

## Heath wants to cut wages and smash unions

# HALT TORY PLANS FOR STATE CONTROL

**THE TORY government has launched its most serious attack on the working class since it came to power in June 1970.**

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In other words Heath and his Cabinet—assisted by the cowardice and class-collaboration of the TUC leaders—are assembling the bricks and mortar of a corporate state.

Unemployment, rising prices and entry into the Common Market are all key elements in this strategy.

● **FIGURES** released last week showed another jump in hard-core unemployment. 817,515 people in Britain and Northern Ireland are wholly without work. The Tories hope to use rising joblessness as a means of blackmailing the union leaders into cutting pay claims, and of undermining militancy on the shop floor.

● **THE OFFICIAL** annual rate of price increase is now running at 6.6 per cent, as the upward surge of wholesale prices reasserts itself over the phoney price restraint of the Confederation of British Industry. Over the next three months increases in steel, electricity, road transport and food costs will force up the rate still more sharply. This is quite apart from the wage-cutting effects of the Housing Finance Act which operates from Monday (see p. 3.)

BY THE ATUA NATIONAL COMMITTEE

● **COMMON MARKET** entry on January 1 next year, will bring a further cut in living standards. Prices will rise 10 per cent as a result of the new Value-Added Tax alone. Heath talks about pegging wages to increase no more than £2 'in the interest of the nation'. Earlier this year he was urging pay restraint in the interests of 'the consumer'.

But the nation is divided into classes. So are consumers. Heath, who not long ago awarded himself a £100 a week pay rise, speaks for the employing class.

By accepting Heath's proposals as a basis for discussion, the union leaders aid his policy of splitting the middle class from the working class by allowing him the appearance of speaking for 'the nation' and 'the consumer'.

The Tory package proposed at Chequers cannot be entertained by any member of either the middle class or the working class for a moment. Wage restraint is totally unacceptable, for the reasons already outlined. And the promise to limit price increases to 5 per cent is rubbish.

Under capitalism, prices are the monetary expression of the value of commodities and thus fluctuate violently in periods of boom or crisis.

Any attempt to freeze prices in Britain would only result in a massive flight of capital abroad in search of higher profits. This in itself would force up unemployment—and the union leaders know this. They also know that the Chequers pledge to help the low-paid workers is a cynical fraud.

In capitalist society it has always been the most strongly-organized and therefore

more highly-paid sections of workers who have made the pace in the wages struggle. Without their efforts the earnings of the low paid would be even lower.

It is not the job of the union leaders to hold back the strongest, but to strengthen the weakest.

Yet at Chequers the TUC leaders accepted precisely the opposite role. In the face of threats from Heath and his Ministers of more unemployment if they refused to toe the line, they started preparing to give up all workers' rights.

By accepting the Heath plan as a basis for discussion they disarm the working class in its hour of greatest need.

There can be no compromise with these men. There can be no compromise, either, with the Stalinists of the British Communist Party who cover up for their treacherous retreat.

On Clydeside, in fact, the Stalinists have put themselves in the position of front-runners for the TUC retreat.

Because the pay struggle of boilermakers at Govan Shipbuilders interfered with his plans for coming to terms with the Tories and the employers, James Reid, a CP executive member, accused them of importing the 'rat race' into trade unionism.

Yet it was Reid and his fellow-Stalinists in the shipyard, working hand-in-glove with the leaders of their Party, who split the yards and destroyed the most important struggle against the Tory architects of unemployment of the last year.

Neither the TUC 'lefts' nor the Stalinists will fight for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state, or even lead the wages struggle today.

The Heath plan has made clear once and for all that the struggle for wages is through and through political and can only be led by those who recognize this fact.

The All Trades Unions Alliance, which is holding its national conference in Birmingham on October 22, has fought tirelessly for this conception. We have fought to free the unions from the grip of capitalist politics through building a revolutionary leadership within the trade unions.

As we pointed out in our initial statement for the Birmingham conference, this struggle was central to Lenin's conception of trade union work and essential to the victory of the October revolution.

Lenin insisted: 'It is not enough that the class struggle becomes real, consistent and developed only when it embraces the sphere of politics... Marxism recognizes a class struggle as fully developed, "nationwide", only if it does not merely embrace politics, but takes in the most significant thing in politics—the organization of state power.'

Delegates are already being elected from shop stewards' committees, trade union branches and trades councils all over the country to attend the ATUA conference.

This is the only way to answer the Heath plan. We appeal to every one of our readers to put the biggest possible effort into the campaign for the conference. It is vital that the maximum number of delegates and visitors attend.

- All out for the Birmingham conference.
- Break off the talks with Heath.
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October 29, 1972

## Overtime ban lifted on London docks

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

**DOCKERS** at London's militant Royal group of docks decided yesterday to lift their overtime ban after shop stewards told them that the immediate problem of surplus labour had been solved.

The move came on the day the Temporary Unattached Register was officially abolished as part of the Jones-Aldington proposals.

Shop steward Micky Fenn said the ban would be discontinued from Monday.

Fenn said all the men on the TUR in London had been re-allocated, claiming this was one of the victories of the dockers' struggle.

In fact the higher severance pay agreed by the union as part of Jones-Aldington has more than dealt with the 1,300 surplus in London, and very little re-allocation was necessary.

Fenn also said that the stewards had approached the port employers and asked them if

productivity was increased by 50 per cent on the docks would they guarantee no further closures. The employers had refused to give such an assurance, he said.

Fenn also reported that the national dock stewards' committee had drawn up a new list of firms which would be blacked on the docks. He said the blacking in London of Midland Cold Storage and Dagenham Cold Store would continue.

He warned that if men found themselves without work in the future or closures went on it would be necessary to re-impose the ban.

The national stewards also discussed the issue of pensions and have decided to establish campaign committees on this issue in the ports. The committee has also decided to extend its influence to the Scottish ports. Dockers' shop stewards at Liverpool will be in charge of this development.

● See TUR figures p. 12; Cowboy ports pp. 6 & 7.



Steward Colin Ross (l), chairman of the meeting which voted to lift the ban.



# workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# What we think

## Still crawling behind the Stalinists

ONE OF the most contemptible relationships in the British labour movement today is the friendship between the anti-communist International Socialism Group and the Stalinists of the Communist Party.

The Clyde has been the great testing ground for this alliance of the unprincipled.

At UCS the IS have consistently played handmaiden to the Stalinists, covering up at every stage the great betrayal.

From yesterday's edition of their paper, 'Socialist Worker', it seems they will play the servant to Stalinism right to the bitter end.

In an anonymous article they described the collapse of the Stalinist 'work-in' policy and the split this has caused in the ranks of the Clydeside shipyard workers.

Then men at Govan Shipbuilders, they claim, are refusing to pay their 'work-in' levy because the men at Clydebank accepted redundancy payments from the American company Marathon Manufacturing.

Other factors were the Govan and Scotstoun boiler-makers' insistence on a wage increase before signing their own deal.

The other problem, say the IS, is the way the work-in has been 'dragging on'.

For all these problems the paper blames 'the stewards'. But throughout the entire article the main architects of the split, the Stalinists who, as all but the totally ignorant know, dominate the struggle at UCS, get not one single mention let alone criticism.

But who was it who accepted the policy of redundancy payment at UCS—James Reid.

Who led the men into signing the deal—James Reid. Who attacked the boiler-makers at Govan for standing up for more money—James Airlie. Who told the boiler-makers that they would have to sign or their would be no yard—Sammy Barr. And who in the first place subordinated the struggle for the right to work on the Clyde to a deal with the Tory government and two capitalist employers—Reid, Airlie and Barr.

Yesterday's 'Socialist Worker' proves that these reformists place far more importance on the reformist antics of the ageing gentlemen who head the 'Communist Party industrial machine' than the ability of the working class to defend its standards and force the Tories to resign.

## Alex Mitchell explains how, in three years of continuous publication, a unity of purpose has been forged between reporters, readers, sellers and collectors.

THE PRODUCTION of the 12-page Workers Press six days a week, 52 weeks a year is an enormous technical, professional but, above all, political achievement.

The celebration of our third anniversary as a daily is a complete vindication of our Marxist political estimation of the economic crisis and its implications for the British working class.

We now intend to build on this solid foundation with wider coverage of industrial and international news and at the same time to introduce the latest printing technology to improve production.

In other words, Workers Press is getting ready for the class battles in front and for the crucial task of training and building an alternative revolutionary leadership in the working class.

After three years of continuous publication we have given the lie to those who scoffed at our decision to launch a revolutionary Marxist daily newspaper. They said that the workers' movement was 'not ready' to support a daily newspaper; they said the Socialist Labour League would break its back putting it out.

But these impressionistic commentators, particularly the ones in revisionist circles, had no credible perspective of the political situation in Britain and internationally. As the world crisis of capitalism unfolded, the SLL felt the question was not simply what was politically possible, but what was politically necessary. The working class needed such a paper as a revolutionary instrument in the class struggle.

WE HAVE unmistakably demonstrated that on our programme the first Trotskyist daily newspaper in the world could be founded with the support we fight for in the working class.

Then we have other huge advantages: a first-class printing plant, highly-skilled tradesmen, a professional team of revolutionary writers, photographers and designers. But there is a further group of comrades and supporters whose work deserves special elaboration.

These are workers—and sometimes their wives—who collect the paper at stations and air terminals in the early hours of the morning and undertake long delivery runs to ensure that the Workers Press is on sale and taken into factories in the morning shift.

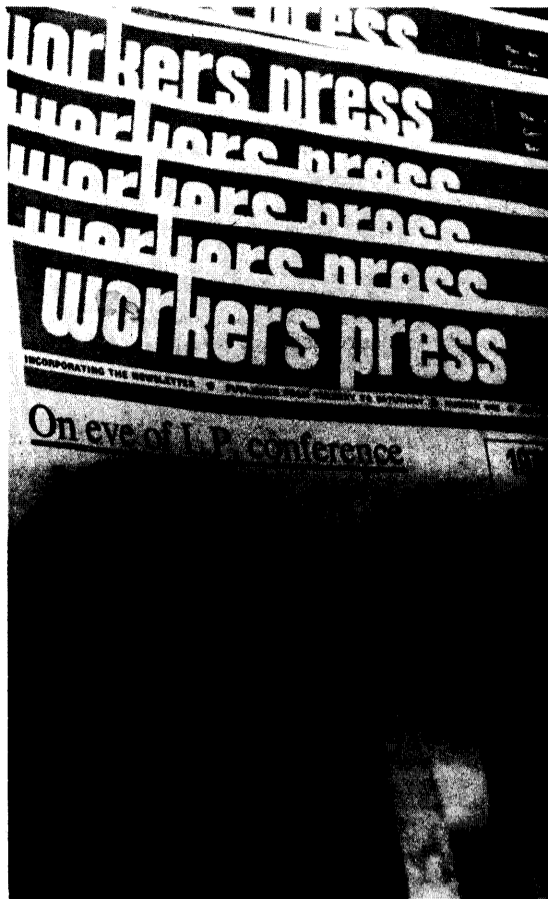
Sales are one crucial aspect of the life of our paper, and so is the monthly appeal fund. Each day we collect a continuous stream of money to fill the fund; in the three years since we began daily publication it has never gone short.

What is forged, therefore, is a unity of purpose between reporters, readers, sellers and collectors. It is a common fight against a common capitalist enemy.

The devotion and sacrifice by all those participants in this fight is truly magnificent. It is unknown on the capitalist press. Indeed, it couldn't happen there.

This struggle for the paper was best demonstrated during the national Right-to-Work

# 3 great years



marches organized by the Young Socialists during the bitter winter months of February and March this year. Reporter Stephen Johns marched the whole route from Glasgow to London with the unemployed youth.

By the final week of the national campaign we had a full reporting team with the marchers: Ian Yeats was with the Kent march, Philip Wade with Liverpool and David Maude with the Welsh contingent. They lived and slept with the marchers. Only one capitalist newspaper sent a reporter, 'The Sunday Times'. And he drove alongside in a hired car and spent the night in a luxury hotel.

It would be wrong to give the impression that our success has been produced out of some sort of formula or simply out of sacrifices made by our supporters. Our success is built on political struggle, often bitter but always educative.

THE MOST outstanding example is at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the focal point of a big battle against unemployment. Since the 'work-in' began over a year ago we have conducted a relentless exposure of the Stalinist and reformist leadership warning that their policies would lead only to the break-up of the yards and the loss of thousands of jobs.

The Stalinists replied in their traditional way—they harassed our sellers and one of our re-

porters was threatened with a dunking in the Clyde. Now we've come almost a full circle. James Airlie, leading Stalinist, is rejected by the workers in his yard and the CP's glamour boy, James Reid, wears a much-tarnished image. The Workers Press, on the other hand, has earned the respect of the most advanced section of UCS workers.

OUR PAPER is bought and read with respect. Our analysis has proved correct. We have continued to serve the UCS workers in their struggle and only three weeks ago we published in detail the agreement which the Stalinists signed with the Texas oil firm at Clydebank.

So with our coverage of the international scene. We have exposed the policies of the Eastern European Stalinist bureaucracies as they reach trade agreements with fascist and neo-fascist countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece. Guiding these attacks has been the struggle for socialist internationalism in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

We have kept the case of political prisoners in front of the working class—George Jackson, who was subsequently murdered a year ago at San Quentin, Angela Davis, Soviet prisoners Grigorenko, Yakir, Bukovsky, Czech prisoners, Rhodesians, Ceylonese, Greek and Irish.

We have stood unequivocally for the defence of the colonial peoples in their struggles in Vietnam, Bangladesh, Palestine,

the Arab states and southern Africa. In Ulster we were the first to call for the withdrawal of British troops and we have consistently fought for the unity of the British and Irish working class in the struggle against British imperialism.

Experiences over the past nine months have demonstrated the mass revolutionary movement which is under way in Britain. This expressed itself first in the miners' strike, then with the railwaymen, the dockers and the building workers.

The bitter struggles on the picket line and in the anti-union courts have left an indelible mark on the political consciousness of tens of thousands of workers. But the path ahead will be uneven and dangerous.

It is in consideration of these future developments that we have laid our plans for the expansion and development of our publishing. To train an alternative revolutionary leadership—the supreme task of revolutionists today—requires two essential stages: the publication of books at reasonable prices as part of a mass education programme and further increases in the circulation of the Workers Press.

TO THIS end in mid-1973 we are installing a brand new press to publish Workers Press. This will allow our present press to be used on a full-time basis for book production while the new machinery will publish more quickly and efficiently our daily and the weekly youth paper, 'Keep Left', which we are so proud of.

Coupled with the technical innovations there will be new additions to the editorial staff from national daily newspapers. These journalists who have decided to throw up the bourgeois media and give their talents to the revolutionary movement will help to greatly expand our coverage of industrial, economic and international news.

The other major development will be in film-making. We are now in the final stages of completing plans for film production; the laboratories, cutting rooms and viewing facilities are being brought into service. This will enable us to produce drama based on working-class history, and education films for those coming for the first time into political struggle.

In conclusion it must be emphasized that our fight is to make the Workers Press a workers' paper which fights for leadership in the working class. We don't and won't tail-end the working class. On this basis we are confident of winning the best sections of workers who are moving towards revolutionary politics.

Our paper couldn't last another day without the support of the working class. Its continued expansion over the past three years is living testimony to the power of the working class and its revolutionary potential. The existence and growth of Workers Press is undoubtedly its greatest achievement.

## Jockeying for IMF positions

THE SPLIT over the election of a chairman for the International Monetary Fund's key Group of 20 shows that the conflict between the United States and the Common Market has not abated.

Bank of England functionary Jeremy Morse was elected chairman by one vote over Rinaldo Ossola of Italy, who was backed by the United States.

# Trade war stakes

Only a last-minute switch by two of the African delegations prevented deadlock on the committee, which is to be the forum for detailed discussion of a new international monetary system.

The clash over the chairmanship pitted Britain and the Common Market countries—except for Italy—against the United States and its Latin American and Asian supporters.

The most intransigent opponents of compromise over the chairmanship were the French, who are still smarting from the calculated US attack on the present IMF director-general Pierre-Paul Schweitzer.

But this is not the only reason for the clash. The Group of 20 is to be the main cockpit for the battle between Europe and America over the coming period on trade and monetary questions.

The American position remains as hard as ever. President Nixon's statement at the opening ceremony and the plan advanced by his Treasury Secretary George Schultz have done nothing to change it, despite the misplaced euphoria of certain European commentators.

The US is still demanding that the other major capitalist countries foot the bill for America's huge balance-of-payments deficit, both by again revaluing their currencies and by abolishing their protective trade practices.

On August 15 last year Nixon reneged on his obligation to convert the dollar into gold at the rate of one-thirty-fifth of an ounce for every dollar.

Since then America's creditors have been left with piles of paper dollars in their bank vaults which nobody wants. To add

insult to injury, the US is demanding that they open their markets to American produce and accept even more dollars on the same basis.

Essentially, this is what the Schultz package adds up to, sweetened with the promise that eventually—when it suits Washington—the dollar's convertibility will be restored.

All the participants know that the big battles lie ahead: which is why they are frantically jockeying for the key positions in the IMF bureaucracy. But though the Europeans appear to have won the first round by a narrow margin, the victory is likely to be shortlived.

In the last analysis the question is decided by the relative economic weight of the contestants—and here the US has the decisive advantage. The

European capitalist economies have been regenerated since the war on the basis of their access to the American market.

But the Nixon administration is threatening to cut them off from this outlet unless they accept American terms. In a trade war though both sides stand to lose the Europeans stand to lose far more.

The biggest losers of all, however, are the ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America who appear at the meeting, as one commentator put it, 'simply as good public relations decoration'.

These countries are already living on the edge of bankruptcy as their staple trades decline and their debts to the metropolitan countries escalate out of control. They will be the first victims of the trade war and the worst hit.

## Letter a lock-out threat -APEX

A LETTER to 70 clerical staff on strike for over a week at John Hunter's Liverpool food factory is claimed to be a 'lock-out threat'. North-west organizer of the clerical union, APEX, John Allen, commented: 'In the letter they state if we do not return to work, we are being given notice of termination of our employment under Section 26 1A of the Industrial Relations Act, 1971. 'Our legal advisers tell me there is no such section in the Act. We will not return to work under threat, only under negotiated settlement.' Earlier this week 700 shop-floor workers staged a one-day sympathy strike.

## Ferry stops

THOUSANDS of commuters were hit yesterday by a one-day strike of Mersey ferry crews which halted services between Liverpool and Birkenhead. The strike, in protest against delays over a pay claim, ended at midnight, and normal services will operate from shortly after 6 a.m. today. The men returned to work on Monday after a five-day stoppage.

**ROAD HAULAGE** Association members were told yesterday to increase their freight charges by up to 10 per cent despite a warning earlier this week by Trade Secretary John Davies that an increase would permeate the whole economy. Eric Russell, association secretary, said either charges must go up or 'unremunerative traffics abandoned'.

## Beware of rent strikes isolating struggle

# Defeat Tories to beat rent Act

MONDAY is 'fair rent' day for millions of council tenants throughout Britain as the first increases under the hated Tory Housing Finance Act become due.

Only a handful of Labour councils—50 at the most—are refusing to implement the Act.

Another 330 Labour-run town halls have put up rents by £1 a week in most cases.

The Tories introduced the legislation with the intention of destroying the entire basis of municipal housing.

Subsidies to local councils are to be withdrawn and rents fixed on a 'market level' basis.

For 6 million council tenants—with private tenants to follow next year—it means rents will begin to double and the notorious means test will be introduced. Council housing as we know it will end.

Throughout the past year the Labour Party, Communist Party and the revisionist International Socialist group have tried to divert tenants' anger into harmless protest against Tory plans.

The CP-led National Association of Tenants and Residents has organized campaigns of petitioning and lobbying of parliament and spread the illusion that non-implementation by Labour councils would make the Tories drop the 'fair rents' Bill.

Their allies in IS joined hands with them to prevent the only real possible fight: a campaign to force the Tories to resign.

With the rent increases due, the Tories unmoved, and the Labour councils on their knees before them, the IS now says 'the Tories can be beaten' with rent strikes.

But this is also dangerous nonsense. The central question remains not to 'beat the Tories' but to make the TUC call a General Strike to force the Tories to resign and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and the repeal of the

Housing Finance Act.

Only Councils of Action can now mobilize the millions of tenants alongside trade unionists threatened with the destruction of their basic rights to work and to strike.

Embracing tenants' associations, trade unions and all political organizations of the labour movement, Councils of Action are being set up all over

Britain with the aim of leading the campaign to make the Tories resign through a General Strike.

Unless the tenants have this perspective, there is a grave danger that groups like IS will lead rent strikers into purely protest action in isolation from the working class organized in its trade unions. On that basis rent strikes will be defeated.

## Trades Council sets up rents committee on Mersey

TENANTS and shop stewards meeting on Merseyside—where 10,000 dockers will strike against the Tory rent Act on Monday—have decided to form a Liverpool trades council co-ordinating committee.

A 300-strong meeting on Thursday night endorsed unanimously a proposal that the committee should comprise council and private tenants, trade unions and trades councils, those Labour councillors who want to fight the Act and other working-class organizations on the basis that all were prepared to assist in the fight to bring down the Tory government.

A call from the trades council to support tenants

threatened by eviction and for participation in Monday's strike was also endorsed as was a call for the expulsion from the Labour Party of all those councillors who supported implementation.

The meeting demanded the recall of the TUC to begin a campaign for the defeat of the Tories and the return of a Labour government to carry out a socialist housing programme.

Garforth, Kippax and Allerton-Bywater council tenants, near Leeds, face substantial rent increases on Monday because of a retreat by the 12 Labour councillors who last Wednesday walked out of the chamber leaving three Tories to vote for implementation.

## Councils of Action vital

AN INTERVIEW BY PHILIP WADE

AN ACTIVIST in the tenants' movement on a south London estate, Mrs Veronica Gayle, talked to Workers Press about the fight against the Act and the Communist Party leadership in her area. Her rent is going up 64p on Monday, making it £11.80 a fortnight.

The tenants' leaders have had no policies to fight this Act. Round here the CP Stalinists have said the campaign was non-political and all they ever wanted was peaceful protest against it.

Now the tenants are on their own. The Lambeth Labour council is putting up the rents. They have set no example and given us no lead.

They talked a lot about different ways of fighting, but all the time the Tories were in the front and the Labour leaders behind them.

If you're going to fight something like this you need good leadership.

At the moment you will only get a small minority of tenants who won't pay their rents. But tenants alone cannot get the Tories out, which is what's needed.

They have to unite with other workers who are under pressure from the Tories. Other workers are usually tenants. It's the same for everyone.

The rent goes up and the wages stay the same. With the increase in the cost-of-living you still have to find the extras to pay the bills.

Now the Tories are going to make things even harder for all of us.

We definitely need Councils of Action to work towards a General Strike to get the Tories out and put back Labour to carry out socialist policies.

But the Stalinists don't want that. They will now turn round and say we couldn't have done any better and you now have to take everything.

They will blame tenants for their own failures and use us as scapegoats.

Tenants and workers have to clean up their leadership now. We must have people determined to fight all the way in a political way to get the Tories out.

Older workers are understanding the base and root of their troubles as the Tories. Workers are making it their duty to understand and are not as backward as their leaders make them out to be.

All the strikes workers have been in this year have opened their eyes and given them confidence.

## YS Right-to-Work campaign

Goldthorpe miners in Yorkshire welcomed the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marchers into their welfare social club for a midday meal on Thursday—the sixth day of the Leeds to Sheffield campaign. In almost every town the youth have passed through, the miners have been their most stalwart supporters, both financially, morally and politically. On the right are some of the marchers and miners along with the women who cooked that most welcome meal.



## Increased fear for miners' jobs

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

NEWS THAT the government is withholding money from the coal industry in a bid to curb miners' pay demands has increased fears on the coalfields of more closures.

The Tories want an assurance that there will be no repetition of last winter's strike which blasted a huge hole in the government pay norm.

They also want the union leaders to cut their pay claim from the £5.50-£7 decided at the National Union of Mineworkers' annual conference.

National Coal Board spokesmen from all the major coalfields admitted yesterday that without the £800m aid the number of mines falling within the category 'uneconomic' was bound to increase. One, from Yorkshire, gave a typical opinion:

'A lot depends, of course, on us. If we can get a good full year

in then difficulties will be minimized.

'But naturally the Board cannot go on making huge losses—the programme for future closures, even in a prosperous area like Yorkshire, depends on how much money the Board and the unions can get out of the government.'

A union view was given by Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' official and one of the strike leaders.

'I do not accept pit closures and I don't want pessimistic talk about the industry. I want to see the industry in terms of continual expansion. The NCB has not intimidated us that there are any pit closures pending in this area.'

Yorkshire contributed a massive £40m to the NCB's £118m loss for 1971-1972. But it is not

expected to be the main victim in a closures programme—though the NCB admits there are many 'small and old' pits in the Barnsley area (£10.5m loss).

NCB chairman Derek Ezra says eight pits are due for closure this year through exhaustion of coal and a further six in 1973-1974. The region likely to be worst hit will be the north west which made the highest loss of the Board's 18 areas.

This area covers North Wales and Cumberland. 'Problem pits', says the NCB, include Solway at Workington which is near exhaustion; Haig at Whitehaven; Gressford and Bersham in Wrexham; and Point of Ayr near Prestatyn.

On the main Lancashire field three out of the nine pits were not making an operating profit before the miners' strike. These

also must be considered in jeopardy, facing the north west's 15,000 miners with a redundancy battle within the next 12 months.

Other closures will include Smithy Wood—a mine near Sheffield employing 500 men.

In South Wales, Fernhill, at the top of the Rhondda Valley, is on the jeopardy list, but union leaders say output is rising and hope to remove it from danger.

On other fields NCB officials deny that any closures are planned—with the proviso that the industry does need the government's £800m.

Clearly miners face two big dangers:

● Their leaders will conspire with the Board to avoid a strike and possibly send a denuded claim to arbitration.

● The Tories will plough ahead and close pits as part of its general offensive against the working class.



# HOW THE IMG SUPPORTS STALINISM

By Cliff Slaughter Part Two

The revisionists of the International Marxist Group play a role which can be clearly defined. They use radical phrases and Marxist jargon in order to cover up for the crimes of the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

Like all the followers of Mandel's 'United Secretariat' they object fiercely to our calling them 'Pabloites'.

But they follow precisely the logic of Michel Pablo, who tried in the early 1950s to make the Fourth International into the running dog of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the communist parties.

Tony Hodges, speaking for the IMG in his article on the upper Clyde shipyards crisis in 'International Socialist Review', talks about the need for 'a new fighting leadership'. He goes on to criticize the Labour and trade union leaders and the Labour 'lefts', but is silent on the Stalinists, who are actively carrying out the policies of the social democrats for them in every strike from the Post Office to the building workers.

So when Hodges mentions the 'construction of the left wing', what does he mean? He means crawling behind the Stalinists and their fake Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and 'Action Committees', giving them every assistance in keeping militants away from the struggle to force the Tory government to resign.

This is why *nowhere* in his article does Hodges raise the question of a political programme to make the Tories resign and return a Labour government. Everything is focused on forcing 'retreats' on the Tory government.

Now this fits in exactly with what the Stalinists have done on the Clyde. As the occupation of the yards began, they announced that it would be a 'work-in'! Hodges dresses up this reformist claptrap as follows: 'The trade unions reorganized production under their own control!'

## OWNERSHIP

What the shop stewards, under Stalinist leadership did, was to keep men working for the liquidator, tiding production over until new investment was attracted by government grants and no-strike pledges. At no time was the question of *ownership* of the yards—a blatant case for nationalization—ever raised!

The Stalinists argue that this was the only way to save jobs. Of a labour force of 8,500, 2,000 left before the end of the work-in. In the same

period there were 32,000 redundancies on Clydeside!

This growth of mass unemployment could only have been fought by the Clyde shipyard workers being mobilized with the whole working class to bring down the government.

Stalinist UCS leaders James Reid and James Airlie, directed by Bert Ramelson, industrial organizer of the Communist Party, covered up by the revisionists of the IMG and the International Socialists, aimed to isolate the UCS workers. They bitterly opposed the anti-Tory slogans of the 200,000 who struck in support on August 18, 1972.

At the peak of the work-in, only 390 workers were at work, and it slumped to 177, even though redundancies were increasing all the time.

In the Govan yard, when the boilermakers rejected the terms agreed by their leaders and decided to fight on for their differential, it was once again Reid and the Stalinists who condemned them.

Reid brought into the middle of the fight all the corporatist ideas he has been developing in the last two years. The boilermakers, by pressing their 'sectional demands', were bringing the inevitability of 'the rat race' into the yards, said Reid. This is open collaboration in all the preparations for disciplining trade unions behind the emblem of 'national interest'.

Like Reid, representatives of the Stalinist bureaucracy everywhere will carry out this role in order to prevent the development of the revolutionary political independence of the working class.

It is little wonder that what Hodges calls the 'victory of the Clydesiders' was summed up by the Tory liquidator as follows:

'It is greatly to the credit of the leadership of the shop stewards' co-ordinating committee that, one or two short-lived and regretted incidents apart, they have exercised the potential for negative control with considerable restraint and have been ready to see that the practical needs of the situation demanded the co-operation of all the interested parties.'

That is the employers' verdict on the Stalinists!

The IMG has perverted and revised Marxism in order to justify its treacherous support of these Stalinist policies. Hodges article is called 'The Crisis of British Capitalism', but he cannot explain one single word about the *world* crisis of capitalism behind the special problems of British capitalism.

For him, the crisis is only a temporary downturn in an expanding 'neo-capitalist' economy. (As his mentor Mandel told us, Nixon's August 1971 measures would lead only to 'a cycle of slower growth'.)

Hodges can write (early in



Stalinist James Reid



Top: Voting to start the 'work-in' at Govan yard. Above: Industrial organizer of the Communist Party Bert Ramelson.

the summer of 1971):

'The Tories decided to slash taxes in the March budget in order to encourage investment and spur industrial recovery. The ensuing rise in employment will no doubt further encourage the unions.'

How wrong is it possible to be on economic and political perspectives? By September, unemployment was creeping up to the million mark! 'The unions' are running to the government, to collaborate against a rank and file radicalized by unemployment and the attacks on basic rights!

It is this faith in capitalism which paves the way for the petty-bourgeois IMG group to work with the Stalinists and their 'peaceful co-existence'.

With such a view, then of course it is easy to see political work in the workers' movement as encouraging the unions—without a struggle for independent Marxist leadership—to fight for concessions from the Tories.

These middle-class radicals, selected and put into motion by the renegades from Marxism like Mandel, Maitan and Frank, are responsible to nobody in the working class. They simply mouth left phrases while refusing to fight against the reactionary bureaucracy which holds back the working class.

Their opposition to the election of a Labour government sounds left, but it is really a refusal to take up the political fight against the Labour leaders, a refusal to

fight to break the working class from reformism.

Hodges, for example, can now write: 'The return of the Conservative Party to power in June 1970 was itself a decisive part of the capitalist counter-offensive.'

A decisive part? Yes, but the IMG fell in with Robin Blackburn in advocating that workers did not vote in 1970! They proposed to break up Labour Party meetings as well as Tory meetings. Blackburn called his article, referring to the Labour Party, 'Let it Bleed'!

## NO FIGHT

Having 'corrected' this line—by a few words saying it was one-sided—Blackburn has now joined the IMG. The basic line is the same: to lead any-

one who will listen away from the fight against the main enemy.

As the struggle grows more and more acute and the question of working-class state power comes to the forefront for millions of workers, the IMG, based as it is on thoroughly rotten revisionist foundations, will go even further in its service to Stalinism and to the trade union and Labour bureaucracy.

This question of leadership is exercising the minds of thousands and thousands of workers betrayed in their struggles against the Tory government.

The Socialist Labour League, through the All Trades Unions Alliance conference (October 22) and the transformation of the League into a revolutionary party, will never rest in exposing the role of those like the IMG, whose only role is to cover up for Stalinism and bureaucracy in turning workers away from this central question of Marxist leadership.

# TITO'S MEN ADMIT 'GREAT MISTAKES'

BY JOHN SPENCER

Some of the basic problems facing the Yugoslav leaders were aired in public recently at a lengthy meeting between activists of the League of Yugoslav Communists and their national secretary, Stane Dolanc.

Dolanc was reporting to the Split and Dalmatia Party members on a recent meeting of the League's executive bureau which discussed the crisis situation facing Yugoslavia after almost a year of social upheavals.

Dolanc is a hard-line Tito functionary, equally hostile to the emerging right-wing danger and the threat of political revolution by the working class embodied in the development of clandestine revolutionary groups among the youth.

But his reply to discussion at the meeting revealed some of the main preoccupations of the Yugoslav bureaucracy and, above all, the fact that it has no answers to most of the questions.

According to Dolanc, the leaders of the League of Communists are proposing a national campaign to reassert their badly-battered authority, sending teams of agitators round the country to all Party organizations to brief them on the leaders' plans.

The League secretary found it necessary to stress that the Party is in fact in power in Yugoslavia and admitted: 'We have already been through a time when it was shameful to admit this to anyone, and some people talked about the League of Communists being an ideological organization.'

Against these sceptics, Dolanc emphasized that the League of Communists is the 'sole political organization of the working class in Yugoslavia', adding that without 'this organization set up in this way I do not believe that this community could remain together'.

## BUREAUCRATIC INCOMPETENCE

In practice, however, the bureaucracy which actually holds the power is unable to put even basic policy decisions into effect. Dolanc gave an example: 'The summer before last we had a session of the presidium at which we adopted stands concerning agrarian policy.'

'We fixed a term of until the end of the year to work out a platform for the republics to reach agreement on price policy, development policy and on other things: however, as yet nothing has been done . . . the absence of this agreement is borne only by the workers and by the working class whose life is hardest.'

After this illuminating example of bureaucratic incompetence, Dolanc went on to discuss the training of Party officials, complaining that the young generation is 'being brought up by people who proceed from positions that are ideologically inimical to us'.

If this is the case, it is little wonder Dolanc regards the League's decision to abandon



Tito, who is preparing further anti-working-class policies behind the 'clean-up Yugoslavia' smokescreen.

its 'cadre policy' for educating new leaders as a 'great mistake'. 'We cannot carry on like this,' he said.

One question which agitated many of his listeners was what Dolanc coyly termed 'the problem of social differentiation'. This refers to those sections which have amassed considerable fortunes by fair means or foul over the last few years.

Dolanc admitted that despite decisions of the presidium to combat the growth of a layer of rich Yugoslavs 'things are moving very slowly or not at all'.

'In our legislation there are certain loopholes which certain people are exploiting and becoming rich without violating the law,' he said.

Apparently the Yugoslav tax laws are even laxer than those in the capitalist countries: Dolanc advocated the American system of surtax to take away up to 80 per cent of large incomes.

'The social differences' weigh most heavily on the working class, as Dolanc admitted: 'You tell me how a worker with a family of three and a salary of 100,000 or 200,000 (dinars a month) can afford to spend ten days by the sea? . . .'

'These three members of his family at 10,000 dinars a day make 30,000 a day which makes 300,000 dinars for ten days and his salary is 200,000 dinars. He still has another 20 days to live in that month.'

'We had many trade union holiday centres, but we abolished them. We had enterprises in which the workers had an internal statutory right to a sum of money for their holidays, but on the whole we have now eliminated these things . . .'

In other words, the bureaucracy itself has steadily undermined the conquests of the

working class in furthering the pursuit of its own privileges. Later in the discussion Dolanc referred to a Party meeting at which one leading member had expatiated about 'social differentiation'.

He added that over half the rank and file of the Party organization knew that this man was drawing wages from three sources! Yet no one at the meeting had the courage to get up and denounce him—indicating that the man in question must have carried considerable weight in the Party organization.

He also referred to the swollen staffs of Yugoslav trade delegations abroad, particularly in Germany where there are over 200 trade functionaries, 70 in Frankfurt alone. Among these people, Dolanc said, 'disloyal competition, corruption, personal acquisition of riches and fraud' are all 'fairly widespread'.

'Many of our commercial representatives have foreign exchange accounts in foreign banks which nobody can check.' Yet these representatives are flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood with Dolanc and all the other Tito bureaucrats.

## THREAT TO WORKERS STATE

The main source of the growing caste of wealthy and corrupt *nouveaux riches* in Yugoslavia is the bureaucracy itself—precisely the organism which Dolanc now claims is the only means of fighting this development.

No wonder nothing is done to implement the presidium decisions on taxation. No wonder the 'social differentiation' gets wider despite all the speeches of leading League of Communists members.

There is no need to seek fur-

ther for the causes of the growing and reactionary movement around nationalist demands in all the Yugoslav republics. Dolanc denounced nationalism of all shades as in essence 'directed against communism, against the working class'.

These movements are grist to the mill of the fascist émigrés who want to disintegrate and undermine the conquests of the Yugoslav workers. These fascists—who include the émigré Croat organization of the Ustachi—flourish only on the anti-working-class policies of the Tito bureaucracy.

Dolanc's speech is clear evidence that these policies threaten the basis of the workers' state. His catalogue of planned measures to combat their results is a worthless evasion by the representative of a thoroughly discredited leadership.

His parting shot, not unnaturally, was an almost incoherent warning to both right and left not to step outside the prescribed bounds of Titoite orthodoxy:

'That which goes beyond the line and which would present itself as being more left than the League of Communists is not more left, but further to the right of I do not know what political line, and the same goes for political extremism.'

'In effect both political lines, based on radicalism of the left or the right, merge into one line and that is anti-communism and nothing else.'

This attempt to smear the left is in the most contemptible Stalinist tradition and indicates that behind the smokescreen talk of cleaning up Yugoslavia, the bureaucracy is preparing further blows against the independent mobilization of the working class.

## SPANISH WORKERS JAILED

On June 24, in the small town of Pozuelo, between Madrid and the Guadarrama mountain range, sun-bathing tourists were suddenly disturbed by the arrival of a van-load of Civil Guards.

The Guards had been tipped off—there was a clandestine meeting of the Workers' Commissions in the town. Within minutes, ten workers had been arrested.

The workers were fined 100,000 pesetas and 250,000 pesetas (£600 and £1,500) respectively and released on the same day.

On June 27, by order of the General Head of Security, they were imprisoned and within 24 hours a special tribunal ratified this imprisonment, claiming that these men were members of the National Committee of the Workers' Commissions.

They were described by the judge as 'habitual subversive agitators' who had 'stood out for a long time through intensive activity as agitators, which represents more than a threat, a concrete reality against peaceful social harmony'.

The police, in fact, had no evidence against the workers, only their record of past militancy in struggle against Franco.

The men include supporters of the Spanish Communist Party whose record shows they have faithfully followed Party policy of fighting for the Workers' Commissions through elected positions in the fascist union.

Marcelino Camacho Abad was imprisoned, tried and interned in a concentration camp from 1939 to 1943 after the Civil War. He escaped and reached Algeria. He returned to Spain in 1957. From 1967 to 1972 he has been fined twice, tried five times and had his positions in the state-run union taken away from him. An engineering worker for the Perkin's factory in Madrid, he has spent most of the last five years in prison.

Another of these militants, Eduardo Saboride Galan, has been arrested five times, fined twice, imprisoned for a year and deported—all in the last five years. He was removed from his position as vice-president of the workers section of the fascist union in Seville.

Now in the infamous Madrid prison of Carabanchel, they have sent a letter via the Workers' Commissions appealing to workers in Spain and Europe to fight with them for democratic rights.

The struggle of these workers is continuously threatened by the Spanish Stalinists' liberal policies of looking forward to a democratic Spain in the democratic Common Market. As the letter asks: 'How long can fascist forms exist in Spain which long ago Europe overcame?'

However, 'democratic' Europe seems less real every day when the workers read regularly of Tory government policies against the British trade unions and see that European capitalist governments are so friendly towards Franco.

The other development which sharpens the crisis in the Spanish Communist Party is the continuous presence of east European delegations in Madrid wining and dining with the architects of the fascist state which fills the cellars of Carabanchel with working-class militants.



# O'LEARY HEDGES ON COWBOY PORTS

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

On Monday the so-called new era on the docks begins with the official abolition of the Temporary Unattached Register — hailed as one of the big reforms in the Jones-Aldington proposals that ended the recent strike.

The 1,650 men on the TUR were to be reallocated to the employers who would absorb the surplus and receive financial assistance as compensation.

In fact the move proved to be a fake. As militants forecast, the other provision of the report — the decision to increase the 'golden-handshake' dockers receive for leaving the industry for good — has dealt with the surplus and spared most employers any extra burden.

In fact employers have benefited from their own apparent generosity. The response to the new severance payments has been so great that the surplus in the ports has been more than wiped out. By the end of last week 2,150 dockers had applied to leave the industry — 500 more than on the TUR.

But despite the pious words about dockers not being encouraged to end their productive lives and take severance, both union and employers were expecting this result.

For the employers, the exodus from the industry brings them nearer their long-term aim — a 50-per-cent reduction in the dock labour force. The 500 overlap is the first contribution towards banishing the 4,000 surplus men the port bosses say they already carry and there will undoubtedly be more voluntary redundancies as more dockers pass the 55-year-old mark and qualify for the top severance payment.

The first fruits of Jones-Aldington, therefore, violate one of the principal demands of the militant dockers — that there should be NO further contraction in the industry.

The second key aim of the employers has been to abolish the statutory safeguard dockers enjoy over jobs. By law no docker can be fired and put onto the dole by his boss. If there is no work for him he is now reallocated to other employers.

Theoretically a docker can lose his registration, and therefore his right to handle cargo, for indiscipline. But the final decision lies with the local Dock Labour Board, with 50 per cent employer-union representation. But it is extremely rare for this body to kick a man off the dock.

The employers have always hated this important right won by dockers after the war and have stated their intention to destroy it.

Their thinking was well summarized in a secret memo-

randum sent to the Tory Minister John Peyton by Sir John Nicholson, head of Ocean Steam — one of Britain's biggest shipping lines.

This stated: 'For the Dock Labour Scheme the ultimate aim should be the substitution of normal industrial agreements and relations for the present statutory regulations of the industry (the circumstances of 1947 no longer apply). This does not preclude work people's participation in the process which govern the running of dock affairs, but such participation would be the consequence of agreement between the employers and the union and would not be dependent on statute.'

The big shippers met, again in secret, and put these views to Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and Tim O'Leary, the union's national docks secretary, almost two years ago to this day in Liverpool's Adelphi Hotel.

This meeting was later exposed exclusively by Workers Press.

The idea was for the eventual end of the statutory basis of the National Dock Labour Scheme and the substitution of some agreed procedure controlled by unions and employers, supervised perhaps by a National Ports Council with enhanced powers.

The employers' leaders were able to report to their members that there was a measure of agreement. In a circular they said Jones had warned there should be no change in the structure until phase two of the ill-fated Devlin scheme was established on the docks. The employers accepted this advice.

Later Nicholson, as president of the Employers' Association, told Peyton that Jones was not hostile to the employers' conception of the NPC and would be prepared to discuss the idea of substitution the NPC for the National Dock Labour Board — the existing guardian of the scheme.

## TOUGH

All this is to establish that the employers and the union have contemplated getting rid of the scheme.

The second big task of the Jones-Aldington report, and it appears in the latest Transport and General Workers' Union memo on the unregistered ports, published last Wednesday, is to move towards a situation where this will be possible.

Take first the more recent document on the unregistered ports.

The dockers' demand on this issue was quite clear — immediate registration of all the unregistered ports, wharves



MARTIN MAYER

and jetties.

The T&GWU proposals drawn up by O'Leary and submitted to the NPC, which is leading a government-backed inquiry into the issue, sound tough. But in fact they do not uphold this basic dockers' demand.

The document begins with this bald statement:

'The union appreciates that one of the main objectives of the inquiry will be to establish the facts as regards the impact of the growth of the smaller ports, and unregistered labour. The Council may wish to distinguish between those large ports which though unregistered are firmly established and where acceptable rates and conditions are paid to workers permanently employed (although their failure to contribute to the NDLB level is a continuing problem) and those smaller wharves and jetties where labour is frequently casual or part-time, and where rates or conditions are unacceptable.'

It is not clear why O'Leary thinks a distinction might be drawn between the two types of port — certainly he does not state it. But is the implication that the big unregistered ports like Felixstowe, Dover, Shoreham and Harwich Parkeston

Quay should be left outside the scheme?

It is fine O'Leary claiming that they might pay rates and conditions similar to those at registered ports — which they do not — but they do not come under the statutory obligation of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

Significantly the union's detailed proposals on individual ports — produced as an appendix to the O'Leary memo — is still shrouded in secrecy. Elsewhere O'Leary comes close to suggesting the type of revamped National Ports Council suggested by the employers back in October 1970. (Of course, he never mentions nationalization of the docks and transport industry — the policy of his union.)

## SUPER-PORT

He talks of super-ports which will have under their scope every port in their particular regions. The whole of the British coastline will be covered by these authorities to prevent bad dock developments.

The aim should be for one

authority in each area which would effectively control employment. He writes on page 7:

'Certainly, the port authority must be given effective control over the future investment, within the overall powers of the National Ports Council, to ensure that new investment is determined by the interests of the ports as a whole.'

When it comes down to employers operating in the smaller ports, again there is no clear commitment to bringing them under the National Dock Labour Scheme. He talks of some firms employing registered dock labour 'by arrangement' with an existing port employer on a 'contract basis'.

Others will be allowed to open 'limited registers' if they can prove they employ workers at rates and conditions equal to registered dock workers. The exact status of the men on these registers is left unclear. Whether they will enjoy the statutory protection of the registered docker is not stated.

The O'Leary memo ends by stating that the intention of the proposals is to get an early date on which registered dock workers only are employed on dock work.

Now this may be O'Leary's claim. But it certainly is not clear from his document.



Above: The ramshackle Guinness wharf on the river Trent. One of the score of tiny unregistered wharves and 'ports' eating into the trade of Hull, Goole and Grimsby on the Humber. Left: Aldington and Jones. One of their recommendations — the abolition of the temporary unattached register comes into operation on Monday; to the benefit of the port employers.

If this were the case, why not state bluntly that the unregistered ports should be registered forthwith and the coastlines and riversides in Britain be judged as part of the National Dock Labour Scheme for the purposes of cargo-handling.

In fact the status of the big unregistered ports is left open and even small employers are not required to seek registration.

The same deliberate confusion characterizes the Jones-Aldington report — both the original version and the later clarification.

On the key issue of containerbases, men will be allowed to work at inland depots where containers are packed and unpacked on release from existing port employers.

But the containerbases themselves will not have to become

registered dock employers or pay the levies connected with the NDLB scheme.

In fact this is no concession — it operates now at the Containerbase Federation's depots in Orset, London. The key fact is that the management at the base still has the unfettered right to fire a worker, even if he is a registered docker.

The other alternative is to employ men who have 'temporarily' left the register. The big question is — suppose they want to get back.

## FAILURE

Jones-Aldington propose to give them priority in any new recruitment to the register. The one big snag is that another recommendation of the report is closing of the register. Employers are highly unlikely to be demanding more dockers when their main aim is to axe in excess of 10,000 from the industry in the immediate future.

This failure of the Jones-Aldington report and the O'Leary memo to recommend registration of bases and ports is extremely important.

It is quite clear from modern trends that more cargo, both in value and tonnage terms, is going through inland bases and unregistered ports. In other words, more economic activity associated with traditional dock work is moving away from the shrinking registered areas.

Jones-Aldington and the union do nothing to combat this — on the contrary they encourage it. By co-operating with plans to reduce the number of registered dockers by more severance; by proposing a scheme that lets container depots off the 'registration hook'; by refusing to demand the immediate registration of all ports, and by encouraging a 'normal' and non-statutory relationship between cargo-handler and the boss, they are promoting the employers' two aims outlined in memos written after Devlin phase two.

These were: a vast reduction in the docks workforce and an end to the statutory basis to the scheme.

In short the dockers' struggle is only beginning. By the end of the month the NPC will complete its investigation into the non-scheme ports. Dockers must be ready to reject its findings and insist on their basic rights.

# A MASS BASE IS WON

Part three of a series by Tom Kemp on the history of the German Communist Party

For the first two years of its existence the German Communist Party (KPD) remained a small cadre party with little influence on the working class as a whole, which remained faithful to its Social Democratic Party (SPD) and Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) leaders.

Because of the illegal conditions under which it operated the local organizations had a good deal of initiative. It was not yet a centralized and disciplined Party.

At this period several problems confronted it. The most important were: what should be its relationship to the new International being launched from Moscow? How could it establish a mass base in the German working class? What should be done about the deep divisions in its own ranks?

The last of these issues was forced to a decision by Paul Levy who, assisted by Karl Radek, was the effective Party leader. He considered that it was necessary that the Party should separate itself from the advocates of putschist tactics if it were to win the support of substantial numbers of workers.

The conflict came to a head at a conference held secretly at Frankfurt in August when Levy insisted that those who persisted with syndicalist conceptions and rejected the need for a centralized political party would have to leave it.

Levy's propositions met stiff resistance and the opposition, based largely on Hamburg, Berlin and Dresden, left the KPD in the following year and formed the German Communist Workers' Party (KAPD).

This split deprived the Party of about half of its membership, estimated at 107,000. In Berlin almost the entire membership supported the split.

When a section of the army revolted and tried to establish a dictatorship headed by a Prussian reactionary politician Kapp in March 1920, the KPD was taken by surprise by the rapid response of the working class in supporting a General Strike. The Kapp putsch collapsed after only four days.

The first KPD leaflet on the putsch urged workers not to take part in a General Strike: 'Do not lift a little finger to defend the Republic.' This was based on the view, strongly supported by Thalheimer, that the Noske government and the Kappists were equally reactionary.

The massive support for the strike from all workers, including Party members, forced it to change its attitude to one of support on the following day. In a number of areas the Party joined with SPD and USPD members' call for the working class to take power. In Chemnitz a workers' council, inspired by KPD leader Brandler, took over.

The initiative in calling the strike had been taken by the veteran trade union leader Karl Legien, a typical reformist bureaucrat and wartime social patriot. Nevertheless he saw that a military dictatorship threatened the very existence of independent working-class organizations. He called for a General Strike and appealed to all working-class organizations, including the KPD, for support.

The massive working-class response to the Kapp putsch



brought a rapid reconciliation between the authorities and the army, which embarked once more on its work of repression. A big opportunity had been missed when the workers' parties had failed to respond to Legien's call for a workers' government. The confusion of the KPD's policy, its failure to give a strong lead, was paralleled by similar faults on the part of the left wing of the USPD.

## FORTUNES

When approached by Legien's supporters the KPD leaders went no further than to promise to be a 'loyal opposition' to a workers' government of the type which Legien wanted to set up. The Central Committee later rejected the declaration in which this appeared as 'deviationist' and this was approved by the KPD's 4th Congress in April 1920.

The KPD took part in the Reichstag elections in June 1920 but won only 2 per cent of the votes, giving it perhaps 5 per cent of the working-class vote. However, the election saw a big gain for the USPD, which won almost as many votes as the SPD.

Although the Party so far had experienced little but setbacks, a new turn in its fortunes came when a majority of USPD voted in favour of adherence to the Third International. The question had been debated ever since March 1919 and in June 1920 a party delegation went to Moscow to discuss affiliation terms.

It should be pointed out that

the USPD right wing consisted of former SPD leaders such as Kautsky and Hilferding who were bitter enemies of the Soviet regime. There could be no question of adherence to the Third International, then, without a major struggle and a split in the USPD.

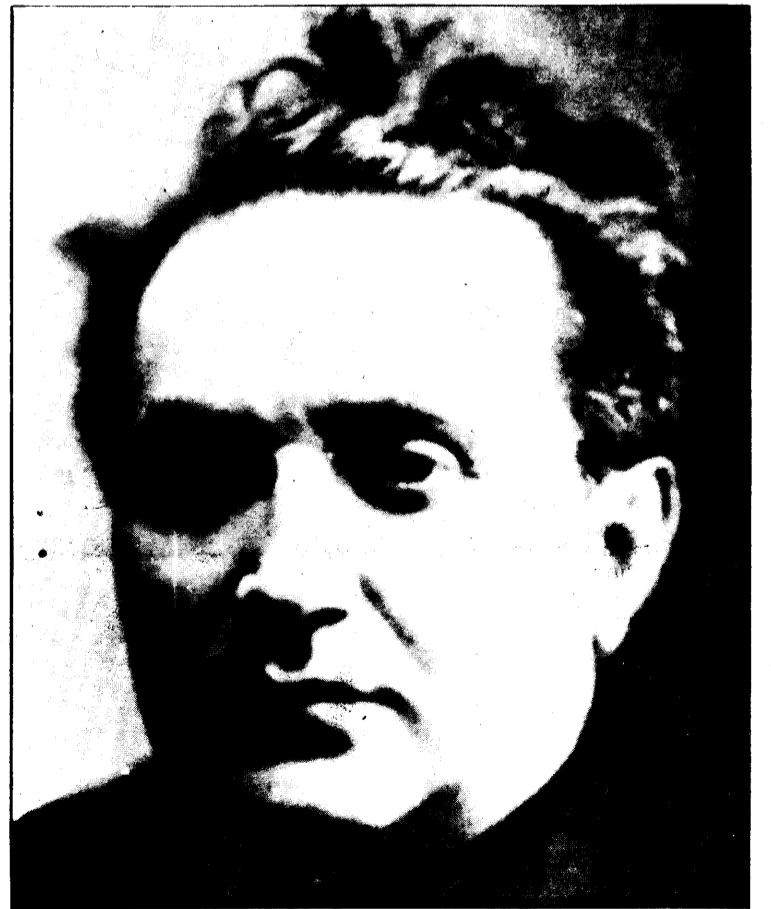
In the famous 21 Conditions, the Communist International laid down the terms for membership designed to exclude reformists, centrists and the type of leader characteristic of pre-war Social Democracy. A special USPD Congress was held at Hallé in October 1920 to debate whether the party should join the Third International.

No doubt most delegates had already made up their minds on the 21 Conditions. It was an indication of the importance which Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International attached to the German revolution that Zinoviev was sent to put the case for affiliation. He made a brilliant four-hour speech in a titanic debate in which Hilferding was the main opponent of entry.

Zinoviev emphasized that the conditions for revolution had existed in Germany for several years. What was lacking was a leadership and the creation of such a leadership was the task of the Congress.

## MASS BASE

The split in the USPD brought approximately 300,000 new members into the KPD, which was transformed overnight from a revolutionary group to a mass party. At its 6th Congress in December the



Top: Berlin workers outside offices where counter-revolutionaries had barricaded themselves in during the Kapp putsch. Above: Zinoviev.

unification took place with 349 delegates from the USPD and 136 from the old KPD.

The German Communist Party now acquired a mass base and an enormous apparatus which, in fact, was to a large extent an inheritance from the pre-war Social Democratic Party. It had dozens of

newspapers throughout Germany, positions in the trade unions, Reichstag deputies (it had formerly had only two) and local government representatives. The leadership was now equally divided between KPD and former USPD leaders.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY



# RUMANIA APPLIES TO JOIN WORLD BANK



With the support of all the major capitalist powers, Rumania has applied to join the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Apart from Yugoslavia, which belongs to both institutions, the Rumanians will become the first East European country to take part directly in the regulating bodies of the capitalist monetary system.

Rumania participates in the seven-member Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) which links the USSR and a number of East European countries. But President Ceausescu has resisted Soviet demands for tighter integration of the Rumanian economy with the Soviet Union and other member-states.

Rumania also has associated status with the Common Market which allows it so-called preferential trading status.

## CONCESSIONS

Rumania's request to join the IMF and the Bank is not only a blow to Soviet economic strategy in East Europe, however, it is also a major concession towards imperialism, which opens up considerable dangers for the Rumanian workers.

The IMF and the Bank are primarily instruments through which the main capitalist powers—above all the United States—can dominate the economies of the rest of the capitalist world.

Both institutions were created at the Bretton Woods conference of 1944. The IMF, with a capital of over \$28,000m contributed by member-countries, loans money to states in financial difficulties.

One of its membership conditions is currency convertibility and the Rumanians will have to breach their tight currency controls in order to bring the leu into line with IMF requirements.

At present the Rumanian currency is not traded on international money markets and western businessmen will not accept it in payment. To make its currency convertible, the Rumanian government will have to relax its controls over foreign trade, which at present is a state monopoly.

This monopoly is one of the most important barriers between the Rumanian economy and the capitalist-dominated world market.

It protects Rumanian industry and agriculture against an uncontrolled influx on foreign goods which would in most cases undercut the domestic products.

Joining the IMF and World Bank will enable Rumania to



Top: Rumanian President Ceausescu taking similar measures to Tito (above) resulting in a rapid currency inflation.

qualify for low-interest loans as a 'developing' country. It will also enable the Rumanian Stalinists to attract capital from the west and give them access to western technology.

## DANGERS

Ceausescu sponsored a law last year allowing private foreign investment in Rumania and guaranteeing the property rights of capitalist investors in the country. Similar measures were taken some time ago by the Tito regime in Yugoslavia, resulting in a rapid currency

inflation and creating great social tensions.

Ceausescu has taken steps to restrain the expected influx of wage demands from the working class by a rigid incomes policy which allows the government to cut wages by up to a third.

A number of other East European countries, notably Poland and Hungary, are reported to be eager to follow Rumania's example and open up their economies to capitalist penetration on a larger scale than at present.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## POPULATION PHOBIAS

'Overpopulation' is one of the pet phobias of middle-class apologists for capitalism at the moment. While the capitalist system destroys food supplies and prevents science and industry being used to create the necessities of life, they put the blame on the number of people being born.

Workers Notebook recently showed how the present declining birth rate in many countries is forcing such people to look for more sophisticated arguments. Some are suggesting that people are now living too long and, therefore, government action should be taken to ensure that even fewer people are allowed to be born.

Now a letter from a Mr R. D. Haigh of the City Health Department, Lincoln, appearing in the British Medical Journal, has come up with a new one.

'A country . . . is overpopulated,' he writes, 'when its population density is the third highest in the world . . . when it produces only half its food and animal feeding stuffs and has to import and pay for the rest by exporting manufactured goods against fierce and increasing international competition to countries which are themselves becoming industrialized and which will soon no longer require our exports . . . when there are 1 million unemployed, when the number of jobs is declining rapidly, and when the excess of births over deaths represents 700 new jobs every day . . . when the decline in the number of jobs is likely to accelerate owing to mechanization and automation and when the capital cost of producing new jobs is increasing each year . . . when it can maintain its present population only by means of an organization and structure that is so complex and dependent on sophisticated energy systems that small groups of workers can, in a matter of two to three weeks, by withholding their labour, bring the country to the point of collapse, as has been clearly demonstrated by the power workers' strike and the miners' strike.'

Just what we are supposed to make of all this rubbish, only Mr Haigh would appear to know.

Perhaps we ought to exterminate a few thousand power workers and miners. Then they would not be able to go on strike, we would not have so

many people wanting jobs and we would not have to import so much food.

Or perhaps it would be better if we did not have such 'sophisticated energy systems' and made do with bonfires and candles instead.

Or perhaps if other countries were not allowed to become so industrialized they could be forced to take our exports as in the good old days of the Empire.



## MILLIONS

Next time you lick a Green Shield Stamp spare a thought for Granville Richard Francis Tompkins, a simple soul with a 22-room mansion in Belgravia, a Riviera villa, a Hawker-Siddeley executive jet plane and two Rolls-Royces.

Those little bits of sticky paper have brought Tompkins such wealth over the years. As chairman and managing director of the Green Shield Trading Stamp Company, he is among the highest-paid executives in the land.

In 1971 his salary was £282,037, but because of his 'service agreement' with the firm he netted 15 per cent of the profits which took the sum he was entitled to above £418,700.

His wage as a director was near doubled to £5,400 a week between 1970 and 1971. But Tompkins does not really rely on salary.

He personally owns 49 per cent of the shares and thus received a further £440,000 in dividends and these items brought his total annual income to a staggering £720,000, or £13,800 a week. His 4,132 workers get an average of £1,300 a year. In other words they would need 500 years to earn as much as their boss did in 1971—each day Tompkins gets £2,760, more than his workers earn in TWO YEARS!

Mr Tompkins is quoted as claiming to live a 'relatively simple' life.

## BOOKS



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# SATURDAY

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 11.10 Merrie melodies. 11.35 Puffin. 11.40 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.10 Please sir. 5.40 Sale of the century. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Tycoon'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.25 Journey to the unknown. 11.30 All our yesterdays. 11.55 Weather.

**WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 10.45 Make a wish. 11.30 All our yesterdays. 11.55 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 All our yesterdays. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.05 Man from Uncle. 12.00 Merrie melodies. 12.27 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.10 Smith family. 5.40 Sale of the century. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Not With My Wife, You Don't'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 News. 11.40 Spyforce. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 9.00 London. 9.50 Baby buggy bunny. 10.00 Tomfoolery. 10.30 Sesame street. 11.30 Follyfoot. 12.00 Farming diary. 12.30 London. 5.10 UFO. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Horse Soldiers'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Benny Hill. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Name of the game. 12.55 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except:** 5.10 Dora. 5.40-6.10 Sion a sian.

**ANGLIA:** 9.00 London. 10.00 Rovers. 10.25 Film: 'Jumping Jacks'. 12.30 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'The Long Duel'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.25 Film: 'Pink String and Sealing Wax'.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.15 You and your golf. 9.45 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Life and times of Lord Mountbatten. 11.05 Tomfoolery show. 11.30 Osmonds. 12.00 Elephant boy. 12.30 London. 5.15 It takes a thief. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'The Way West'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Film: 'King of the Roaring Twenties'.

**ULSTER:** 11.30 Thunderbirds.

12.00 Skippy. 12.30 London. 5.10 Flintstones. 5.40 Sportscast. 6.10 London. 6.15 Branded. 6.45 Film: 'Torpedo Run'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.25 Journey to the unknown.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.05 Film: 'Tarzan and the Leopard Woman'. 12.30 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Stagecoach'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Journey to the unknown. 12.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.05 Craftsman. 10.40 Sesame street. 11.40 Arthur. 12.05 Clapperboard. 12.30 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'The Way West'. 8.25 Variety. 9.25 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Film: 'The Gorilla'.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.00 Film: 'Tarzan and the Leopard Woman'. 12.30 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'A Thunder of Drums'. 8.05 Chicago teddy bears. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Journey to the unknown. 12.25 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Tomfoolery show. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.05 Joe 90. 11.30 Osmonds. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.30 London. 5.10 Bonanza. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Four For Texas'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Spyforce.

**GRAMPIAN:** 11.15 Beagan gaidhlig. 11.30 Tomfoolery show. 12.00 Rumble jumble. 12.30 London. 5.15 Batman. 5.40 Protectors. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'P...l...ero of Red River'. 7.50 Two of a kind. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Shirley's world.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 11.00-12.25 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Idol on Parade'. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The League of Gentlemen'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Avengers. 12.10 Epilogue. Weather.

**WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 12.25 Licence to fly. 12.55 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.20 Smith family. 1.45 Farm progress. 12.10 Faith for life. 12.15 Weather.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.15 Talking hands. 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm progress. 10.57 Weather. 11.00 London. 12.30 Bush boy. 1.00 Superman. 1.20 How. 1.50 Hogan's heroes. 2.15 Soccer. 3.15 Film: 'Saturday Island'. 4.35 News. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The House on Greenapple Road'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Frighteners. 12.35 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 9.30 London. 10.35 Time to remember. 11.00 London. 12.25 Talking hands. 12.45 Journey of a lifetime. 1.00 Let them live. 1.25 Love, American style. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'The Young Lawyers'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Tanganyika'. 9.30 Mr and Mrs. 10.00 London. 11.20 Villains. 12.20 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except:** 6.40-7.00 Llusern.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 London. 12.30 Citizen's rights. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Soccer. 3.00 Film: 'Tiara Tahiti'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Hill'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Spyforce. 12.20 Stories worth telling. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 11.00 London. 12.30 You and your golf. 1.00 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.30 HR Puffnstuf. 1.55 Women only. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Murder Most Foul'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.53 Sports results. 7.55 Film: 'The Glass Bottom Boat'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Saint.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.30 On the buses. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'Love on the Dole'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Warning Shot'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.30-10.30 London. 10.35 Time to remember. 11.00 London. 12.25 Merrie melodies. 1.00 Bearcats. 1.50 Football. 3.20 Film: 'Boys Will Be Boys'. 4.40 London. 6.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Not With My Wife, You Don't'. 10.00 London. 11.20 All that jazz.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.30 On the buses. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Something to sing about. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 1.55 Shoot. 2.50 Film: 'The Truth About Spring'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Warning Shot'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 10.15 Master chefs. 10.30 Skilful rugby. 11.00 London. 12.30 Coachbuilders. 1.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 2.00 Sports. 3.25 Film: 'The Little Red Monkey'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Elephant boy. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'That Riviera Touch'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Strange report.

**GRAMPIAN:** 11.00 London. 12.30 You and your golf. 1.00 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.30 Farm progress. 2.00 Scotsport. 3.25 3.25 Film: 'Talk of a Million'. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Betrayed'. 11.20 Untouchables.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 London. 10.30 Survival. 11.00 London. 12.30 Dr Simon Locke. 12.55 Cowboy in Africa. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Name of the game. 3.55 Match. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Drop Dead Darling'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Department S.

## BBC 2

9.05-1.00 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'White Feather'. Robert Wagner, John Lund, Debra Paget, Jeffrey Hunter. A young surveyor tries to help the Cheyenne Indians. 4.40 Man alive. 5.30 The restless earth. 7.35 NEWS, SPORT. Weather.

7.50 INTERNATIONAL GOLF. The John Player Classic 1972.

8.20 WAR AND PEACE. Part 1. Name-day.

9.05 THE BREAKING. An unbroken Arab stallion is being schooled.

9.15 THE ROYAL BALLET IN CINDERELLA. With Antoinette Sibley. Anthony Dowell, Frederick Ashton, Robert Helpmann.

11.00 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

11.05 FILM NIGHT. A look at some of the films made about Egypt over the past 50 years.

11.40 MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'SECRET INVASION'. Stewart Granger, Mickey Rooney, Raf Vallone, Ed Byrnes, Henry Silva, William Campbell. War drama.

## ITV

9.00 You and your golf. 9.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 9.55 The Osmonds. 10.20 Merrie melodies. 10.30 Return to Peyton Place. 10.55 Sesame street. 11.55 Junior police five. 12.00 Lidsville. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. 1.20 The ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30 Racing from Chepstow. 1.45, 2.15, 3.00 Racing from Newmarket. 3.10 International sports special. 3.25 Racing from Newmarket. 3.35 International sports special. 3.50 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 -Results service. 5.10 On the buses. 5.40 Best of Please sir.

6.10 NEWS FROM ITN. 6.15 SALE OF THE CENTURY. 6.45 SATURDAY VARIETY. David Nixon, John Hanson, Anne Murray, Paul Melba, Rios Brothers, Lionel Blair and The Saturday Dancers.

7.45 THE ADVENTURER. Miss Me Once, Miss Me Twice, And Miss Me Once Again. 8.15 FILM: 'TOM JONES'. Albert Finney, Susannah York. Tony Richardson's production of Henry Fielding 18th century novel.

10.30 NEWS FROM ITN. 10.40 MCCLOUD. Somebody's Out To Get Jenny. 12.00 PEOPLE MAKE PLACES. 12.05 SPYFORCE. The Trader.

## BBC 1

10.55 Weather. 11.00 Benn. 11.15 Harlem globetrotters. 11.35 Barrier reef. 12.00 Grandstand. 12.05, 1.50, 2.20, 2.50, 3.20 International boxing. 1.10, 1.40, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing from Haydock. 4.40 Final score. 5.05 Disney carnival. 5.15 Mary Tyler Moore show. 5.40 News and weather. 5.55 Bruce Forsyth and the generation game. 6.45 DIXON OF DOCK GREEN. Time Out.

7.35 THE TWO RONNIES. Ronnie Corbett and Ronnie Barker.

8.20 SATURDAY THRILLER: 'THE VENETIAN AFFAIR'. Robert Vaughn, Elke Sommer, Felicia Farr Karl Boehm, Boris Karloff. An American diplomat blows up an international conference.

9.50 NEWS. Weather. 10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY. 11.05 PARKINSON. 12.05 Weather.



ITV's Sunday night play has Shelley Winters as 'The Vamp', a fading film star who invites a young fan (David Wood) into her flat.

## SUNDAY

# TV

## BBC 2

9.00-1.00 Open University. 7.00 NEWS REVIEW. 7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US. Monkeys, Apes and Man. 8.15 MANTOVANI AND HIS CONCERT ORCHESTRA. 9.00 MILLIGAN IN AUTUMN. An entertainment with words and music by Spike Milligan with Madeline Smith and Ray Ellington. 9.30 KENNETH MORE IN SIX FACES. Equation. With Zena Walker and Kika Markham. 10.20 FILM: 'KISS ME, STUPID'. Billy Wilder comedy with Dean Martin, Kim Novak, Ray Walston. 12.20 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

## BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00 Aventura. 10.30 Harvest thanksgiving. 11.35 A job worth doing? 12.00 Design by design. 12.25 Search for the ideal. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Jimmy Young asks. 1.55 News headlines and weather. 2.00 Chigley. 2.15 Ken Dodd. 2.25 Story theatre. 2.50 Where there's brass. 3.15 Ask Aspel. 3.35 Tom and Jerry. 3.40 Film: 'Pillow Talk'. Rock Hudson, Doris Day. Romantic comedy. 5.20 Wonderful world of Disney. 6.05 NEWS. Weather. 6.15 A CHANCE TO MEET. Glenda Jackson. 6.50 HARVEST SONGS OF PRAISE. 7.25 THE ONEDIN LINE. A Woman Alone. 8.15 FILM: 'CHARADE'. Cary Grant, Audrey Hepburn. A CIA agent investigates the disappearance of a large amount of gold bullion. 10.05 NEWS. Weather. 10.20 OMNIBUS. The Wit and World of George Bernard Shaw. 11.20 KENNETH HARRIS INTERVIEWS. Sir Charles Forte. 12.05 Weather.

## ITV

9.30 Service of dedication. 10.30 Return to Peyton Place. 11.00 Weekend world. 12.30 Forest rangers. 1.00 Film: 'Eyes of the Lion'. Tarzan film. 1.50 Brian Connell interviews. 2.15 The Big match. 3.15 Persuaders. 4.20 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius. Artists at Work. 6.05 NEWS FROM ITN. 6.15 ADAM SMITH. 6.45 THY KINGDOM COME. 7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY. 7.25 DOCTOR IN CHARGE. Blackmail. 7.55 FEATURE FILM: 'HELL TO ETERNITY'. Jeffrey Hunter, David Janssen, Vic Damone. Sessue Hayakawa. An American brought up in a Japanese family has divided loyalties during World War II. 10.15 PLAY: 'THE VAMP'. Shelley Winters, David Wood. 11.20 THE FBI. The Satellite. 12.20 BOOK OF WITNESSES. 12.30 SIX DATES WITH BARKER. 1970-The Odd Job. Ronnie Barker.



## Indecent rush to trade with Spain

A SOVIET commercial delegation, led by two specialists Titop and Kolbasnikop, arrived in Madrid yesterday. They will spend three weeks visiting engineering and steel plants in Asturias and the Basque provinces.

The delegation will draw up an agreement for the amount of strip steel to be exported to the Soviet Union, following on the recent Soviet-Spanish trade pact.

Peking is determined not to be outdone by Moscow in establishing relations with France. Trade between China and Spain was ratified by a government decree of 1971.

In the whole of 1971, Spain's purchases from China amounted to 105 million pesetas. Purchases registered in the first seven months of this year already are worth 700 million pesetas.

This sudden boost has been helped by the presence of Spanish firms at the Canton trade fair.

AN APPEAL was lodged in the Public Order Tribunal in Madrid yesterday on behalf of Fernandez Iguanzo. He received a heavy prison sentence when convicted of reorganizing the Asturian Communist Party, which had been destroyed by the fascists.

The 62-year-old political prisoner has been suffering from coronary arteriosclerosis for some years. A doctor from the Clinical Hospital in Madrid has said there will be severe consequences if Iguanzo is not taken to another hospital apart from the prison hospital in Carabanchel.

THE DEATH penalty has been applied to a man in Soviet city of Sverdlovsk who embezzled £45,000. This is one of several death penalties carried out recently for big-time swindling and many other economic crimes have been punished with stiff penalties. N. E. Sekisov had been involved with a number of accomplices in a swindle which went on for years in a state agency where he worked as a buyer and a salesman.

# 'Troops fired on'... but there was no gun

## Court acquittal exposes army lies

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

TWO PEOPLE who survived a rain of bullets on a car were acquitted in Belfast this week of attempting to murder British soldiers.

Two passengers in the car's back seat died when the troops fired on the car.

Army officials claimed the soldiers had been shot at. But the judge this week directed the jury to find the surviving pair not guilty of having firearms in their possession with intent to kill.

On trial were the car driver, William Davidson and front-seat passenger, housewife Mrs Florence O'Riordan (36).

In the early hours of the morning on Saturday October 23,

1971, two sisters, Mrs Mary Meehan (30) and Miss Dorothy Maguire (19) were shot dead in the Lower Falls area in cold blood when their car disobeyed an army order to stop.

Workers Press reported after the incident: 'The army claims women dressed as men smashed the rear window of the car as it sped along Cape Street, Belfast, and fired two shots at troopers...'

'Army spokesman Major Christopher Dumphy claimed there was no doubt his men were fired on first, but he added he had not actually seen the shots fired.' (Workers Press, October 25, 1971.)

But the eyewitnesses and

Davidson and Mrs O'Riordan, told a different story:

'They say the women were touring the Falls Road area with a foghorn warning the neighbourhood that troops were moving in when their car was brought under a hail of army bullets.' (Workers Press, October 25, 1971.)

At the end of the three-day trial at Belfast City Commission on Thursday, the judge, Mr Justice O'Donnell, directed the jury to find the pair not guilty.

He told the jury that evidence that a gun was discharged from the car was 'unsatisfactory'.

He said that Desmond Boal, appearing for the defendants, was relying on the evidence of

the forensic experts that a gun had not been discharged from the car.

'Taking this evidence,' said the judge, 'with the evidence of the army personnel that flashes came from the inside of the car, he [Boal] submits that either the military personnel were mistaken or that the flashes they did see were not flashes of a gun.'

'However, I don't find it necessary to say that the evidence of the military so conflicts with that of the forensic experts that it would be dangerous to convict.'

## Winter famine threat in the Soviet Union

SOVIET officials are becoming increasingly concerned about the food shortage which threatens the Soviet Union in the coming winter.

Wheat, fodder crops, sugar beet and potato harvests are likely to be well down on what is necessary to maintain food supplies which, even in 'normal' years are less than abundant.

Agriculture Minister Matshevich blames the weather, which has obviously been an important factor.

But more is involved than that. There are basic defects in the agrarian sector which have their roots in the forced collectivization ordered by Stalin in the 1930s.

Bourgeois critics, like the editorialist in yesterday's 'Daily Telegraph' draw the conclusion from the Soviet Union's food crisis 'that the state-owned or state-controlled system of agriculture is grossly inefficient'.

The paper points out that Russia, once the granary of Europe, now has to buy large quantities of wheat from the capitalist countries.

What he forgets is that when

Russia was a main exporter of grain, before 1914, the peasants went short of food and whole areas of the country were periodically stricken by famine. Only the big landlords, the capitalist farmers and above all the grain dealers benefited.

The October Revolution put an end to that. It was clear that the peasants, who now took over the land, had to be cajoled or induced into producing a surplus and making it available to the growing urban population.

It would have been impossible to build up the Soviet Union's might industry on an agrarian base of small peasant holdings.

What went wrong was that Stalin's forced collectivizations which cost perhaps a million lives, earned the long-lived resentment of the peasant masses, reduced the number of livestock catastrophically and set back the development of agriculture.

Carried out with peasant consent and with industry under workers' control collectivization could have solved the agrarian problem. But this would have

required also a break with the Stalinist policy of 'socialism in one country'.

Matshevich's statement to a foreign pressmen that 'there will be no starvation' is a confession of bankruptcy by the bureaucracy which can never solve the agrarian problem.

What is required is not a return to capitalist exploitation and private farming, as the 'Daily Telegraph' assumes, but a genuine socialist policy which can only be carried out when the workers and peasants have thrown the bureaucracy out.

## Government in exile

A PALESTINIAN government-in-exile was suggested by President Sadat of Egypt in the course of a long speech to commemorate the second anniversary of the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Sadat's militant-sounding words are always contradicted by his actions. He has no intention of promoting such a government, or indeed, of providing any effective support for the Palestinian guerrillas. The Egyptian president is only interested in preserving his own position and finding some way of recovering territory lost to Israel in the June 1967 war.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

ATUA Press and entertainment section

The Equity Claim and the BBC Agreement

Sunday October 1, 7 p.m.

Shaftesbury Hotel

Monmouth Street, W1

Speakers:

Corin Redgrave (Equity)

Roger Smith (ACTT)

(Both in a personal capacity)

ACTON: Monday October 2, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Rd, W3.

'The ATUA conference'.

MEDWAY: Monday October 2, 8 p.m. 'The Greyhound', Rochester Avenue, Rochester.

'ATUA conference: Discussion on main resolution.'

WOOLWICH: Tuesday October 3, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage Road, SE18. 'Stalinism and the Tory government'.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday October 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'The ATUA conference'.

SOUTH WEST LONDON: Tuesday October 10, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4. 'The ATUA conference'.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday October 12, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opposite New Cross Station. 'The ATUA conference'.

## Rumania heads Comecon rush into IMF

RUMANIA expects to become a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank by the end of this year, Finance Minister Florea Dumitrescu said yesterday.

Its application, submitted two weeks ago, is reported to have almost unanimous support from the capitalist members of the IMF and the Bank.

The country will thus become the first member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) to join the governing body of the capitalist monetary system.

There are rumours that other Comecon countries, including Poland, Hungary and possibly the USSR, are considering a similar application.

'We can only talk about our own situation. Other countries have the right to make their own decisions,' Dumitrescu told reporters in Washington. He said Rumania had decided to apply for IMF membership because it wanted to develop relations with countries outside Eastern Europe.

The application conformed with Rumanian foreign policy based on the principles of 'equality, independence and sovereignty', Dumitrescu said.

## Chile plot defused

A NEW right-wing plot has been unearthed by President Salvador Allende's government in Chile. According to Interior Minister Daniel Vergara it was organized by the neo-fascist 'Patria y Libertad' movement and members of the opposition National Party.

Aiming 'to create chaos and overthrow the regime' it was the fifth plot of its kind to be defused since Allende came to power in November 1970.

The burning down of Communist Party offices in the southern town of Puerto Montt was part of the plot, Vergara claimed. He cited other plot incidents, including thefts of explosives and an attack on a socialist leader in another provincial town.

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## Briefly . . .

**THE NATIONAL** Association of Schoolmasters yesterday announced plans for a new pay structure which amounts to a rise of 18½ per cent in the existing wage bill. The proposals will go before a special salaries conference of the 55,000-strong union at Nottingham next month.

**A CAMPAIGN** to save the iron-making department at two divisions of the Stanton Ironworks, Ilkeston, Derbyshire, has failed. The British Steel Corporation confirmed yesterday that the department would close, causing substantial redundancies. A total of 1,300 jobs will go.

**THE PROTESTANT** Vanguard movement will hold a rally on the steps of Stormont today to mark six months since the imposition of direct rule by Westminster. The former prime minister, Brian Faulkner, has turned down an invitation to speak.

**BRITAIN'S** anti-Common Market groups will stage a demonstration at Buckingham Palace on October 17, the day the Queen gives her royal assent to the European Communities Bill. They will take part in a mass signing of the palace's visitors' book.

## YS Right-to-Work campaign

# Yorkshire march ends with Sheffield demo

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS' Right-to-Work campaign in Yorkshire rounds off today with a demonstration through Sheffield.

Typical of the response received by the young marchers was that at the mining village of Goldthorpe, no far from Rotherham and the last stop on their journey (see picture p. 3.)

Miners greeted them at their welfare club and the miners' wives cooked a midday meal.

Among those welcoming the

marchers were Ted Sayles, National Union of Mineworkers' branch secretary at Goldthorpe colliery and a Labour councillor; Eric Norman, NUM branch president; Stan Parkes, branch treasurer; and Manny Houtchins, who is president of the Dearne Miners' Welfare and Social Club.

Said Manny, a Labour councillor and ward secretary:

'The Tories are bringing in wage restraint, but we're not having it and there are going to

be many sections of the workers thinking the same.

'This is the basis of united action in a General Strike to bring the Tories down.

'We don't want wage restraint or unemployment. We want nationalization without compensation and with workers running it.'

Even the colliery manager expressed admiration for the fight for the right to work. Advancements in technique should be used for the benefit of the labour force, he said.

# Tarnished gold

BY IAN YEATS

THE £4,000 golden handshake agreed by the Jones-Aldington Committee has already lured nearly three times the number of men out of the industry than there are on the Temporary Unattached Register. 4,700 men had applied for voluntary severance at the end of this week compared with only 1,650 on the register.

Jones-Aldington claimed that when the TUR was abolished, the men on it would be reallocated to port employers as extra labour avoiding any contraction of the docks industry.

## £4,000 pay-off kills dock jobs and creates a growing speed-up

But the effect of the unusually generous severance terms has already trimmed the industry of more jobs than the port employers ever dreamed of and the tide of applications has only just begun.

In London and Hull the dock labour surplus has been more than cleared. London has 1,300 men on the TUR, but 1,700 have applied for severance.

And at ports where there was no TUR problem, such as Bristol, Immingham, Middlesbrough and Southampton, the rush to accept the golden handshake has led to actual labour shortages.

Jones-Aldington banned re-

cruitment at least until February, so these ports will be forced to wring more work from their existing work forces.

Most of those who have opted for voluntary redundancy are in the upper age groups and few of them are already on the TUR. Their places will be taken by men who are.

The national dock strike was fought on the principle of no contractions in the docks industry, but even the initial stages of the application of Jones-Aldington have already turned this on its head.

● See today's centre pages.

# Tanaka pips Nixon to Peking post

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

IN A YEAR of diplomatic realignments, none has been more rapid and sudden than the recognition of Mao's China by Japan.

It is not quite a year since Japan sponsored an American resolution at the United Nations recognizing 'two Chinas'. In the agreement signed by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka in Peking, it is accepted that Taiwan is an

inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

The haste with which the Tanaka government has moved has taken western diplomats by surprise. Despite President Nixon's visit, the US still does not have formal diplomatic relations with China.

The Japanese have not only agreed to immediate steps for the exchange of ambassadors; in return China has promised negotiations aimed at the conclusion of agreements on trade, navigation, aviation, fishery and other questions.

With the speed at which both sides are moving, such agreements could be sealed and signed before either the Americans or the Russians wake up to what is going on.

Tanaka was obviously highly satisfied with the Chinese response. The agreement paves the way for a big expansion of Japan-

ese trade and economic influence on the Chinese mainland in the future. For that Tokyo is prepared to jettison the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan and perhaps lose some trade in the immediate future.

Japan is driven by economic necessity: the need for markets. The latest trade figures, which show a cut in the balance-of-payments surplus, underlines this.

Peking obviously expects that the Taiwan government will not long survive the loss of Japanese support and that after a year or two they will be able to re-occupy the island.

Peking is prepared to overlook Japanese depredations in the past, which it now blames onto 'a handful of militarists'. In fact, it accepts 'peaceful co-existence' with the Japanese monopolies, the most aggressive, expansionist and ambitious in the world.

If Chairman Mao's thoughts do not include the saying 'he who sups with the devil must take a long spoon', the situation suggests it.

## Labour's right wing start EEC pressure

FORESTALLING demands which will be made at next week's Labour Party conference for Britain not to join the Common Market, Labour MP for Kettering, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, said such a course would be an 'abnegation of responsibility'.

Sir Geoffrey is international president of the Mouvement Gauche Europeene (Europe left) and he was welcoming members arriving for a meeting to be held today.

He said: 'Despite Norway's absence, socialists within the enlarged community will be the strongest single political group within the European parliament.'

'To refuse to participate in the European parliament would be an abnegation of responsibility.'

He said that a strong group of British Labour MPs would join their continental colleagues in Strasbourg from January 1 to hammer out policies for making the parliament more democratic.

## Film making goes cold

THE FUTURE of Britain's two remaining film studios is threatened. A portion of MGM's Borehamwood studio at Elstree has just been hived off for a cold storage project and British Lion's Shepperton Studio is awaiting the plans of asset-stripper John Bentley.

Allied London Properties, who bought the 119-acre complex at Elstree 20 months ago, is to sell 19 acres to Christian Salvesen.

The new owners have planning permission to erect Britain's largest cold storage depot, covering 500,000 square feet.

In a statement issued today the National Film Finance Corporation, a government body to aid independent film production, said discussions with British Lion were continuing 'to endeavour to find a satisfactory solution to the problem, which all parties are agreed must be in the best interests of the industry and its employees'.

Millionaire John Bentley, who has earned the title of Britain's No 1 asset-stripper, bought British Lion earlier this year thus precipitating a crisis over the studio's future.

## LATE NEWS WEATHER

ABOUT three hundred men laid off last night by the liquidator of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders are to be re-engaged on Monday by contractors on completing a cargo vessel, Clyde shop stewards said yesterday.

They include electricians, plumbers, caulkers, welders, burners and platers.

'The men leaving tonight will be starting on Monday morning with sub-contractors who are working for the liquidator,' said a shop stewards' spokesman.

IT WILL be mostly cloudy over western districts of the British Isles with some rain or drizzle over Northern Ireland and western Scotland.

Central and eastern England will remain mainly dry with sunny spells.

Temperatures generally will be near normal, but it will be rather warm in south east and eastern England.

**Outlook for Sunday and Monday:** Rain at times in the west. Mainly dry in the east. Temperatures normal generally, but rather warm in the east.

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## CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

## NEWS DESK

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## Public Meeting

### Banbury

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.

## Socialist Labour League

### LECTURES

### THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by

G. HEALY  
(SLL national secretary)

## London

### Nature of the capitalist crisis

Sunday October 1

### Historical materialism today

Sunday October 8

### EAST HAM TOWN HALL

Lister Room  
Barking Rd, 7 p.m.

## Liverpool

Tuesday October 3

### MUNICIPAL ANNEXE

Dale Street, Liverpool  
7.30 p.m.