possible because of the freeze.

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Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

JANUARY FUND REACHES £128.22

WE ARE beginning to slip behind in the campaign to raise January's Fund. We urge you all, dear readers, do everything you can to push our total up.

There is no room to be complacent. The Tories—backed by the most reactionary sections of the ruling class of Europe—are prepared to do battle against the working class and destroy all our basic rights that still remain.

The trade union leaders, with their cringing and crawling, just open the door to this onslaught.

Workers Press, alone, should be used politically to prepare workers everywhere to fight back against such attacks. All our basic rights must be defended and the Tory government must be forced to resign.

Raise everything you can this month for our Fund. Back us up all the way. Post every donation immediately to:

Workers Press
January Appeal Fund
186a Clapham High Street
London SW4 7UG.

Tyre strike: Refinery men meet on Friday

STRIKERS at the Shell oil refinery near Stanford le Hope, Essex, are threatening to extend their dispute to other refineries unless management abandons its attempt to break down lines of job demarcation.

About 1,000 members of the Transport and General Workers' Union met yesterday and voted to continue their strike at least until Friday when they will meet to review progress.

The strikers have already received backing from laboratory workers at Shell.

Over 1,000 process workers are involved in the dispute which centres around a management speed-up offensive. The dispute began on Thursday when six workers refused to change a tyre.

They said the job should be done by craftsmen, but the company claimed that under a new productivity deal minor jobs could be done by general workers.

Czech forecasts link with Market

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S permanent representative at Comecon, the Soviet bloc's trading grouping, Frantisek Hamouz, has forecast talks on contacts with the Common Market.

In an article in the youth newspaper, 'Mlada Fronta', deputy premier Hamouz said there was a fundamental contrast between the free competition of the EEC of western Europe and planned co-operation based on planned

development and socialist integration which was typical of Comecon.

'We expect that talks will take place on potential contacts with the EEC, but we maintain that the prerequisite must be mutual advantage,' he said.

The East German government has transferred its diplomatic headquarters from Amsterdam to Brussels in a move which many sources see as part of an accommodation to the enlarged community.

Pakistan in oil talks with Rumania

PAKISTAN'S President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Rumanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu will today discuss prospects for greater economic co-operation, especially oil extraction.

Rumania, an oil producer, sells large quantities of oil industry equipment which could be helpful in exploring Pakistan's oil basins.

In an interview published in Bucharest on the eve of Ceau-

cescu's visit to Pakistan, Bhutto said the two leaders would 'exchange opinions to the mutual benefit of both countries and of the entire world.'

Bhutto defended his country's policy of building good relations with Russia, China and the United States. 'There is no contradiction in such a policy,' he declared.