Workers mess

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 26, 1972 No. 878 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Officials received 'unbelievable' sums

FROM ALEX MITCHELL IN WAKEFIELD

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These were the two sensational developments on the fifth public hearing of the Poulson case which was resumed in Wakefield bankruptcy court yesterday.

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TURN TO PAGE 11

FIVE DAYS LEFT: SEPTEMBER FUND STILI

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NEEDS £908.56 by where you have not only raised our Fund, but in most cases collected well over the

Each day, since the start of

Workers Press, our paper has spoken out on behalf of workers everywhere. It is the only daily paper that fights to tell the truth to the working class. And we know, that it is this determined struggle for principles that wins all your support.

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TURN TO PAGE 11

Tory

incomes

policy

moves

nearer

BY DAVID MAUDE

ternational

comes policy.

Chequers today.

policy.

alternative'.

Fund

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And senior Ministers are well aware of the difficulties

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But they were stressing Heath's warning, in a Commons speech before the parliamentary recess,

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And in the City the feeling appeared to be that the Tories would have no real choice if the TUC refused co-operation.

Monetary

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Workers Press
September Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

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TURN TO PAGE 11

incomes policy **moves** nearer BY DAVID MAUDE

Tory

TORY preparations for a General Election may lie behind news from the International Monetary Fund conference Washington that the government is close to introducing a national incomes policy.

The news is presumably designed both to impress Britain's future Common Market partners as this key financial gathering opens, and to pressure the TUC leaders with whom premier Heath will be holding talks at Chequers today.

But with rents going up all over the country next week and the rate of retail price increases now rising sharply again, it is extremely unlikely the union chiefs can agree to back a 'voluntary' policy for holding down wages.

And senior Ministers are well aware of the difficulties the present government would have in pushing through—let alone enforcing—a statutory policy.

In Whitehall yesterday, government officials were refusing to speculate on what might happen if a voluntary agreement could not be reached.

But they were stressing Heath's warning, in a Commons speech before the parliamentary recess, that statutory action was 'a stark alternative'.

And in the City the feeling appeared to be that the Tories would have no real choice if the TUC refused co-operation.

At the time of ex-Home Secretary Reginald Maudling's call earlier this month for a statutory policy, 'The Times' reported that some Ministers believe 'a statutory policy, except in a desperate economic crisis, could not be carried by the government through the present House of Commons'.

TURN TO PAGE 11

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McNamera: Bank chief

McNamara: Spectre of revolution

THE SPECTRE of revolution in the ex-colonial countries was evoked yesterday by Robert McNamara in his keynote speech as president of the World Bank.

The Bank is meeting in Washington at the same time as its sister institution, the International Monetary Fund. Mc-Namara opened the meeting with a warning that hundreds of millions of people in the 'developing' countries were condemned to the direst poverty.

'When the highly-privileged are few and the desperately poor are many, and when the gap between them is worsening rather than improving, it is only a question of time before a decisive choice must be made between the political costs of reform and the political risks of rebellion,' he said.

McNamara should know: as US Secretary of Defence under the Johnson administration, he was deeply involved in the deeply

counter-revolutionary Indo-China war. He speaks to the World Bank as a representative of imperialism seeking the best way to preserve its rule.

The Bank president criticized the metropolitan capitalist coun-tries for not increasing their 'aid' to the ex-colonial countries. In reality, as the Bank's own report last week made clear, so-called aid is the chief means by which the poor countries are crippled with debt burdens to the imperialist powers.

rade war spelt ou

International Monetary Fund chief Pierre-Paul warned Schweitzer yesterday that currency speculation could break out again while finance officials continue their efforts to overcome the monetary crisis.

Schweitzer, who is fighting an American attempt to block his re-election as IMF direc-tor-general, said he hoped to see 'very substantial progress in the field of international monetary reform' by the 1973 conference in Nairobi.

'By progress I mean actions and concrete conclusions

concrete conclusions prompted by the sense of urgency imposed on us by this most essential task,' he added. His own main concrete proposal was the issue of more 'paper gold' in the form of IMF special drawing rights.

Finance Ministers at the con-

ference in Washington were anxiously awaiting yesterday a speech from President Nixon, who was expected to spell out

Washington economy talks expect a tough Nixon

BY JOHN SPENCER

the American attitude on mone-

tary and trade questions.

Some of his aides, notably campaign economics adviser Pierre Rinfret, have warned that he may use the IMF platform to declare a new round of intensified trade war. Advance reports yesterday indicated he intended to call for swift negotiation of a

new and lasting economic order. Nixon has consistently maintained that the world monetary system must be retailored to American requirements and since last August, when he severed the dollar's link with gold, the US has forced substantial allround revaluations on its main

capitalist rivals.

But administration spokesmen have already expressed dissatisfaction with the December 1971 currency realignment agreement and there is a growing agitation for the US to strike further

economic blows against Europe

with no gold backing to the dollar, the basic questions at issue for the IMF conference remain unresolved and the ten-sions between the capitalist

powers are getting stronger.

The end of the Bretton Woods monetary system, which it was originally established to administer, has made the IMF one of the main economic battlegrounds

The battle over Schweitzer's position is part of the opening stages of this struggle. The US has told the IMF chief he will not have their support when he not have their support when he stands for re-election next year.

But backed by France and West Germany, Schweitzer has no intention of leaving without a fight. For their part, US Treasury officials say they see nothing to change their view that



Schweitzer: Paper gold

Schweitzer must go.
The 'Washington Post' said the Schweitzer question was the main topic of conversation on the eve of the conference and described it as 'a new source of bitter anti-American feeling'.

The issue has become a test of strength between Europe and the United States, which has always dominated the theoretically 'neutral' IMF. But no final decision on Schweitzer's future is likely to be taken at the present session.

The knife-edge character of the crisis facing the inter-national monetary system of capi-talism was spelled out in 'The Times' yesterday with an editorial warning that: 'Essentially the choice [in Washington] is between peace and war as the future norm for world economic relationships relationships . . .

'... we have now arrived at a point where the pursuit of self-interest, however legitimate in itself, threatens to bring about the collapse of the very system within which and upon which the past and prospective prosperity of the world economy is built ...

is built.

Japan persists in her mercantilist trade policies without regard to the effects on other countries, if western Europe percountries, if western Europe persists in putting the promotion of the EEC's identity before all other international economic considerations and if the United States' acute sense of grievance remains unassuaged, then the prospect will be bleak.'

TANZANIA and Uganda appeared close to agreement last night on a plan to end the eight-day-old conflict which had threatened to which had threatened to plunge them into war. There were indications in

Dar es Salaam that both sides had reacted favourably to the five-point peace plan put forward by Somalia.

No details of the plan have been published officially, but it it understood to make the following points:

1. Both countries to refrain from agression with their own

2. Both to refrain from aggression through a party.

2 Withdrawal of their forces from their common border.

4 Tanzania to agree to the withdrawal of all exiles sup-porting former president Mil-ton Obote from the frontier

5. Both nations to declare their opposition to subversive activity by other sovereign

A bogus think campaign

THE INTERNATIONAL Socialism group has launched a 'Fight the Tories' campaign.
This remains a completely empty slogan without political contest.

ince the Tory government assumed office, almost every section of the working class has been in conflict with it. Workers have been fighting Since the the Tories all along.

To produce now a campaign to 'Fight the Tories' is to trail so far behind as to be almost out

question is not simply to 'fight' the Tories, but to bring Tory government down. Centrists always avoid this basic challenge because it involves breaking with reformism and mobilizing the working class in action to fight its main capitalist enemy.

'International Socialism' is a reactionary centrist group.
Based on a total rejection of the revolutionary gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the leaders of the group broke from Trotskyism because they capitulated to imperialism at the time of the Korean War.

They refused to defend the conquests of the Chinese Revolution when British troops were involved in the American-dominated United Nations aggression in Korea.

Although characterizing the Soviet bureaucracy as more powerful than the Soviet working class, since they say it has succeeded in maintaining a 'new' form of capitalism, they nevertheless co-operate wholeheartedly with the representatives of that bureaucracy

in Britain-the British Communist Party.
They have collaborated all along

the line with the Stalinists in opposing any campaign to force the Tory government to resign. This line-up with Stalinism is established on the basis of a complete rejection of any principled assessment of its counter-revolutionary nature.

The IS line has been almost totally uncritical support of the Stalinist-dominated Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. When the Committee 101.

Trade Unions. When the betrayed the working class, the revisionists have not blamed the Stalinists, but the workers.

Their leader, Mr Cliff, in his 'Balance Sheet of the Dock Strike', simply said that the militants did not take enough initiative - there should have been more leaflets and posters! 'Socialist Worker' August 26 declared that the London dockers were 'not worthy of their stewards'.

Throughout the betrayal of the upper Clyde shipyard workers
—which has now split and confused hundreds of workers-IS put forward only one criticism. They said there ought to have more mass meetings on the Clyde.

It was not a question of mass meetings. The issue was that Stalinism, as a counter-revolutionary historical force-would not lead the working class to

defeat the Tory government. The role of Stalinism is consciously to behead the movement on the Clyde, the docks, the building sites and everywhere else in order to prevent

the working class from over-throwing the Tory government. In this situation, the revisionists refuse to challenge Stalinism and instead blame the wroking class and simply call again and

again for more militancy.
The centrist sees his role as s i m p l y commenting on workers' struggles while dish-ing out a bit of militant propaganda. This not only provides no leadership, but holds the working class back.

When the UCS work-in began, 'Socialist Worker' headlines screamed: 'Militancy Can Win

UCS

Workers Press insisted that. without the overthrow of the Stalinist leadership, militancy could not win. Only the analysis of the Socialist Labour League and Workers Press on the UCS experience can stand up to re-examination today. But more is involved than

being right. The Socialist Labour League is engaged in a conscious struggle to defeat the Stalinist and reformist leadership in the unions and to create a revolutionary leadership in the course of mobilizing the working class politically in a generalized campaign to bring the Tory government down and replace it with a Labour government pledged to

socialist policies.
This would force a split in the Labour bureaucracy and open the way for a revolutionary leadership of the working class to smash capitalism altogether. bogus campaign of IS is

intended to side-track workers

away from this central revolu-

tionary task.

in the fascist government. In his first public statement on the strike, he attacked the 'confrontation experts' who disrupt all 'channels of dialogue'. Japan using diplomacy instead of troops this time

Threatening

sent to

Citroen

strikers

FOUR THOUSAND workers in the Citröen factory, shipyards and engineering factor-

ies have now been sacked in the northern Spanish port of Vigo for continuing their strike in defence of sacked

The employers have sent out two kinds of letters to the strikers. Some workers have been told they will be reinstated if they come to work, while others, considered to be militants, have been told they must appeal to the fascist Labour Court against their dismissal.

Court against their dismissal.

The police and Civil Guard are still patrolling Vigo in large

detachments. They were at the football 'Derby' in case a demonstration was staged.

The police are extremely worried about the presence of foreign pressmen in the area.

One French photographer, Andre

Sylvain, was detained by police when he tried to take pictures

of police and demonstrators out-

side the Citröen factory.

He was released after being

unable to hand over any cre-dentials and forced to leave the

halting the city transport services.

The consistent repression of strikers has now received the full backing of Garcia Ramal, the

Minister for Trade Union Affairs

Civil Guards are riding in all the municipal buses in order to prevent any more attempts at

carworkers.

letters

JAPANESE premier Kakuei Tanaka began his talks with Chinese leaders in Peking by making a public apology for his country's actions before and during the war.

At a banquet attended by Chinese premier Chou En-lai, Tanaka said: 'I hereby express our profound self-reflection for having imposed great trouble on the Chinese people during the regretfully unfortunate period of relations between our two counrelations between our two coun-

as referring to the I ese attempt to colonize China between 1937 and 1945, when Imperial troops killed 10 million Chinese. Tanaka said now it was time to normalize relations.
'We cannot remain in this

dark dead corner for ever,' he said.

The same Iapanese monopolies which financed and equipped the Imperial army against the Chinese during the war have now become partisans of the reestablishment of full diplomatic and trading relations between the two Asian powers.

They hope to achieve the same end as in 1937—the acquisition of markets and sources of raw materials. But at present they are too weak to take on the Chinese Red Army and are trying to attain their aim by diplomatic means.

Even the Peking Stalinists, however, are not unaware that behind the new face of Japanese imperialism are the old forces stirred up by the current economic crisis. Posters warning against a resurgence of Japanese militarism are still on display in Peking despite Tanaka's visit.

Minority conference under tight security

ULSTER Unionist leaders are demanding that the IRA should be 'eliminated' as part of any deal over Northern Ireland. This was the ultimatum put to the Tories' Ulster supremo William Whitelaw, who opened the heavily-guarded Ulster summit yester-

The hard-line declaration came from ex-Stormont premier Brian Faulkner immediately before talks got underway at the Europa Lodge Hotel, a mile from Darlington.

Faulkner, leader of a sevenstrong Unionist delegation came to the talks with three firm priorities.

• First, that effective measures should be taken quickly to eliminate the IRA, he said.

• Second, that before there is a chance of success for a restruc-tured Northern Ireland parliament, in which the whole community can play their part, the gunmen have to be defeated.

• 'And third, the British government must pursue these two policies together and see them fulfilled.'

Apart from the Ulster Unionists, the talks involve the Alliance Party and the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

The main opposition Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party have beyoutted

Unionist Party have boycotted the meeting as have the Repub-lican Labour Party and the

Nationalists.

The Alliance Party's Phelim
O'Neil and the NILP's Vivian Simpson, launched an attack on those not attending.

These two parties have agreed

on four points of principle—that Ulster should be a part of the UK so long as a majority in the north wished it; that their should be equal rights in Ulster; that both Catholic and Protestant communities should have a say in running the country and that security should remain in the hands of Westminster.

Police were minutely checking

the credentials of nearly 200 journalists covering the conference and everyone from Whitelaw downwards was wearing a badge.

At the end of the first session, Vivian Simpson reported: 'There is an element of common ground welling-up over security.' Unionist MP Albert Anderson agreed with the NILP delegate.

Builders' 'flying picket' leader attacked at home

Anti-union forces

Flying picket leader Mike Shilvock with his broken arm in a sling.

beat me up

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

A BIRMINGHAM building workers' leader who was badly beaten up after the recent strike has blamed the attack on anti-union forces.

In an interview with Workers Press. Mike Shilvock, chairman of the Birmingham strike action committee, condemned reports in the Tory press that the unknown gang who attacked him last Tuesday, were 'union rebels'.

Mr Shilvock, a Communist Party member, believes the attackers were the most reactionary anti-union elements in the industry who have been encouraged by the sell-out of the builders strike.

On Tuesday a gang of men forced their way into his flat at Stourbridge, Worcestershire. As a result of the attack he received hospital treatment for a broken toe and arm, a dislocated shoulder and numerous cuts and bruises. It

was a professional job done in what Mr Shilvock describes as a 'paramilitary' style.

'This was not an attack on me as an individual. If it can happen to one trade unionist it can happen to one trade unionist it can happen to any. Just catching these kind of individuals will not stop this kind of violence; only the mass movement can do that.

This my feeling that the

'It is my feeling that the whole of the labour movement should be up in arms about this kind of develop-ment, organizing stoppages, lobbying employers and so

on.'
Mr Shilvock was singled out because of his key role in the strike as co-ordinator of the local 'flying picket' which closed all sites in the city.

He strongly discounts suggestions in the local press that his attackers were any-way on the left.

'Just before 1 a.m. the

door-bell rang, very sharply. I asked who it was—I don't normally answer the don't normally answer the door—I'm very careful. Some voices said "Mr Shivlock", not Shilvock. They said something about urgent union problems. I slipped the chain on the door and a knife came out at me through the darkness. I was pinned against the wall. The knife kept slashing at my head.

slashing at my head.

'I was forced away from the wall. Then a body of men, plus one with the knife charged the door breaking the chains off.

'The knife man said "back-off" and then said "back room". There was a running battle to the back room. They threw me into the back room and then I the back room and then I got a systematic working over. I was dazed by a kick on the head, but managed to regain my feet.

'Then my left arm was forced right back behind my head. Then they gave it an "Irish Whip", breaking

it at the elbow. At that I gave an almighty shout, my arm fell to my side, and the leader said, "that's it" and they just turned and left.

'What happened to me epitomizes the fascist-type element that has been growing in the building industry because of 50 years of non-unionism and

years of non-unionism and unprincipled union leader-

Now that the struggle is somewhat in retreat, these elements are encouraged and emerge. The sell-out has knocked the mass of the men about, but they are not demoralized, they

know they will lead the union one day.
'Victimization is going on

on all the jobs now. The employers are scared that a different type of worker is going back on the sites.' Mr Shilvock says it is important to view the building struggle as part of the overall campaign against hig business.

against big business.
'Over 50 per cent of investment in this country is in building and land. When you fight them there you're striking at the very heart of the system. That is why these forces of darkness are emerging uarkness are emerging against us.'



We stick out for union rights—say **Kent fitters** BY PHILIP WADE Desperate for action by their

FITTERS employed by a concrete works near Canterbury in Kent, who were sacked 14 weeks ago after striking for more pay, remain determined as ever to win their fight for basic trade union rights.

But yesterday they were severely critical of the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, to which they belong.

They accused union leaders of running away before the Industrial Relations Act.

Pickets also condemned the Transport and General Workers'
Union for lifting the black on lorries delivering concrete to the firm, William Gi William Griffiths and Co

The firm is in fact part of the giant Mixconcrete (Holdings) group, whose pretax profits soared from £200,000 to £615,000 in the first six months of this

Over four-and-a-half months ago the six fitters put in for a pay rise. 'We wanted our maximum earnings brought on a par with the labourers' minimum', Cavangh Weaver, one of the sacked men, told me yesterday.

Eventually an overtime ban was imposed because management refused to answer the

Before that, the men had worked a 13-hour shift for five nights and a 12-hour shift on Sundays. 'I was working up to 85 hours a week for £52', said Cavangh Weaver.

On July 17-after subcontractors had been brought in to do some of their work—the fitters struck. Four days later, while they were picketing the gate, they were told they were all

Although the AUEW made the dispute official on August 1, the T&GWU, three days later, in a letter signed by district officer K. W. Levy, instructed their lorry-driver members to lift the black on Griffiths.

Despite this, pickets have reached agreement with drivers of two major concrete firms not to cross the line.

union, the sacked men have made repeated efforts to make contact with Reg Birch, the AUEW executive councilman responsible for their area.

Cavangh Weaver takes up The Thursday before the TUC we went to Peckham Road and were told that Mr Birch was "not available". Then we went to the Brighton Congress on the Tuesday and we were told Birch would see us. But we never met him there

Added Cyril Chapman, another sacked worker: A week last Thursday we sent bim [Birch] a registered letter asking him to come and see us, but we've heard nothing.

'It's ridiculous. We have been told that ours is a hopeless case and we should all pack it in.

'But we said we were determined to fight for our rights and we are not going to give up.

'In my opinion the union leaders are frightened of the Industrial Relations Act. The local organizer was here when management threatened us with High Court action to stop the picketing. If the AUEW officials are frightened of the Act, there are men here who are not.

'I think it's time for the working class to sort out their union



Cavangh Weaver

leaders. There are many left-talkers but not many left-doers.

'The determination to fight this firm is there, and so is the determination to fight the Tory government. The working class is ripe for action against this whole system. All they want is organizing.

'Yet the trade union leaders sit down and talk with the government about wage freezing when they should be fighting the

Financial support for the fitters can be sent to Cavangh Weaver, 7 Chart Close, St Ann's Park, Faversham, Kent.

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HOW LABOUR BEGAN THE ATTACKS ON WORKERS' RIGHTS

Part 24 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

If the Tories are playing a consistent class role in setting out to weaken the organized working class on behalf of capital, the Labour and trade union leaders have played a thoroughly treacherous part in preparing the way and enabling the Tories to operate.

The Wilson government's total dedication to solving the capitalists' crises led it into a massive political onslaught on all workers' wages, jobs and conditions through the Prices and Incomes Act, the wage freeze, state-backed productivity deals like the Devlin Scheme on the docks, Social Service cuts, and preparations for the break-up of the nationalized industries and for joining the Common Market.

Further, the Labour government's own industrial relations policy, outlined in the White 'In Place of Strife' Paper directly laid the foundation for the Tory Industrial Relations

Based on the findings of a Royal Commission (the Donovan Report) which had been contributed to by the TUC and a mass of union leaders, the Labour government's White Paper made the following proposals, which are now fully incorporated in the Tory's Industrial Relations Act:

 The establishment of a Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR) on a statutory basis to 'promote suitable company-wide procedures', to 'develop acceptable rules governing disciplinary practices and dismissals,' and to 'bring shop stewards within a proper framework of agreed rules in their firm'.
The CIR was set up by the

Labour government with TUC support and was simply taken over and extended by the

The establishment of an industrial board to impose fines on strikers and unions, for example, for obstructing the CIR's recommendations. This is now extended in an operation as the National Industrial Relations Court.

 Powers to be given for the Secretary of State to impose a 'conciliation pause' of up to 28 days on strikes—now a 'cooling-off' period of up to 60 days under sections 138-140 of the Industrial Relations Act.

 Powers to be given to the Secretary of State to order unions to take a strike ballot in cases where: 'The proposed strike would involve a serious threat to the economy or public interest and there is doubt whether it commands the support of those con-cerned.' This is now fully incorporated in Sections 141-145 of the Tory Act.

• 'In Place of Strife' proposed facilities for making collective bargaining agreements legally enforceable if they included a written provision to that effect. The Tories have made them automatically legally enforce-able unless they state other-

• A registrar of trade unions and employers' associations to be appointed. The White Paper stated: Unions will be required



Above: Barbara Castle, formulator of 'In Place of Strife' which laid the foundation for the Tory Industrial Relations Act with Harold Wilson.

to have rules governing certain matters (e.g. admission, discipline, disputes between the union and its members, elections, strike ballots and the appointment and function of shop stewards) and to register.' This is now incorporated in sections 61-95 of the Industrial Relations Act.

• 'Safeguards' to be devised against the closed-shop, including protection for non-unionand the right of an employee dismissed for not joining a union to sue for unfair dismissal'—now entirely incorporated in the section of the Tory Act outlawing the closed-shop and protecting the scab.

• To enable a trade union to be used in tort (e.g. for libel or negligence) except in the circumstances of a trade dispute. Under the 1906 Trade Disputes Act a union was given complete immunity whether its action was in pursuance of a dispute or not. Now the Tories have entirely repealed the 1906 law and in the Industrial Relations Act provided immunity for acts done only 'in contemplation or furtherance of an industrial dispute.' i.e. they have put the Labour government's proposal

into effect.

If the Tories are ready to make yet further inroads into picketing and other workers' rights, this is because the Labour leaders have used their years in office to do little more than prepare the way for them.

Such a gross betrayal of workers' interests must not be allowed to recur. This is why the Socialist Labour League emphasizes the need for the Tories to be replaced by a Labour government entirely pledged to socialist policies, including the immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and completely purged of the Labour traitors—the people who continue to show their contempt for the working-class by supporting Tory policies on the Common Market, rent rises, or any other attack on the workers' rights and con-

ditions. Similarly, no fight to defend the elementary right to strike and picket can be separated from that for a new socialist leadership in the trade unions to replace those who have consistently refused to fight the Tories. Even now, the TUC leaders meet with the employers and Tory leaders to formulate joint plans for collaboration against workers' interests.

The 'left-wing' trade union leaders avoid the struggle in

the same way as the rest. The engineering union's failure to lead a fight for shorter hours and the national wage claim in the engineering industry—instead, advocating plant-byplant bargaining—is a deliberate abdication of any stand against the employers' and Tory offensive.

Such a policy dissipates the great united strength of an important part of the working class into a series of piecemeal local struggles, making it easier for the employers to take them on section by section.

Likewise, the T&GWU leaders scurrying to pay the NIRC'S £55,000 fine and attempting to stop the blacking by Hull dockers so as to conform with this section of the Act. is a similar abdication of leadership.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

A VICTIM OF THE SINO-AMERICAN DETENTE

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cheng Tzu-tsai, the opponent of the Chiang Kaishek regime, who was taken unconscious from an airliner at Heathrow airport two weeks ago, has been remanded in custody until today. The United States has begun extradition proceedings against Cheng. Bail was said to be 'totally inappropriate'.

The Cheng Tzu-tsai Defence Committee has published a statement by his wife, Cecilia, explaining how Cheng is being persecuted for opposition to the US-backed dictatorship in Taiwan.

Cheng, a native Taiwanese. left Taiwan in 1962 to study architecture in the United States and joined the Formosa Independence Movement in 1964 Because of his activities in this movement, the Chiang Kai-shek regime took away his passport and he became a stateless citizen.

The Chiang regime keeps the island under a permanent state of martial law, under the pretext of invading China. This firm control is administered by Chiang Ching-kuo, son and heir apparent to Chiang, who has an estimated million-strong police force to repress the population of 15 millions.

Demonstrations
In April 1970, Chiang Ching-kuo went to the US to ask for more weapons to be used to suppress increasing opposition. The independence organization, World United Formosans for Independence, staged demonstrations to protest against the visit, one in front of the White House, one at his arrival at the Andrew's airforce base, then, four days later, one in New York in front of the Plaza Hotel where he was to stay to meet American businessmen.

Mrs Cheng describes what happened at this demonstration:

... one shot was fired upon Chiang Ching-kuo from the crowd. When my husband heard a shot, he ran in the direction from which the shot came.

'He saw a member of the organization being pushed down by several policemen. He ran to help him out of the situation. The police stopped him and clubbed his head until blood covered all his face and his glasses lay broken on the ground.

'Together with the other member, my husband was arrested with nothing but leaflets in his hands.'

She then tells of Cheng's departure from New York—

and the grips of the city police.
'All the Taiwanese abroad contributed money fast enough to get my husband released on a \$90,000 bail, 32 days after his arrest, and 42 days later, the other man, Peter Huang, was released on \$110,000 bail. One year later, in May 1971, a trial started. Peter Huang pleaded guilty to attempted murder so my husband was tried alone.

'The all-white jury found him guilty of attempted murder and for illegal possession of a gun. A date was set to announce his

sentence. But he left New York, some days before that

'According to New York law, the maximum punishment for attempted murder is 25 years and for illegal possession

of a gun, seven years.'
From July 1971, Cheng and his family had been living in Sweden where the government gave him political asylum after receiving Cheng's full report on the New York case. His wife started teaching; his children attended Swedish schools; Cheng began to follow a course for architects.

Deported

But, suddenly, the Swedish government, propped up by Communist Party votes, had a change of attitude towards the Cheng family.
'On June 30 this year he

was arrested by the Swedish authorities because the US wanted his extradition. On August 31, the Swedish government yielded to the pressure from the USA and ordered him to be deported.

'On September 4, my husband was taken on board an American plane (Pan Am) at 8.15, having been unconscious for over one hour and a half, despite repeated requests to take him to hospital to get necessary medical treatment.

'According to law, anyone who is sick should be examined by a doctor before boarding a plane for a long trip. An ambulance was sent to the plane, but two American policemen sent the ambulance away.

'Before deportation husband had been jailed for two months and had begun a hunger strike a few days before the extradition.



Above: Mrs Cheng Tzu-tsal at Heathrow. Right: Chiang Kal-shek and his wife. The Chiang regime has been asking the US to get Cheng Tzu-tsai back.

'Because my husband was unconscious and seriously ill, the plane, after taking off from Stockholm, landed in Copenhagen where he was taken to a hospital. Some hours later, the Danish government rushed him out to a plane again and flew him to London, where he was put in the emergency department at the airport, because he was still too weak to continue the trip.'

The Taiwanese architect is in fact just being used by the US to calm down Chiang Kai-

'Ever since my husband left New York, the Chiang regime has been asking the US to get



the Chiang regime wrote a letter to the US to make the extradition demand. But the US did nothing. The US is doing it now because it fits in with the political interests, that is to pacify the puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek,

recent visit to Peking by Nixon.

'If the US was well aware that my husband was in Sweden applying for political asylum over a year ago, why is it they didn't demand his extradition then?' between Mao and Nixon, Cheng faces 32 years' imprisonment in the US-if the British court agrees to his extradition—and the danger of being kidnapped by Chiang's agents and being returned to a death-sentence in Taiwan.





OF NO HOPE

crammed into the festering

If the Marathon Manufacturing Company is allowed to carry out its sacking threats 1,000 shipyard workers will join 4,000 others in the Burgh of Clydebank who spend their days walking the streets.

Glasgow, last week described in the 'Daily Record' as the 'city of no hope', when the highest unemployment figures ever were announced, also has one of the worst alcoholism and vagrancy problems in Britain.

The jobs situation is even worse than mere totals suggest. At 8.3 per cent (or 37,234 of the city's insured population) total unemployment is bad enough, but among the men alone the percentage rises dramatically to

11.8 per cent. The bulk of the jobless are

tenement slum of the city centre — rapidly disappearing beneath the bulldozers to make way for super highways and high-rise flats.

DEVASTATED

Apart from Clydebank, the highest jobless totals fall on the other side of the town where a spate of largely old factories have been shut down in the past two years and the ravages of slum clearance have devastated the area.

In Glagow's east end, 5,134 people are out of work in Springburn, 3,852 in Parkhead and 3.366 in Bridgeton. In the adjacent south side, 5,889 adults and young people are

All these districts run into Maryhill and P rtick at the centre and in these districts respectively, 4,421 and 3,312 people are on the dole.

Huge slices of 19th century industry have disappeared from east Glasgow and the figures show it only needs a small push for the west side to sink into the same jobless morass.

The shipyards are the only major industry surviving in the city's western suburbs. Already, of the 8,500 men employed there 14 months ago, only 6,000 are left and 1,000 of those may disappear in the next few weeks.

Any disaster which befell the Clydebank or Scotstoun yards would push up the job-less figures in the Burgh and at Partick—already up by 713 and 504 respectively on August last year.

Many Govan shipyard workers say they have little hope of the yard's survival beyond 1975, but already there are 3,222 unemployed there, a rise of 312 on last year.

Tory politicians have persistently advised Glasgow workers to be prepared to travel and to abandon their

'stick-in-the-mud attitudes' by seeking work on the lower reaches of the river Clyde.

But at Greenock and Port Glasgow unemployment is even higher than in Glasgow. Latest figures show that 4,193 people or 10.1 per cent of the insured population are looking for jobs—a rise of 1 per cent over last year.

On the other side of the Clyde, in the Vale of Leven, the figure is the same, but with male jobless rising steeply to 12.4 per cent because of the recent wholesale rationalization and outright closure of engineering factories.

The death of the shipbuilding industry and associated engineering and metal working trades has turned every major population centre along the length of Scotland's historic river into cesspits of unem-

ployment and poverty. Recession has produced unemployment even in west Scotland's new towns and at

East Kilbride 1,525 people are looking for work.

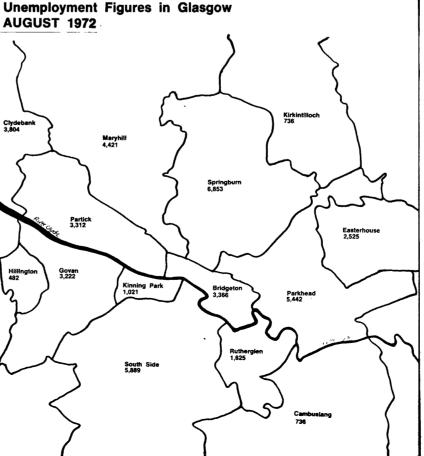
In the Glasgow metropolitan area, which includes Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire and Dunbarton, the staggering total of 73.993 men and women and boys and girls are not only without work but without hope of it.

BLACKSPOTS

In the Glasgow Planning Region as a whole, 84,318 people are jobless-8.2 per cent. This region includes Ayrshire and Bute. Although individual figures in outlying towns are often small, they account for large slices of the insured population.

For example, at Lesmahagou only 622 people are out of work, but these account for 24.5 per cent of the total available.

On the Clyde, unemployment blackspots are Greenock and Port Glasgow and on the



Between Scott-Lithgow's and Glasgow's upper Clyde ship-yards, Paisley, Johnstone and Barrhead share the highest jobless figures, accounting between them for nearly 6,000

YOUTH

In Lanarkshire, Airdrie, Bellshill, Coatbridge, East Kilbride. Hamilton. Motherwell. Lishau and Rutherglen all have jobless rates approaching 10 per cent. In Ayrshire and Bute the main blackspots are Saltcoats, Ayr and Kilmarnock.

Apart from the very high numbers of men out of work (in the case of Lesmahagou, 30.6 per cent), the figures disguise one other appalling tragedy—that of the youth.

In Glasgow city 4,763 under-18s are without jobs and it was this phenomenon which led the 'Daily Record's' leader writer to coin the phrase 'city of no hope'.

In west Glasgow, Clydebank vies with Partick for the highest number of youth unemployed-between them almost 1,000, or a fifth of the

Glasgow Planning Region as

employed, some of whom have never had a job since they left

It's the crushing burden of unemployment of these di-mensions which the Tories used at UCS, through their Stalinist agents, to frighten the shipyard workers into throwing everything to the wind bar their jobs.

Workers are facing increasingly intolerable burdens. For instance, while the Tory right wing plans how to deprive the poor and unemployed of their Social Security rights altogether, workers in Clydeside and elsewhere are facing up to the onslaught of

the Rent Act. COMMITTEES

Committees have been formed to fight unemployment while others are springing up to resist the Rent Act. But it is the Tories and the employers who are responsible for high prices and poverty, unemployment and the so-called 'fair'

Nationwide industrial action by all sections of the working class is the only effective way to fight back. Heath and his businessmen's

live. Above right: workers at the Marathon Manufacturing

must be made to resign and make way for a Labour forced to carry out socialist policies.

The basis of these policies would be the elimination of unemployment through the nationalization of all major industries without compensation and under the control of workers — not of faceless

profiteers. Throughout Britain Councils of Action are being formed to take up the fight against the Tories which the reformist leaders of the trade unions and Labour seek to evade.

There will be no end to unemployment or its use to drive down working conditions and living standards until the Tories are forced to resign through a General Strike.

Resolutions from trade union branches to the trades councils of Glasgow and Greenock have already beeen submitted demanding the immediate setting up of Councils of Action in those areas. No time should be lost.

THE ERNST THAELMANN **STORY**

BY TOM KEMP

Ernst Thaelmann. 'the transport worker from Hamburg', was leader of the Communist Party of Germany when Hitler came to power in 1933. Thrown into a concentration camp, he was quickly built up by the Stalinists as a martyr for the proletarian cause. His reputation was assured when the Nazis killed him 12 years later.

The Stalinist bureaucrats of the Socialist Unity Party in East Germany make every possible use of the legend of the heroic leader and great political genius to conceal their own mediocrity.

Speaking at a recent rally in East Berlin to commemorate victims of fascism, a party functionary called Sindermann gave a typical eulogy of Thaelmann:

'One of the greatest revolutionaries of the German workers' movement. Our comrade Ernst Thaelmann, as leader of the German Communist Party, gave the party and the fighting working class its international character.'

And Sindermann went on to credit Thaelmann with, if not actually the invention of the united front, at least keen support for it.

'He taught the fighting alliance of all progressive forces in the world to oppose warmongering and chauvinism.

And later he added: 'In the name of Ernst Thaelmann, we are entitled to declare that we will always honour the fraternal alliance between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, that no one will prevent us going our way with the Soviet Union.'

Rise to power as leader of CP

The legend of Thaelmann is useful to the East German bureaucracy and appears from time to time in the Stalinist press of other countries.

But the reality hardly measures up to the propaganda presentation. A great favourite of Stalin, Thaelmann rose to prominence in the period after the defeat of the Left Opposition in the 1920s when the communist parties were

brought under Stalin's control. He belonged to the same promotion as Thorez in France, Togliatti in Italy or Pollitt in Britain. In intelligence and political acumen he was inferior to all three. His rise to power as leader of the powerful German Communist Party, which had once been led Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Levy was an

index of its degeneration.
In the early 1920s Thaelmann, who came from Hamburg, rose to prominence as a leader of the left wing in alliance with Ruth Fischer's faction. Even at that time he was opposed to a united front with the Social Democrats, which was regarded as a bourgeois

It was an error by Thaelmann which resulted in the Hamburg communists going through with the insurrection in October 1923 after a decision had been taken to call it off. He prematurely told the couriers who were waiting to know the decision of the conference called at Chemnitz that the insurrection would take place. All except Remmele from Hamburg were recalled. The rising was suppressed with heavy loss of life.

Thaelmann's strength lay in the fact that he represented the CP's powerful Hamburg organization. Despite his theoretical backwardness, he rose quietly to prominence much as Stalin had done. By 1925 he was sufficiently well-known nationally to stand as presidential candidate—he won 6.3 per cent of the votes.

In the 'Bolshevization' which followed, both the left wing of Fischer-Maslow and the right wing of Brandler-Thalheimer defeated. Thaelmann emerged as a faithful supporter of Moscow, following its right and left zig-zags without question, having no political ideas of his own.

It was after the leftward turn known as 'the third period', launched by Stalin, in 1928 that Thaelmann's hold on the Party became complete.

His career almost came to an abrupt end when he was involved in a case of embezzlement of Party funds by his brother-in-law, Wittorf. Thaelmann's attempt to cover up the scandal was formally dis-approved by the Central Committee in September 1928 and he was removed from his Party

Reinstatement came rapidly on direct orders from Stalin. A Central Committee delegation was summoned to Moscow and a purge was launched in the German Party against those who had 'exploited' the Wittorf affair against Thaelmann. Flanked by Remmele and Heinz Neumann, he became undisputed leader.

From then on Thaelmann was built up in Germany as Stalin was in the Soviet Union with a massive personality cult as the great leader of the German proletariat. At the 12th Congress in June 1929 he was greeted by an organized ovation without precedent in the history of the German movement, but now to become standard in all the

communist parties. Casting all principle aside, the German Communist Party tried to answer the propaganda of the Nazis for Adolf Hitler by showing that they had a 'Fuehrer' of their own—Ernst Thaelmann. His picture was everywhere and the Party press was liberally sprinkled with tributes to his genius.

The adventurist policy which the German Communist Partv pursued in the last years of the Weimar republic, under instructions from Stalin, was accepted by Thaelmann withquestion. Thaelmann



No one was louder in his denunciation of the Social Democrats as 'social fascists'. All the disastrous policies of those years, going as far as cooperation with the Nazis, were fully endorsed by him.

Thaelmann tried to outbid the Nazis in appeals to nationalism, promises to the peasantry and a further build up of his own personality cult. In the first ballot of the presidential elections of March 1932 he won 13.2 per cent of the votes against 30.1 per cent for Hitler and 49.6 per cent for Hindenburg. In the second ballot his share fell to a little over 10 per cent.

While the Nazi vote was growing rapidly—Hitler had secured 36.8 per cent in the second ballot—Thaelmann discovered the main danger in the Catholic Centre Party.

'It is probable,' he wrote in January 1933, when the Centre Party leader Brüning was Chancellor, 'that the exercise of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie — whatever its methods, and particularly if thev are fascist methods will be above all and for a long time in the hands of the Centre Party'.

A few months later Hindenburg dismissed Brüning, who later disappeared into obscurity in the United States.

This prediction of Thaelmann's was typical of his quality as a political thinker. He displayed it again when he declared that the Communist Party was the only party to have gained from the Reichstag elections of July 1932 and suggested that the Nazi tide was on the turn. More accurately, he declared to the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern: 'With the fate of the German revolution the fate of the revolution in western and central Europe will be decided.'

Thaelmann, the typical Stalinist bureaucrat, magnified every small gain for the Communist Party into a great vic-

of their coming defeat. Unable to warn or prepare the working class to meet the dangers, Thaelmann persisted to the end with the policy of 'social fascism' which prevented a united working-class struggle against Nazism.

The obedient functionary

Although it still retained 12 per cent of the votes in the March 1933 elections after Hitler had become Chancellor, the Communist Party was not able to organize any effective resistance. The Party was made illegal, thousands of its members were arrested, tortured by the Gestapo and executed or sent to concentration camps. While some leaders were able to escape, Thaelmann was arrested and spent the remaining years of his life as a prisoner of the Nazis.

The defeat of the German working class and of the Communist Party cannot, of course, be blamed onto Thaelmann alone. He was a thick-headed and obedient functionary who faithfully and without question carried out Stalin's bidding.

Knowing that he was Stalin's man, the Nazis at least allowed him to live until their own defeat was certain, perhaps hoping to use him in some future deal. Even during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, however, Thaelmann was not permitted his freedom.

Perhaps Stalin did not relish his return to Moscow. Perhaps he feared the recriminations of the man who led the Party he had guided to defeat.

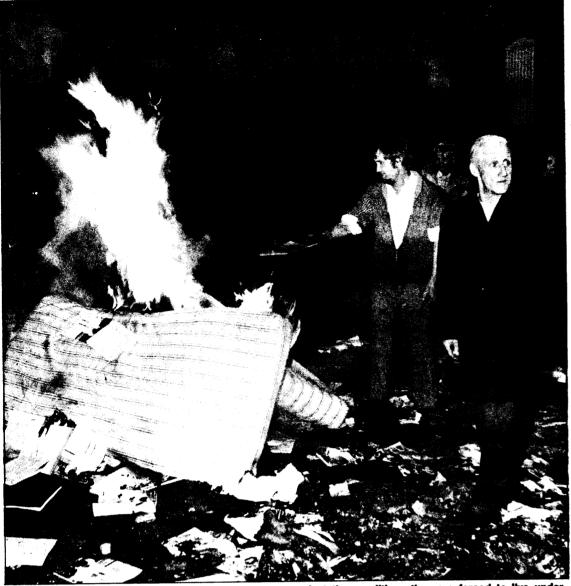
Some troublesome colleagues and friends of Thaelmann had been 'liquidated' during the purges. The legend of Thaelmann could best be preserved if he stayed in Hitler's concentration camp; the Stalinists were perhaps secretly pleased that he died there. Better an heroic martyr than an uncomfortable ghost from the

Stalin to promote his fatal policies in Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s which led to the defeat of the German working class and the rise of fascism. Above: Thæelmann in 1932. Below: imprisoned by Nazis.

His death permits the bureaucrats of the Socialist Unity Party, successor of the Communist Party in East Germany, to preserve the legend. In the light of the true Thaelmann story, their exploitation of his name is as cynical as their attribution to him of the policy of the united or popular front is a brazen lie.

But, after all, Thaelmann was a Stalinist of the same hue who used the same methods himself-the price which the working class paid was heavy indeed.





Above: Chaucer House tenants light fires to protest against the conditions they are forced to live under

CHAUCER HOUSE AND THE HOPELESS LIBERALS

Reviewed by Alex Mitchell

Now the rave reviews have subsided it is time to take a more objective look at the BBC documentary 'The Block' transmitted last Tuesday night.

It was a riveting hour-long feature on the conditions at a halfway-house for temporarily homeless families in the London borough of Southwark.

Producer Paul Watson spent three months 'on locality' gathering his film and commentary. In this respect the film had much to commend it. The technique is 'observatory participation'—where the filmmaker or journalist 'lives the role' of his subject material.

Chaucer House, the name of the place, is one of the grimmest examples of capitalism's treatment of poor working-class families. When Workers Press reporter Sarah Hannigan visited the building in June this year she wrote: 'Conditions in the block defy description.' It seemed at the time that this statement revealed a journalistic inadequacy.

But having visited the accommodation through the eyes of Mr Watson's cameras, one can understand how she came to this abrupt conclusion. To properly describe Chaucer House, or 'The Block', as it is known, one needs to be a Dickens or a Dostoievsky.

The documentary roves from one family to the next piecing together the desperate state of their lives. Inter-cut are interviews with local housing officials from the Labour-controlled Southwark Council.

After three-quarters of an hour of vivid description, one began to wait for the punchline. What would Mr Watson make of this wretched and cruel existence?

One got a nod that he was going to drift into the worst sort of liberalism when onto the screen appeared a woman answering a telephone from someone who had been spied on by agents of the Department of Health and Social Security.

The phone conversation was the first piece of obvious reconstruction. We can't believe that Mr Watson was in the office when suddenly the phone rang!

Then there was a passing reference to the courageous work of the Claimants' Union and in a wink the film had collapsed into a mish-mash of sentimental rubbish about those below the 'poverty line' and the hard-faced bureaucracy who didn't understand.

INTERVIEWED

All became a little clearer the following night when Mr Watson appeared on 'Late Night Line-up' to explain something of the background to his film. He said that he had seen a brief TV item on 'The Block' and decided that something proper had to be done.

He described how he went to the BBC's head of features and said that 'we should do something on poverty'. Good idea, said the BBC chief, and Watson began his research.

Asked by the interviewer whether he thought his programme was biased in favour of the tenants, Mr Watson said no, definitely not. He even insisted that his film was unbiased. He wanted to show the problems on both sides, he said.

Satisfied that Mr Watson was not a roaring Red, the interviewer, Michael Dean, then introduced his guests for a further discussion. (It is interesting to note here that Mr. Watson was interrogated first-and separately. After all, it would be improper for the BBC chap to be drawn into a political debate with the other members of the panel, wouldn't it!)

The guests were John Riches, former leader of the tenants' association at 'The Block', Frank Field, the director of the Child Poverty Action Group, Cyril Mercer, the Southwark housing manager and Alderman Sawyer, chairman of the housing committee.

Mr Riches, who had figured prominently in the film, has now got alternative accommodation. We also learnt that he is into just about every committee in the business.

He is on the 'early-warning committee'—no, it's nothing to do with the weather, it's to do with getting the authorities to pre-empt housing difficulties by offering assistance before the rioting starts—tenants' groups, claimants bodies, etc., etc.

He even vouchsafed that he

He even vouchsafed that he now tours the country giving lectures to trainee social workers.

Then Mr Field, whose liberal sentiments are of legendary embarrassment, called for government action to help out.

No one stated the obvious

No one stated the obvious that homelessness and poverty are an inevitable product of capitalism. To talk of 'pressuring' the Tory government into 'solving' the problem is a ludicrous suggestion. They won't and they can't!

LIBERALISM

The sickening liberalism of the film-makers and its subjects in the claimants and poverty action groups only pile confusion on top of the misery of the working class. They can offer no perspective or hope for the working class to liberate itself from the shackles of capitalism.

Dickens and Dostoievsky were splendid descriptive writers, but they are no substitute for another great writer on the condition of the working class — Frederick Engels. Mr Watson has some reading to catch up on.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

LIVING TOO LONG

The prophets of doom, those advocates of population control who foresee a world swarming with starving people, are at it again. They are completely at a loss to explain why, in spite of all their dire warnings, no government appears anxious to take up their proposals.

What appears to be worrying the world's governments is not population growth, but a slowing down in population increases. The USA, West Germany, Sweden, France and Russia are all reporting a decline in the number of births, and what is frightening their governments is the possibility of a decline in the workforce.

In Britain itself, the birth rate is now apparently only just above the death rate, so, if the trend continues, it should not be long before we reach Zero Population Growth.

Of course, the main danger facing mankind is not overpopulation, as Workers Press has pointed out on many occasion. It is the capitalist system which holds back technological progress and destroys production in order to maintain profits.

We are certainly not opposed to birth control. Workers Press does not accept that women have to remain 'breeding machines', producing one child after another throughout their fertile years. Families should be able to decide for themselves how many children they want and have the means available to enable them to carry out that decision.

The prophets of doom, however, are still not satisfied. Unable to blame capitalism for the problems facing the world, they still cling desperately to the spectre of 'over-population'

Alan Huet Owen, writing in 'Social Worker', while acknowledging the fall in birth rate, has had to stand the usual arguments on their head to make his point.

It is not the rapid birth rate that worries him now, but the fact that due to better health and social care, more people are living longer. So what is needed now, apparently, is a still further decline to ensure that even fewer people are born.



Paul Ehrlich, one of the foremost prophets of doom and population control.

'There is a growing body of opinion,' he says (whose opinion?) 'that a sane long-term aim for Britain would be to aim for a reduction of population of (say) 20 million.'

To this end he advocates not only government-sponsored family-planning and social-counselling services on the National Health Service, but a legal requirement on families not to produce more than an average of 2.4 children.

'There is no right to produce children who will make demands on the resources of the entire community,' Owen declares and advocates that the government should ensure there is no automatic family allowance for a fourth or subsequent child.

He is kind enough, however, to say that such parents, if they are too poor to manage on their income, could be allowed to apply for social welfare assistance.

At the same time, young people should be encouraged to postpone marriage and the legal minimum marriage age could be raised.

'Patriotism,' he believes, 'can be harnessed to civilized social ends as well as to the needs of war' in order to persuade parents to limit the number of their children.

If these measures are successful, he hopes there will be no need to consider compulsory sterilization and abortion!

Shades of 'Brave New World' — and Hitler's Germany!

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ALL TRADES **UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

September 26, 8 p.m. Hall, Clapham Manor Clapham Manor Street, 'ATUA national confer-

BASILDON: Tuesday September 26, 8 p.m. Laindon Community Centre, Aston Road, Laindon. 'ATUA national conference'

WANDSWORTH: Tuesday September 26, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road, Tooting. 'Lessons of the builders' strike'.
NOTTINGHAM: Wednesday Sep-

tember 27, 7.30 p.m. 'The Lion', Clumber Street. 'Lessons of the builders' strike.'

LUTON: Wednesday September 27, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road, 'Stalinism and the capitalist class.'

HOUNSLOW: Thursday September 28, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Bath Road.

TODMORDEN: Thursday, September 28, 7.30 p.m. The Weavers' Institute, Burnley Road. 'Lessons of the builders' and busmen's strikes.'

Lessons of the building workers strike. **SWANSEA**

Thursday, September 28 7 p.m.

Swansea Council of Social Ser-Next to the fire station.

Speakers: Gordon Carruthers (Chairman of Swansea No. 1

UCATT branch. In a personal

Jim Bevan (Chairman of Margam AUEW branch. In a personal capacity).

South Wales **SOGAT** men stay out

SIX HUNDRED members of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades at Wiggins Teape, Treforest, South Wales, have voted to continue their week-old strike for higher pay and are not due to meet again until next Sunday. The men are demanding an £8-a-week rise, hours cut to 40 and a shift allowance for night workers.

Thornycroft men to talk

STRIKERS at British-Leyland's Thornycroft factory in Basing-stoke, Hants, have agreed to start talks with the management. They have been on sit-in strike for six weeks over the sale of the factory to an American company and the proposed redundancy of 300



Tsai Chin plays Wang kuang-mei—Liu Shao-chi's wife—in her rounder the confrontation in 1967 with the Red Guards. 'A Subject of Struggle', Granada's fully-networked documentary, is based on actual transcripts of that confrontation. Below: Royal Shake-speare Company actor Colin Blakely in BBC 2's 'Peer Gynt' at





BBC 1

9.38-12.30 Schools. 1.00-1.25 Ar y trywydd. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.00-2.50 Schools. 4.10 Play school. 2.50 Schools. 4.10 Flay solicol.
4.35 Adventures of Parsley. 4.40
Jackanory. 4.50 Deputy dawg.
4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 John
Craven's newsround. 5.25 Josie and the pussycats. 5.45 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Texas Tom.

6.55 FILM: 'DOCTOR IN LOVE'.
Michael Craig, Virginia
Maskell, James Robertson Justice. British comedy.

8.30 MY WIFE NEXT DOOR. What Are Friends For?

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 DOCUMENTARY: 'A RIGHT TO A CHILD'. Has every couple an unconditional right to have a child?

10.15 PRESENTING LENA MAR-TELL. With guests Vince Hill and The Alex Welsh Jazz Band.

10.45 MIDWEEK. First British television interview with Clifford Irving, author of the fake Howard Hughes autobiography.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS. 11.35 THE OPEN PERSUADERS. Joan Bakewell talks to Sir Robert Birley, former Headmaster of Eton.

11.55 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.00 Magic ball. 12.15 Women today. 12.45 Craftsmen. 1.10 Bellbird. 1.25 Felix the cat. 1.40 Flintstones. 2.05 Castle Haven 2.30 Good afternoon 3.00 Charlie Brown show. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Sooty show. 4.50 Magpie. 5.20 I dream of Jeannie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.30 CROSSROADS.

6.55 MY GOOD WOMAN.

7.55 FILM: 'THE LAST BLITZ-KRIEG'. Van Johnson, Kerwin Mathews. World War

9.00 ARMCHAIR THEATRE. A Fluid Arrangement. Richard Pearson, Victor Maddern, Pat Heywood.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 A SUBJECT OF STRUG-GLE. Re-construction of the trial of Wang Kuangmei, wife of former President of China Liu Shaochi, by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.

PROFESSIONAL WREST-LING.

12.15 PEOPLE MAKE PLACES.

REGIONAL TV -

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 3.40 Lottery. 3.50 Puffin. 3.50 Odd couple. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Texas'. 8.22 My good woman. 9.00 London. 10.30 The caretakers. 11.15 Plus Tam. 11.45 London. 12.15 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.00 Paulus. 12.15 Gus Honeybun. 3.53 News. 6.00 Diary. 12.15 News. 12.18 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30-12.00 London. 12.50 News. 12.55 Jobs in the house and garden. 1.20 Dick Van Dyke. 1.50 Freud on food. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 London. 3.00 Saint. 3.55 Houseparty. 4.10 Torchy. 4.25 London. 5.20 Road runner. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Jimmy Stewart. 7.05 McCloud. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.25 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 12.15 Woobinda. 12.45 Ricochet. 1.45 A place of her own. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Saint. 4.00 Knight mare hare. 4.10 Tinkertainment. 4.25 London. 5.20 Gustavus. 5.25

Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bless this house. 7.05 Film. 'Border River'. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 Drive-in. 12.45 Weather. HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except: 4.10-4.25 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Chwilio am Tutankhamun. 130-

Chwilio am Tutankhamun. 11.30-11.45 O'r wasg. HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.00 Junkin. 2.30 London. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Randall and Hopkirk. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 5.20 Chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Ten Wanted Men'. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.15-1.10 Seaway. 2.40 Good afternoon. 3.10 Horoscope. 3.15 Dick Van Dyke. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 5.20 Jackson five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Rounders'. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 Lon-

ULSTER: 11.00-12.15 London.

1.30 News. 1.32 Cartoon. 1.40-2.42 Schools. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Lidsville. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Young Land'. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 12.15 Common Market cook book. 12.45 A world of their own. 1.45 Mad movies. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 London. 3.00 Delta. 4.00 Dr Simon Locke. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film: 'Honeymoon With A Stranger', 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.50 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. Grasshopper island. 12.30 Galloping gourmet. 1.00 Rainbow country. 1.30 Junkin. 2.00 Wonderful world. 2.50 Chess masterpieces. 3.00 Danger man. 3.55 Scales of justice. 4.20 News. London. 5.15 Peyton Place 5.50 London 6.00 News 6.25 Primus 7.00 Cartoon 7.05 McCloud 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 12.20 Alexander the greatest. 12.50

Edgar Wallace. 1.45 Jimmy Stewart. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Kreskin. 2.59 News. 3.00 Calling Doctor Gannon. 3.55 Funny face. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Honeymoon With A Stranger'. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Scotland Yard mysteries. 1.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 12.15 No small change. 12.45 Quentin Durgens. 1.40 Governor. 2.10 Champions. 3.10 Horoscope. 3.15 Nanny and the professor. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 5.20 Cross-roads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Scotland today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.40 Adam Smith. 7.10 McCloud. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 12.15 Dick Van Dyke. 12.45 Dangerman.
1.30 Cartoon. 2.46 Funny time.
2.57 News. 3.00 Let's face it.
3.30 Survival. 4.00 Lucy show.
4.25 London. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Top man. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'Honeymoon Film: Stranger'. 8.30 My good woman. 9.00 London. 12.15 Meditation.

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35

7.00 NEWSROOM. Weather. 8.00 PICK OF 'REVIEW'. Stories

PLAY: 'PEER GYNT'. By

Henrik Ibsen. A Stage 2

presentation with Colin Blakely, Wendy Hiller, Francesca Annis, Ray

THE OLD GREY WHISTLE

TEST. In the studio Step-penwolf, John Kay Band,

and Storytellers. WHEELBASE.

Barrett.

11.25 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

Linda Lewis.

BBC 2-

Open University.

9.25

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Scottish textile workers strike on

OVER 4,500 Scottish textile workers struck at the weekend after pay talks broke down. Owners Joseph Dawson (Holdings) Ltd reacted immediately with a 'go back to work or we shut down for good' ultimatum.

Chairman Alan Smith said: 'If we are to meet the full union claim, it would be better in the interests of everyone to shut the doors.

And Hawick Knitwear Manufacturers' Association Archibald Purves added: Association director

'Our present offer will cost the industry £1.5m a year. It is absolutely impossible for us to improve on it as we are recovering rom the worst trade recession in

50 years.'
Workers at the Glebe factory of Pringle of Scotland, owned by Joseph Dawson, are demanding a £6-a-week pay rise which at present range from £15.54 to £18.69 for men and £11.33 to £13.44 for women.

They are also asking for an

extra week's holiday and a 35hour week-a reduction of five Management has offered an

extra £2 now, plus an additional day's holiday with a further £3 spread over 18 months.

Notice of strike had been given from October 1, but after management's new offer made or

management's new offer made on Thursday local General and Municipal Workers' Union officials walked out of the negotiations and the stoppage was immediately made official.

 900 textile workers who have brought production to a halt at two factories in Flintshire, North Wales, have voted to stay out on

The factories involved are the Deeside Mill and the Aver Works of Courtaulds Limited. The dispute arose over employers being transferred to a department where short-time

working had been imposed.

Record year tor Fisons

FISONS, the chemicals and fertilizers group, is on target for another record year. With six months of the current trading period gone, Fisons disclosed that profits were already showing an increase of more than £1 $\frac{1}{2}$ m at £5,801,000. During the whole of 1971 the pre-tax jumped to a peak of £7,480,000 from £5,280,000 in 1970.

The company last week announced a $7\frac{1}{2}$ -per-cent increase in prices.

Incomes policy

FROM PAGE 1

The implication of this statement is clear. If the TUC feels unable to come to heel, the government is giving serious consideration to calling a General Election centred on the incomes policy issue.

By this means, Heath would hope either to give himself an increased parliamentary majority from which to proceed with attacking the unions with unemployment and rocketing prices, or temporarily pass the buck to a Labour government-of-crisis.

In the latter case the purpose would be to prepare in the wings for a decisive confrontation with the working class once the reformists showed themselves unequal to this task.

The news from Washington makes today's talks doubly treacherous.

By travelling to Chequers yet again at Heath's behest, the union leaders are blatantly and openly declaring that they have no intention of fighting to remove the Tories.

And they make this declaration as government spokesmen boast publicly to the IMF that they can whip the TUC into line.

At the same time, it is as clear to the union chiefs as it is to the Tories that any agreement they reach can only be of a temporary duration.

TUC secretary Victor Feather and his colleagues know that Market entry must mean big class battles. At Chequers today they are signing up for service with the Tories.

Briefly ...

Why a

Labour

Government?

A reply to some

By Cliff Slaughter

centrist critics

CLELANDS Shipbuilding Company, Wallsend, reopened yesterday after being closed for nearly six weeks by an unofficial strike of ten ancillary workers. The men resumed work following settlement of a bonus claim.

FROM PAGE 1

man. He denied that MacRae was 'touting for business' for him.

He said that MacRae had been introduced to the firm after Reginald Maudling, the former Tory Home Secretary and chairman of Poulson's international organization, visited the tiny African Republic.

Hunter: He (MacRae) was in a position to put contracts your way?

Poulson said MacRae's job was to put him in direct contact with the President over a harbour building contract. Hunter then asked who had 'nobbled' MacRae. Poulson: Nobody as far as I am concerned.

Hunter: Who paid him a sum of money to get the President's ear?

Poulson: I don't know. Hunter: Who decided? Poulson: I can't tell you.

Further questioned Poulson admitted that both he and Maudling had separately met the Liberian President during a visit he made to London. Asked how much money MacRae was paid Poulson said: 'I don't know.'

Hunter: We are faced here with a gigantic disappearance of money on an unbelievable scale and everytime I have asked you how the money got paid to Mr Mac-Rae or the Sultan of Morocco or something you said you did not know. Someone had done it while you were NOT looking?

Poulson: As far as Mrs Pollard was concerned I am certain it was part of the agreement with the directors.

Hunter: Someone paid a prominent Liberian personage money out of your bank account without your knowing. I want to know who did it, and we will get it back from him.

Continuing his examination Poulson was asked about Mr Breene, described as 'a member of Her Majesty's Foreign Service'.

Poulson said he had 'no idea' why Breene was being paid by his company.

Hunter then turned to the sums of money paid to Sales of the NCB, whom he said, got a 'great hand out'. Hunter said that Poulson had provided a deposit for, and paid the instalments on, a house which Sales bought through the Wakefield Building Society. Hunter said: 'He was on the NCB and you built houses for them.'

Poulson: 'No sir.'

The final payment to Sales was shown as of October 28, 1969, when Poulson's finances were described by Hunter as being in a desperate state. At that time Poulson could not pay his tax, his rent or his bills at the Dorchester Hotel in London. But he went on 'dishing out money' to Sales.

'Why did you do it?' Hunter asked, 'Why were you currying favour with Mr Sales?'

Poulson said that when he left the NCB, Sales became chairman of his industrialized building company which hoped to make large sums of money.

Poulson told the court he had made 'gifts' to a Mr Egan, a former mayor of Pontefract.

'He was in ill health and I helped him,' Poulson said. Poulson paid sums of money to Egan over a period of six years until December 1968.

Hunter then dealt in detail with what he described as an 'extraordinary transaction' between Poulson and the former mayor of Southport, Dr Hepworth, who subsequently went bankrupt.

Poulson became involved with Southport corporation when he was bidding for a civic centre contract. When told Hepworth had received at least £7,000, Poulson replied: 'I didn't know it was as much as that until I saw the books.'

Hunter: I cannot understand the nature of your replies. Here you go through the cash books and you read 'Hepworth £1,000', the next month he got another £500, the next month £250. Do you mean to say that this man came round with his cap in his hands every month?

Poulson: No sir.

Hunter: Just plain generosity.

Poulson: Yes sir.

Hunter: To the tune of £7,000?

Poulson: Yes sir.

ments'.

Hunter reminded Poulson he was giving evidence on oath. 'Do you wish to amend your statement?' he asked.

Hunter later produced a memorandum written by Poulson to Maudling, who was then chairman of an overseas subsidiary called International Technical and Construction Services. In the memo Poulson said 'he [Khoury] is prepared to do anything for us, but he wants paying and ITCS can make the arrange-

Poulson said Khoury was paid a sum of money to help secure a £2m government hospital contract in Beirut. Hunter also referred to a Lebanese senator whom Poulson had told to 'write directly to Mr Maudling, who will be pleased to do business with him.'

The hearing continued today.

John Poulson was the head of an international architectural practice based in Pontefract which went bankrupt 12 months ago.



Workers who have occupied the Gainsborough Cornard factory in Great Yarmouth.

Yarmouth sit-in strikers lobby in London

TEXTILE WORKERS who have occupied the Gainsborough Cornard factory in Great Yarmouth to prevent its closure will arrive in London today to picket the Carrington-Viyella company which owns their plant.

They also plan a march down Fleet Street and a visit to the headquarters of the monopoly ICI, which has a 49 per cent stake in Carrington-Viyella.

Over 340 workers began the occupation two weeks ago when they learned by accident that management intended an immediate and surprise shut-down of one of the few stable places of employment in the Norfolk town.

Rumours have gone around that the 14-acre factory site could be sold for property redevelopment. Local estate agents reckon the land could fetch £2m on the open market.

Yesterday, works convenor Dave Arnold told Workers Press:

'The delegation we sent to London last week met with no success. We can't even get to meet the directors of Carrington-Viyella. They seem to want to wash their hands of the whole thing.

'Management will be meeting us tomorrow, but we stay where we are at this stage. The morale is very high.'

The occupiers held a successful demonstration through Great Yarmouth at the weekend. They also report that financial support is beginning to flow through from all over Britain.

BOOKS



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Revisionism Pamphlet 15p Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from: NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.

Moscow Trials Anthology

A series which appeared in Workers Press in June, 1972 is now available as a pamphlet in

WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT?

A Reply to some centrist critics.' By Cliff Slaughter

Other titles in this series include: The Case for a General Election

which includes the All Trades Unions Alliance Draft Manifesto

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Addres

Big builders' huge profits

TWO giant building companies who refused to concede the recent £30, 35hour week pay claim, turned in record profits yesterday.

John Laing announced pre-tax profits of £3,173,000 for the first six months of this year—more than double those for the same period last year.

The directors forecast end-of-year profits of more than £6m and yesterday paid an interim dividend of 4 per cent.

Meanwhile the Higgs and Hill building group also doubled profits to £798,000 for the first six months against £345,000. They expect a total profit of more than £1.3m and paid an interim dividend of 10 per cent.



ILD STORAGE BY IAN YEATS

LEADING ROYAL docks group shop stewards in London said yesterday that the three-month-old blacking at Hackney's Midland Cold Storage could be called

The news came only 24 hours after news that cold store owner Lord Edmund Vestey has twice written to Transport and General Workers' Union secretary Jack Jones asking whether the pickets were official or un-

Although the August 16 decision of the national port shop stewards' committee to continue the recent dock strike was reversed at mass meetings of the men, London's Royal group dockers voted to continue blacking container and cold store

operators not using registered labour.

They planned to take on one operator at a time, and a victory at Midland Cold Storage would be followed immediately by picketing another depot nearby.

After three months there is no sign that Lord Vestey intends to

give way. On the contrary, his letters to Jones would appear to be aimed at eliciting union acceptance of responsibility for the unofficial pickets, which are costing the company £3,000 a week in lost business.

If they succeed, the company hopes Jones will take steps to have the pickets called off.

If they fail, it is understood it may once again apply to the National Industrial Relations Court for a restraining order. (It was Midland's last action in the courts which led to the jailing of the Pentonville Five.)

LATE NEWS

people and assault of a police officer. The disturbances occurred

when the demonstration tried to deliver 13 coffins to Downing Street to commemorate the Bloody Sunday killings in Derry.

John

PROTESTOR

Pickets on duty at the store yesterday were unconcerned by either possibility.

If Vestey took legal action against the T&GWU, they said they would be happy to see Jones himself go to jail. As one picket put it: 'See if we go to Pentonville to get him out.'

Both pickets and Royal group shop stewards cold-shouldered the idea that Jones was in a position to take disciplinary action against them in order to get the picketing called off.

They pointed out that even if they were suspended from the union they would work without cards and represent their men unofficially.

But behind the tough talk of leading members of the shop stewards' committee there is a firm belief that there might yet be circumstances in which the picketing could be called off.

Although there has been no contact between members of the

WEATHER

ENGLAND and Wales will have

PICKE

committee and the T&GWU, senior stewards feel that if Jones could prove a basis exists for negotiations with Lord Vestey the store might be allowed to reopen.

In Hull, T&GWU steward Ernie Wardle mented on his union executive's decision to discipline dockers alleged to have been involved in incidents outside Transport House on August 16. 'As soon as I heard that Jack

Jones was going to discipline the dockers for so-called violence at Transport House I went down to Bevin House [T&GWU head-

quarters in Hull to offer myself to be disciplined,' he said.
'I said that I would not pay any fine, and that if they expelled me from the union, the men would see that I continued as an unofficial shop steward. If I was kicked off the dock not one single kicked off the dock not one single docker would go in to work. 'I also wanted to know if

Jack Jones was going to set up a committee to inquire into police violence at Neap House Wharf and into the whole way

the strike was run.
'T&GWU full-time George Andrews told me to forget it.'

Briefly ...

WORKERS at a company which faced large-scale redundancies a few months ago, are claiming an extra £3 a week. Ransome, Hoffmann, Pollard of Newark, solved the workforce problem voluntary redundancies. the unions claim that the cuts, to enable the company to meet strong Japanese competition in the ball bearing market, have also made more money available.

ARMAMENTS and army workshops in the Nottingham area were closed by strikes by civilian employees yesterday. More than 2,000 workers, at the Royal Ordnance factory in Kings Meadow Road, Nottingham, and the R.E.M.E. workshops at the Central Ordnance Depot Chilwell tral Ordnance Depot, Chilwell, were involved. They have rejected

Banbury

Public Meeting

Wages Jobs and the Fight against the Tory government

Thursday October 5, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Banbury

Speaker: Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

an offer of £1.75 a week on their present basic rates of £17.30 for unskilled men and £23.35 for craftsmen. The 1,200 employees at the Nottingham factory have voted to carry on the strike indefinitely, but the Chilwell workers plan to go back today.

PRODUCTION has been resumed at the London Brick Company's Ridgmont, Kempston and Hard-wick yards in Bedfordshire. About 2,000 workers were sent

home last Thursday when fork-lift drivers and belt setters had refused to return to work after a nine-day strike over pay. At the height of the dispute more than 7,000 men at various plants were involved.

rooms. A lot of interest was aroused in the evening's meeting. Mick Bailey, from Todmorden Trades Council told the meeting that he was proud to stand on the same platform as the marchers. He had joined the Young Socialists to get into the fight to force the Tories out, he said.

strike.

For full story see page 3.

Enthusiastic

response to

YS Right-

to-Work

marchers

UNEMPLOYED youth in Yorkshire are responding

enthusiastically to the Young

Socialists' Right - to - Work

In Halifax, where the marchers

held a meeting on Sunday night, a total of 30 YS members were recruited during their short stay

and a new branch established in

the town.

All the indications yesterday

afternoon were that the campaign

would meet with the same sort of success in Hudderfield, last

On the march through the out-skirts of Bradford and into Hali-

fax on Sunday sales of Workers

Press and 'Keep Left' were exceptionally good.

The recruiting campaign

The recruiting campaignt started in earnest after an enjoyable meal in the Labour Party

night's port of call.

march through the area.

a message of support from the trade council. A young marcher from Brad-A young marcher from Bradford said jobs were very scarce in the town he came from. There were 640 unemployed youth, but only 120 jobs. Those jobs that were available were extremely low paid — sometimes only £5 a week after deductions. Dole queues in the town were so long that the Department of Employment had moved out of

He brought a donation of £5 and

Employment had moved out of the centre of the town into a back street.

Socialist Labour League LECTURES

PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Historical materialism today Tuesday September 26 **AEU HOUSE Mount Pleasant** Liverpool 1, 7.30 p.m.

London

Nature of the capitalist crisis Sunday October 1 Historical materialism today

EAST HAM TOWN HALL Lister Room Barking Rd, 7 p.m.

Sunday October 8

THE THEORY AND

given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

Liverpool

O'Toole pleaded not guilty at the a mainly dry day. It will be mostly cloudy in the east but Old Bailey yesterday to soliciting people to murder policemen, inthere will be some sunny periods, more especially in the west. citing people to commit arson to buildings in Whitehall and having an offensive weapon during an Irish political demonstration at Downing Street in February 1971. He pleaded guilty sunny periods. to another charge of unlawful and riotous assembly with other

Scotland and Ireland will also be dry. There may be some mist or fog patches early, followed by

Temperatures will be near normal in most districts, but it will be rather cold near the east coast of England.

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Little general change.

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