

AS PRICE RISES OVER \$110

BANKERS FEAR GOLD PANIC

BY JOHN SPENCER

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most European currencies, floated upward very sharply against the dollar. The pound was being quoted at over \$2.57 yesterday afternoon. Holders of dollars were reported to be trying to unload at all costs.

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In contrast to previous rises in the gold price, the present upward trend has continued for days without even a temporary downturn. It has taken on the scope of a stampede.

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There is serious talk of the Common Market imposing emer-

gency tariffs to keep out US goods which have cheapened by nearly 25 per cent in 18 months of successive devaluations.

Pressure is also growing for yet another revaluation of the West German mark, the fifth in less than four years.

A leading West German banker said traders were holding back payment of dollar debts hoping to settle them more cheaply in a few day's time.

He also reported a growing tendency for 'small' central banks to turn their reserves from dollars into marks, despite the negative interest imposed on such holdings by the Bonn government.

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fidence is likely from the involvement in the scandal of the newly-appointed head of the Securities and Exchange Commission, G. Bradford Cook.

Cook is said to have spoken with Maurice Stans, the former Commerce Secretary now charged with accepting a \$200,000 bribe from shady financier Robert Vesco.

News of Cook's involvement came at the end of one of the worst days the New York stock exchange has seen for the last ten years.

The scene is being set for a money panic of enormous proportions under conditions of intensifying trade war and at a time when the political and economic crises are merged into a single uncontrollable problem for the world bourgeoisie.

The fight to transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party is the only way in which the workers' movement can be prepared to meet the enormous implications of the monetary and political situation.

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BY ROYSTON BULL

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This rare moment of honesty from a reformist trade union leader, however, still evades the all-important question of how does the fight against the Tory pay laws proceed from here?

To this, neither Evans, nor any other bureaucrat from the transport or engineering unions which dominate the NJNC, has an answer.

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'None of them supported an all-out strike call now being made, but they criticized the unions for not giving a positive lead earlier. It would have been a different situation in February. The responsibility for the lack



MOSS EVANS . . . Bold admission by bureaucrat.

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THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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THE RUSSIAN Press has deliberately played down the Watergate crisis which is part of the economic and social decay of United States imperialism.

This is admitted by the British Stalinist paper 'Morning Star' which declared in a report from Moscow on Monday: 'Apart from carrying the announcements of new appointments in Washington arising from the Watergate affair, the Soviet Press has neither commented on nor reported the great storm that has broken out around President Nixon over the case.'

'The whole emphasis here in all the mass media has been on the fact that the Soviet peace initiative, launched by the 24th Congress two years ago, is winning success and is going to be pressed home with renewed vigour.'

While having no space for the corruption of American capitalist politics, Sunday's 'Pravda' devoted an entire page to listing organizations which had sent resolutions of praise to general secretary Leonid Brezhnev after his recent Lenin Peace Prize award.

Brezhnev, of course, has awarded the prize to himself.

The Soviet Stalinists are keeping the Russian people in ignorance of Watergate because they are determined that Brezhnev's visit to Washington next month should go ahead as planned.

As the London 'Times' pointed out on Monday, the visit can only serve to strengthen the rocking Nixon. It is an indication that the Russian leaders place the reaching of an agreement with the United States above all else.

This is because the Stalinist bureaucracy faces a crisis no less severe than that of American imperialism. The bureaucracy holds back the development of the Russian economy. Growth has faltered, particularly in agriculture, and huge quantities of grain have had to be imported. Western techniques and credits are needed and the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, which long ago abandoned the Bolshevik concept of revolutionary internationalism, can see only one way to get them—by agreement with the capitalist powers.

The Stalinist bureaucrats are opposed to any social revolution in the West because that would undermine their own position based on the isolation of the Soviet Union from the advanced industrial countries.

Revolution is the threat most feared by Brezhnev and his colleagues. In this they find common ground with Nixon and the men of Watergate.

The Stalinists want Nixon firmly in power, able to make and keep agreements and capable of 'stabilizing' areas like the Middle East.

In coming to the aid of Nixon, the Stalinist bureaucracy once again shows its international counter-revolutionary role, even though it is itself based on the social gains of the 1917 revolution.

Trotsky analysed this contradiction in his 'Revolution Betrayed'. Here he pointed out that the Soviet state has a dual character. It is socialistic in so far as it defends social property in the means of production; it is bourgeois in so far as the distribution of goods is carried out with a capitalistic measure of value and all the consequences that flow from that.

The workers' state, isolated in particular by the social democrats' betrayal of the German Revolution, and economically near-bankrupt following World War I and the wars of intervention, was forced to regulate inequalities in the sphere of consumption by the creation of a 'bourgeois' type of instrument.



Brezhnev and Nixon during the US President's visit to Moscow last year.

Why the Kremlin cuddles up to Watergate men

The isolation of the Soviet Union was extended by Stalinism, which betrayed the revolution in Germany, Spain, France and throughout the world. Stalinism fed and grew off this isolation and cemented its power by the ruthless extermination of all socialist opposition inside the Soviet Union and—wherever it could—outside the Soviet Union as well.

The bureaucracy became a monstrous, continually growing distortion on the workers' state, becoming in turn, as Trotsky says, 'the source of malignant growths in society'.

It became a privileged minority living at the expense of the deprived majority, the chief source of legal and illegal personal accumulation, and—to quote 'Revolution Betrayed' again—it carried out 'a masked appropriation of the products of the labour of others'.

But this is done on the basis of the

property relations established by the proletarian revolution of October 1917. This contradiction is the centre of the crisis of the bureaucracy. Two opposite tendencies have emerged.

The productive forces have been enormously developed, following the abolition of capitalism. This prepares the economic basis for socialism. And it is this which decides the proletarian nature of the Soviet state.

At the same time, bourgeois norms of distribution have served the interests of an upper stratum of society. The working class remains the dominant class, but the ruling strata has achieved an unprecedented degree of independence from it.

This ruling strata conceals its income, and even pretends that as a special social group it doesn't even exist. But its appropriation of an enormous share of the national income gives it

the character of a social parasite. This means that despite its enormous political power, its position is extremely contradictory and insecure. That is why it continually screens itself behind a facade of parades, flattery and phoney 'peace awards'.

The censorship of all reports on the Watergate affair reveals not only the official powers of control which the bureaucracy has—but also its real fears of the Soviet masses.

Those who—like the revisionist International Socialism group—claim that Russia is 'state capitalist' are not only writing off the entire gains of 1917 but, under the guise of 'rejecting' the bureaucracy, are in fact falling on their faces before it.

If the bureaucracy is all-powerful, if it has already destroyed the revolution, why is it still afraid to let the Russian working class know what is happening in the United States?

The neat, simple and defeatist 'definition' of Russia as 'state capitalist' assumes that the bureaucracy has already won a battle which is not yet over.

Trotsky specifically repudiated such mechanical pessimism in a passage which is worth quoting in full:

The Soviet Union is a contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism in which: (a) the productive forces are still far from adequate to give the state property a socialist character; (b) the tendency toward primitive accumulation created by want breaks out through innumerable pores of the planned economy; (c) norms of distribution preserving a bourgeois character lie at the basis of a new differentiation of society; (d) the economic growth, while slowly bettering the situation of the toilers, promotes a swift formation of privileged strata; (e) exploiting the social antagonisms a bureaucracy has converted itself into an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism; (f) the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party, still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses; (g) a further development of the accumulating contradictions can as well lead to socialism as back to capitalism; (h) on the road to capitalism the counter-revolution would have to break the resistance of the workers; (i) on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and world arena.

('Revolution Betrayed'. Page 255.)

This analysis remains as valid today as it was when it was written in 1936.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has betrayed the October revolution, but it has not been able to overthrow it. That is why Brezhnev cannot tell the Russian masses about Watergate. And that is why the Stalinists fear the exposure of the rottenness, corruption and crisis of capitalism as much as do Nixon and his erstwhile friends.

They know that the more the degeneracy of capitalism is exposed to the masses it oppresses, the more receptive those masses will become to revolutionary ideas.

Revolution in the west will reach out its hands to the Russian workers and peasants now under the yoke of Stalinism. The socialist revolution of the west will, through the means of the political revolutions provide the means for solving the economic problems of the first workers' state and cut the ground from under the feet of Stalin's successors.

Shah tools up for gendarme role

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE SHAH of Iran has appointed himself 'guardian and protector' of the Gulf region, where 60 per cent of world oil reserves are situated.

In an interview with 'Newsweek' editor Arnaud de Borchgrave, the Shah delivered one of the most brazen and provocative declarations of imperialist aims ever committed to paper.

He indicated that with the full backing of the United States, Iran was taking over the role of international gendarme in the Gulf area. He said: 'Iran was spending \$2-3,000m a year on "buying a deterrent that will be credible to all our neighbours".'

He boasted about the immense size of the armed forces he is building up. At one point the conversation went like this:

Borchgrave: What exactly are you getting for your money? I have heard, for example, that you are buying 145 Phantom fighter-bombers and already have more than Israel.

Shah: More than that. We now have 80 Phantoms which cost \$2.5m a piece and another 100 coming in that will cost \$5m a

piece. That will give us a fighter-bomber force of well over 300. The C-130 troop transports (50 in the country, 50 on order) have also gone from \$2.5m to \$5m a plane. . .

Borchgrave: Estimates of the helicopters you're buying from the US range up to 400.

Shah: No, much more. We've ordered 700, including 220 gunships, plus 18 large Chinooks and 18 ASW (anti-submarine warfare) Sikorskys. That about \$500m for choppers alone.

Borchgrave: Isn't that an awful lot of aircraft given your requirements?

Shah: No, because the other powers in the area seem to feel they need about 500 aircraft—Egypt, Syria and Israel, for example. Whether they all know how to fly them is another matter.

We're also buying 800 Chieftain tanks from Britain which will cost us another \$480m and meanwhile we're engaged in modernizing the 400 M-47 tanks we obtained from the US in the past and will also do the same with the 460 M-60s that we have. That will give us a tank force of about 1,700. The navy is being doubled in size and already includes the world's

largest hovercraft fleet. . .

The Nixon doctrine says the US will help those who help themselves. That's what we're doing.

Borchgrave: Did you also get the 'smart' bombs (TV and laser-guided) you asked for?

Shah: Yes, we are getting anything and everything non-atomic that the US has.

ANOTHER exchange shows that this force is not to be confined within the frontiers of Iran.

Shah: . . . Take the Dhofar rebellion in Oman. If it ever succeeded, just try to imagine what we would be faced with in Muscat. The capital, right in front of the straits of Hormuz.

At first a few rifles and then naval guns and missiles. It's a familiar pattern. I cannot tolerate subversive activities—and by that I mean anything that is imposed from outside. . .

Borchgrave: Are you saying you cannot tolerate radical regimes taking over any of the Arab shahdoms?

Shah: Yes.

THE SHAH went on to speak about his plan for the Gulf states

to form a mutual assistance pact like NATO and ask the major powers to stay out of the Gulf. 'It would become our Mare Nostrum,' he said.

He said he had begun thinking about his present strong-man policies 'back in 1959 or 1960 when I concluded the US could not go on playing the role of international gendarme for ever'. The US 'had assured him then that they could "police the world with two airborne divisions".'

But, the Shah said, the US was now reluctant 'to play the role of gendarme even where its vital interests are concerned. . . anyone with a modicum of geopolitical sense will conclude that we didn't have much choice in the matter—nor did you [Americans] in your decision to back us to the hilt'.

The Shah's statements throw into sharp relief the real significance of the Nixon doctrine which is based on the establishment of selected military dictatorships known to be dedicated to the service of imperialism to act as the pillars of capitalist rule in the various quarters of the globe.

This is part of the preparation by imperialism for the launching of World War III to reconquer the territories lost to capitalism

in the USSR, China and eastern Europe and crush the revolutionary movement internationally.

Iran and similar regimes are being armed to the hilt for the purpose of suppressing every revolutionary or even democratic manifestation.

The immense sums being spent to arm the Iranian regime indicate the fear and desperation of the world capitalist class faced with the coming together of the colonial revolution and the movement of the workers in the main centres of capitalism.

Despite its immense military power, the Iranian regime is a government of crisis. The unparalleled machinery of repression inside the country—where an 109 opponents have been executed in the last two years—is a conclusive demonstration of the continued resistance of the Iranian masses to the Shah.

He is able to continue in office only as a result of the betrayals of the Moscow and Peking Stalinists, who bolster the Iranian monarchy with lavish financial and technical aid, and turn a blind eye to the suffering and misery inflicted on the Iranian workers and peasants who have to pay for the Shah's drive towards war.

Immigrant workers show solidarity on picket line

Union in 'trial of strength' with hotel

THE 800-STRONG international branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union is fighting for the reinstatement of Federico Martin, a young Spanish cellar porter from the Mount Royal Hotel, Marble Arch, London.

With the support of catering workers from other hotels, nightclubs and restaurants in London the branch is mounting a picket outside the Mount Royal from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. every day this week and is planning an extra-large demonstration outside the hotel on Saturday.

The hotel is part of the Maxwell Joseph octopus and the union's international branch regards the Federico Martin case as a trial of strength with management.

The Maxwell Joseph chain owns a large number of hotels in central London, among them the Clifton Ford, Mayfair, Britannia, Rembrandt, St Ermy's, Stafford Court and the Londoner.

The group has refused to recognize the international branch and at the Mount Royal has so far extended facilities only to the General and Municipal Workers' Union. Agreement with the G&MWU was reached in November last year, seven months after the T&GWU began its recruitment drive in the catering trade in London.

Federico Martin was

BY JOHN SPENCER

sacked last Wednesday because management claimed he had gone to see his doctor without permission.

He said he had told his manager beforehand about the appointment. He has been actively campaigning in the hotel to recruit members for the union.

Members of the international branch are mainly from Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece. Many of them work for extremely low wages: porters at the plush Mount Royal, it is claimed, are paid only £18 for a full week's work.

Branch members say that the management has used the threat that militants will be sacked and deprived of their work permits to prevent union organization in their hotels.



But the international branch has succeeded, despite opposition, in winning recognition and 100 per cent membership at the Talk of the Town nightclub in the West End.

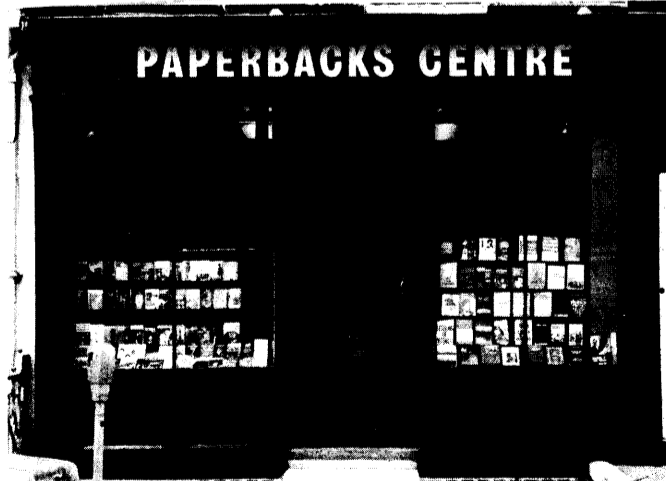
About 80 workers from the Talk of the Town joined men from Watney's White-chapel brewery and members from other parts of London on Monday's picket.



Members of the International branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union on the picket line outside the Mount Royal Hotel, London, demanding the reinstatement of Spanish cellar porter Federico Martin (left).

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'Army blackmail'

Belfast youth's allegation the second in two weeks

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

A BELFAST Roman Catholic's allegation that Special Branch men in Ulster tried to persuade him to become a paid informant against the IRA is to be forwarded to Defence Minister Lord Carrington.

It is the second allegation of blackmail by the army in two weeks.

A statement from the man, 25-year-old son of a Belfast trade unionist, has been sent to Mr Kevin McNamara, Labour MP for Kingston upon Hull North, who said he would be writing to Lord Carrington about the matter. He said he was not, as yet, releasing the man's name.

Mr McNamara said he was questioning the general attitude of the security forces on informers.

'If people are being used to get information in this way, it is put-

ting the informants and their families at great risk,' he said.

The man said in his statement that he was offered £10 a week, and his release from custody, to spy on the IRA.

The man was released from Long Kesh in April 1972, and was later shot and wounded close to his home near Unity Flats. During the 65 hours he was held under the Special Powers Act, he maintains he was interrogated by two Special Branch men.

He was told that he could become a paid informant. He said in his statement:

'They also asked me if I would join the IRA and work for them, getting some information and

then getting myself out of it after a couple of months. If I was caught with anything they would arrange for me to get off.'

The man was told the only way he could get out of the police station at Castlereagh—where he was interrogated—was by agreeing to the suggestions.

He also said that an army intelligence office made threats of leaving him in a Protestant quarter called Tiger Bay, where he would be in danger of his life. He was released without being charged only after Mr McNamara, at the instigation of the father, made inquiries about the man.

● SEE PAGE 11 for Long Kesh report.

Esso construction site strikers return for talks

A MASS meeting of 1,000 construction workers at the Esso refinery, Fawley, near Southampton, yesterday voted to accept a stewards' recommendation to return to work.

Strike committee chairman Tommy Copeland told the men that the 32-man stewards' liaison committee had met officials from

the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and these officials had now agreed to recognize the committee.

Negotiations will begin shortly between the unions and management on the men's claim for improved pay and conditions. The

stewards' committee will have only 'advisory status' at these talks.

A call for the strike to continue until any agreement reached in the negotiations had been ratified by the men was rejected on the stewards' advice.

TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

Extract from the policy resolution adopted unanimously by 2,200 delegates and visitors at the All Trades Unions Alliance conference, Birmingham, on October 22, 1972.

Fellow trade unionists, comrades and friends we address you with this urgent call to action:

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged' to socialist policies knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present Wilson-Feather leadership of the labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

THE TORY government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a General Strike. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages.

4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure,

as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to appropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory gov-

ernment cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all ex-colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

JOIN the Socialist Labour League and help transform it into a revolutionary party.
Central Committee
Socialist Labour League

THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

'TUC falls in with Tories'

Chris, an apprentice foundry-worker in Derby:

Wages are being kept still, but prices are going up. If prices go up by 10 per cent wages should go up 10 per cent. Every week in 'The Grocer' there are hundreds of price increases.

How much money do the Tories get off industry like the breweries? They are not going to tell these firms to put their prices down.

If you had some decent leaders in the Labour Party it would be better.

The TUC is falling in line with the Tories. You want to get Vic Feather out. He doesn't graft all week in a factory for £15.

You either have to reform the Labour Party or build an entirely new party. But the Labour Party leaders are elected by the MPs. How can they elect a proper leader?

You've got to have a big organization to win

'Workers pay for the crisis'

Brian Hankey (28), was making decorative candles in a remote part of central Wales three months ago. Two years ago he left a Lancashire engineering factory to look for something better in London. But after a year he threw up a job as a contractor's fitter and set up in Aberdovey. He is now an AUEW shop steward and acting convenor at Power Jacks, Acton, west London:

I wandered around for a bit looking for an ideal place to settle. It was a middle-class idea really, to escape from industry. Of course, there isn't an ideal place.

I had to leave Wales. I was doing nothing there, just rotting away. There was nothing to interest me there, but I read a lot about politics in the papers.

The meagre existence I was making out of candles, with inflation and competition, was impossible to live on. That was



Victor Feather outside No 10 Downing St. 'The TUC is falling in line with the Tories.'

when I first started thinking about inflation.

It was growing pretty fast and there was panic around the world. Whatever measures they brought in to control inflation collapsed as soon as they were implemented.

I understand what the crisis is about. Someone's got to pay

for the inflation since the Bretton Woods agreement.

The crisis is such that the Tories are trying to solve it by making the working class pay for the inflation they created.

The organizations of the working class must be destroyed totally if capitalism is

to survive. The ruling class must force them to pay for their crisis. Three years ago the crisis was coming, but I didn't see it.

When I came to London I came into contact with the League, the International Marxist Group (IMG) and the International Socialists (IS)

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE TORY PARTY

through the kind of people I was mixing with.

I stayed in London for a year and absorbed as much as I could, but then I left and tried to do the entrepreneur bit in Wales. But even in that isolated place it was obvious from the papers that there was a crisis.

With reading and the political contacts I'd had before, I came to understand the crisis. I thought that August 1971 could be the first sign of a big crack in the system.

I came to see that the only progressive class is the working class, the only thing I could do was to join a political party. Reformism was over. Everything else was an idealistic dream.

At first I couldn't distinguish between the different political groups, but I gravitated towards the League. I see the IS as armchair revolutionaries. At first I thought the IMG had potential and that I should find out what they were about. But they just look at the surface trends and treat them as phenomena rather than analyse them dialectically.

Their road is going to lead them away from the revolution. They see the present trouble as a sign of the times, teething troubles to a new phase of capitalism.

I found it difficult to submerge my individualism into the party. It was hard at first, but once I'd made the first step it became easier and easier. As my political education developed, I became more and more enthusiastic.

I was forced to become aware of capitalism and the crisis. In the face of this the union leadership is running backwards and the Labour Party are selling out just as quickly. The Communist Party cover up for them.

The trade unions can no longer fulfil their reformist role because reformism was ended by collective bargaining.

Without taking power the working class can only go one way—and that's backwards.

'Main issue in all these strikes is the government'

Tony Rogers remembers Heath's election promise that he would change the course of history. It didn't mean much at the time, but since then Tony has come to realize what the Tory leader had in mind. As a hospital worker at Hope Hospital, Salford, Tony has suffered directly along with tens of thousands of workers trapped in the Tory state control of wages. Lack of leadership and the steady depression of his own living standards made him take the decision to help to build the revolutionary party.

Heath said he would change the course of history and this puzzled a lot of people at the time—I was one. Now we know what he means—this man is taking us towards dictatorship. You can see it very clearly. The developments have been obvious



Hospital workers during their strike. 'They are back at work with a lousy pay rise because they were told to ignore politics.'

over the past year.

The police are walking around armed, shooting people, protecting embassies they say. But which way will their guns point next? This is the pattern developing, it's like Ulster or even more like Germany.

Like the draft document says, the conditions for dictatorship are present now in our society.

I think the main issue is that we must get people together—it does not matter what union they are from—to try and build up the unity in the working class to get rid of this government before serious and permanent damage is done to our unions and the working class itself.

The main issue in all these strikes by the working class is the government. Didn't our own strike prove that? I remember back in September when we held our first rally.

The officials said they were going to the government to make the hospital workers a special case.

But there are no special cases any more. So we came out on strike. Because the leadership was not prepared to make this a political issue, and the other union leaders were not prepared to back them—like they promised—we went back.

Workers say they are not interested in politics. But what about the hospital workers? They are back at work with a lousy pay rise because they were told to ignore politics. It's a big crisis for the working class. I would say it's the crunch. That's why we really need an alternative.

If there is complacency in the working class despite these things, it is mainly I think because of the leadership. According to the SLL it's a question

of changing this leadership and I entirely agree.

I remember during the strike when we went down to the hospital board to see Keith Joseph. People were hanging back at first until they saw some leadership and then they went forward and got into the building. On a national level it's the same. Workers want to get at the Tories, if they can, but the TUC gives them no lead at all.

The trouble that worries me is that when will this break through occur? I don't think there is enough explanation in the movement of how and when it will occur. It had better happen soon, because we are virtually under martial law now.

I think the crunch will come when the crisis really breaks. I watch the stock exchange prices very carefully in New York and here and they are

going down. There is a real lack of confidence. The Americans are pulling their money out of Europe and Britain.

On top of this you have the situation with the money. Thousands and millions of dollars and pounds and other currencies are floating around and they are really valueless. The crunch will come when the capitalists start rejecting this currency. We have already had signs of this.

It is obvious that when this occurs the workers will be under massive attack, worse, much worse than they were in the 1930s. There will be a big leap in unemployment. Now people are milling around like a herd of cattle. They think they can go through this gap, or that gap, but there is no way out, only the way out that the SLL is showing—to fight to get rid of the Tories and bring in socialism.



UNION LEAVES MINERS' JOBS IN DANGER

'We fear we may be faced with the same type of heavy closure programme that faced us in the middle 1960s', said miners' union president Joe Gormley last Thursday.

Gormley was speaking following the regular monthly executive meeting of the National Union of Mineworkers.

With the National Coal Board now forecasting a £69m operating deficit this year, the executive decided to call a special meeting to discuss the possible impact on their members.

Already closures are threatened at four pits in Yorkshire, North and South Wales and there are fears that a large number of pits, particularly drift mines, face the axe.

Late last year strong rumours were circulating in the industry that up to 50 pits were for the chop within two or three years, despite the fact that they had reserves.

And when miners' MP Edwin Wainwright brought the rumour onto the floor of the House of Commons, he received a less than unequivocal answer. Minister for Industry, Tom Boardman, would say only: 'We are keeping a close watch on the situation.'

During the 1960s the number of collieries being worked was slashed from 700 down to 300, and the number of miners was halved, falling from 600,000 to less than 300,000.

As last year's Wilberforce inquiry commented: 'This run-down, which was brought about with the co-operation of the miners and their union, is without parallel in British industry in terms of the social and economic costs it has inevitably entailed for the min-

ing community as a whole.' But this is not the 1960s. Unemployment is up, alternative work is virtually non-existent and only a year ago the miners tasted their striking power in a major confrontation with the most vicious Tory government in history.

Typical is the situation at Gomersal, near Bradford. There are 380 men engaged in maintenance work in the pit, which will soon share the fate of other pits in the area and be closed.

Barry Wilson, president of the Gomersal NUM branch, explained the impact of the closure.

'The NCB is picking off pits one by one', he said. 'St John's, Normanton, is to close and now Gomersal is threatened.'

'The men here are fed up with moving from pit to pit. One miner has been moved through five pits. When some miners were moved here from

Thornhill pit, they were told that there were 25 to 30 years of life left in Gomersal.'

At Coedcae drift mine, near Bridgend in Glamorganshire, South Wales, the NCB is proposing a closure because of geological difficulties and a £750,000 loss in the past five years.

If the pit actually shuts three villages which have depended on mining for generations—Llanharan, Pencoed and Heol-y-Cyw—would face a grim future.

So would the 230 miners at Coedcae.

The NUM has promised to fight the closure. The union's South Wales executive is seeking a meeting with NCB area director, David Davies.

Gordon Emlyn, NUM lodge secretary at Coedcae, said: 'We are not talking about closure. The board may be, but we aren't.'

'We are determined to make a fight of this. The member-

ship is fully aware of the situation at the colliery and know that the lodge is opposed to any closure.'

Like the Gomersal men, many of the Coedcae miners have been through this sort of experience before.

As bath attendant Ivor Knight put it: 'I am rather bitter. I have done 42 years underground and I have been pushed around quite a bit. 'They said we were going to have a new mine, and that we would be right for the rest of our days, but now it may close.'

Feelings are also running high at Gresford colliery, near Wrexham, North Wales, where 1,100 men may lose their jobs over the next few months.

Josiah Ellis, North Wales area secretary of the NUM, said the union totally opposed the NCB closure plan and would fight to keep the pit open.

'As far as we can see there is a future at Gresford', he said. 'The jobs of 1,100 men are at stake here and this will be a big blow to the locality, particularly to the town of Wrexham.'

Britain's 278,000 miners are clearly not going to have closures forced down their throats. The question is: will their leaders fight?

Since the end of last year, the union has been participating in joint committees with the NCB to investigate and carry out closures.

Derek Ezra, NCB chairman, described the agreement of the union to participate as 'a very important development'.

Joint committees set up in each area would review performance, warn individual pits of the need for higher productivity and, if necessary, recommend closures.

Ezra noted that the unions were now less intransigent on the question of closure than previously.

'The difficulty we were getting into was that the union had taken a hard line on closures.'

'We have agreed in the text of the report to the Minister that if some pits had no solution but closure, then we would agree to closure.'

Ezra said: 'There are bound to be redundancies, even if we don't close any pits for econo-

mic reasons because of exhaustion.'

At the same time the unions have been co-operating with the board in efforts to arrive at a productivity scheme which will push up output per man-shift in the pits something which in a period of stagnant demand could certainly reduce the number of productive units needed.

By November James Cowan, Scottish NCB director, was notching up the pressure for speed-up by reviving the threat of closures.

'Unless we get better output from the people presently employed then productivity would come from shedding labour in the least economic pits', Cowan told a conference of delegates from every pit in Scotland.

Mick McGahey, Communist Party president of the Scottish NUM, replied that he was confident of improved productivity.

But what is the real story behind the NCB's losses? Are the miners responsible? The figures show, very decisively, that they are not.

Since coal was nationalized

in 1947 the labour force in the mines across the country has dropped from 703,000 to something over 280,000.

Output per man-shift, meanwhile, has risen from 21.5 cwt to 46.5 cwt. The number of collieries has fallen from 958 to under 290.

The NUM's own evidence to the Wilberforce inquiry last year revealed that output per man-shift (OMS) at the coal face had been rising at an average rate of 5 per cent a year since 1962—far faster than the rise in productivity of manufacturing industry.

This rate of increase has accelerated in recent years. From 1967-1968 to 1970-1971, OMS on newly-mechanized faces rose by an average of 6 per cent a year.

Proceeds to the NCB from selling the coal thus produced have also increased.

In 1967-1968 proceeds per ton were £4.93, in 1970-1971 £5.84. For each man-shift on mechanized faces over the same period proceeds increased by 41 per cent (overall the rise was 35 per cent).

The union further estimated that on the basis of coal-price

increases at the end of the 1970-1971 financial year, and further probable increases in 1971-1972, the overall increase in proceeds per man-shift over the four-year period would work out at 55-60 per cent.

Meanwhile miners' real earnings had actually fallen by 5 per cent.

But even in years where the industry achieves an operating profit, despite the partial and inadequate nature of the nationalization carried out in 1947, that profit is immediately wiped out by the crippling burden of interest foisted on the industry by successive right-wing Labour and Tory governments.

So in the financial year March 1970-March 1971, an operating profit of £34.1m was transformed into a meagre surplus of £500,000 by a huge interest bill of £33.6m.

Over the last ten years the average burden of interest has been £37.5m each year.

On top of this there is the £2,000m robbed from the industry since 1947 by the cheap sale of coal to private industry in order to boost the profits of the capitalist class.

Fear of pit closures again stalks the South Wales coalfield. Already-closed pits like Aberyswg (above) stand as a grim warning of things to come. At Seaford and Lofthouse collieries, miners were given bitter reminders of the human price of coal. Now men like these Lofthouse rescuers (left) are being asked to pay again.

None of these things is the responsibility of the miner. But the union leaderships not only refuse to fight on this basis, they open up serious dangers before their members in the fight against pit closures.

Joe Gormley said last week that it would be necessary to 'argue against closures pit by pit'.

Clearly this will be totally inadequate. All closures will have to be resisted. No redundancies can be allowed.

A real fight against pit closures can be conducted only in the struggles to force the Tories to resign, replace them with a Labour government pledged to nationalize the banks and all mining ancillary industries, and place the entire coal industry, and its financing under workers' control.

THE STORY OF JACK TANNER



THE ROAD TO ANTI-COMMUNISM. PART 2

BY JACK GALE

Throughout his life — whether on the left or the right — Jack Tanner maintained implacable opposition to the construction of revolutionary Marxist parties.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International, at which Tanner was a delegate from the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement, the report on the construction of communist parties was given by Gregori Zinoviev.

It was immediately opposed by Tanner. 'The main point of Zinoviev's argument' he said, 'was the absolute necessity for a strongly disciplined highly centralized Communist Party, and also that the dictatorship of the proletariat is synonymous with the dictatorship of the Communist Party. He has not clearly proved his argument.'

'What has taken place in Russia and what is now taking place must not be set up as a model for all other countries. In England, we are sure, things will be quite different.'

'For us in the shop stewards movement, the dictatorship of the proletariat means something entirely different from the meaning conveyed by comrade Zinoviev. The revolutionary minority of the proletariat in England is expressed through the shop stewards' movement.'

There was no need for a Bolshevik-type party in Britain, Tanner argued. 'We have in England a much greater number of conscious proletarians than there were in Russia. A number of those who are active in the shop stewards' movement are not greatly concerned about the formation of the party because they are convinced from their experiences in other parties that it was a loss of time to share in the work of such parties.'

For Tanner, being outside the revolutionary party was much better than being in it. 'But because these individuals are unattached it does not follow that they are less revolutionary. On the contrary, they are more so,' he claimed.

Direct action would come from the shop stewards.

Zinoviev, according to Tanner, had not studied the 'new outlook' of the British

workers, and the Russian Bolsheviks were being 'dogmatic'.

'The Russian comrades must not base their judgement solely on the experience of Russia. They have been removed from all contact with the masses in other countries for some years.'

'We have to make the revolution in England. Our Russian comrades cannot do that. The Second International was loose in form and vague in aim. But the Third International should not go to the other extreme and be too dogmatic.'

'We must provide that every organization has sufficient freedom of movement within its respective country to deal with and adjust itself to any special conditions.'

Lenin, however, succeeded in gaining an assurance from most of the British delegates — including Tanner — that they would support the formation of a Communist Party when they got home.

But when a special meeting of the Workers' Committees National Administrative Council (NAC) was held to hear a report back from the Congress, Tanner led a group which argued that they should

support the formation of a Communist Party as individuals, but that the shop stewards' should continue as a separate movement outside it.

The NAC was instructed to prepare a statement on the relationship of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement to the Communist Party—but this was never done.

The reason was because the shop stewards' movement was split on the issue.

Ranged against the Tanner wing was a group led by J. T. Murphy, who was now convinced that the way ahead lay through the Communist Party.

Despite Tanner's equivocal position, he chaired the 'unity convention' held in Leeds on January 29, 1921. This was a gathering of 170 delegates, mainly from the Communist Party of Great Britain, Sylvia Pankhurst's Communist Party (British Section, Third International) and the smaller Glasgow organization, the Communist Labour Party, one of whose leading members was William Gallacher.

The left wing of the Independent Labour Party and the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement was also represented.

It was here that the decision to go ahead with one

Above: Russian Revolution 1917. Tanner argued against the need for a Bolshevik-type party in Britain. Inset: Communist leaders Gallacher, Pankhurst and shop stewards' movement leader, Tanner.

Communist Party was taken, although there was soon to be a split with Pankhurst.

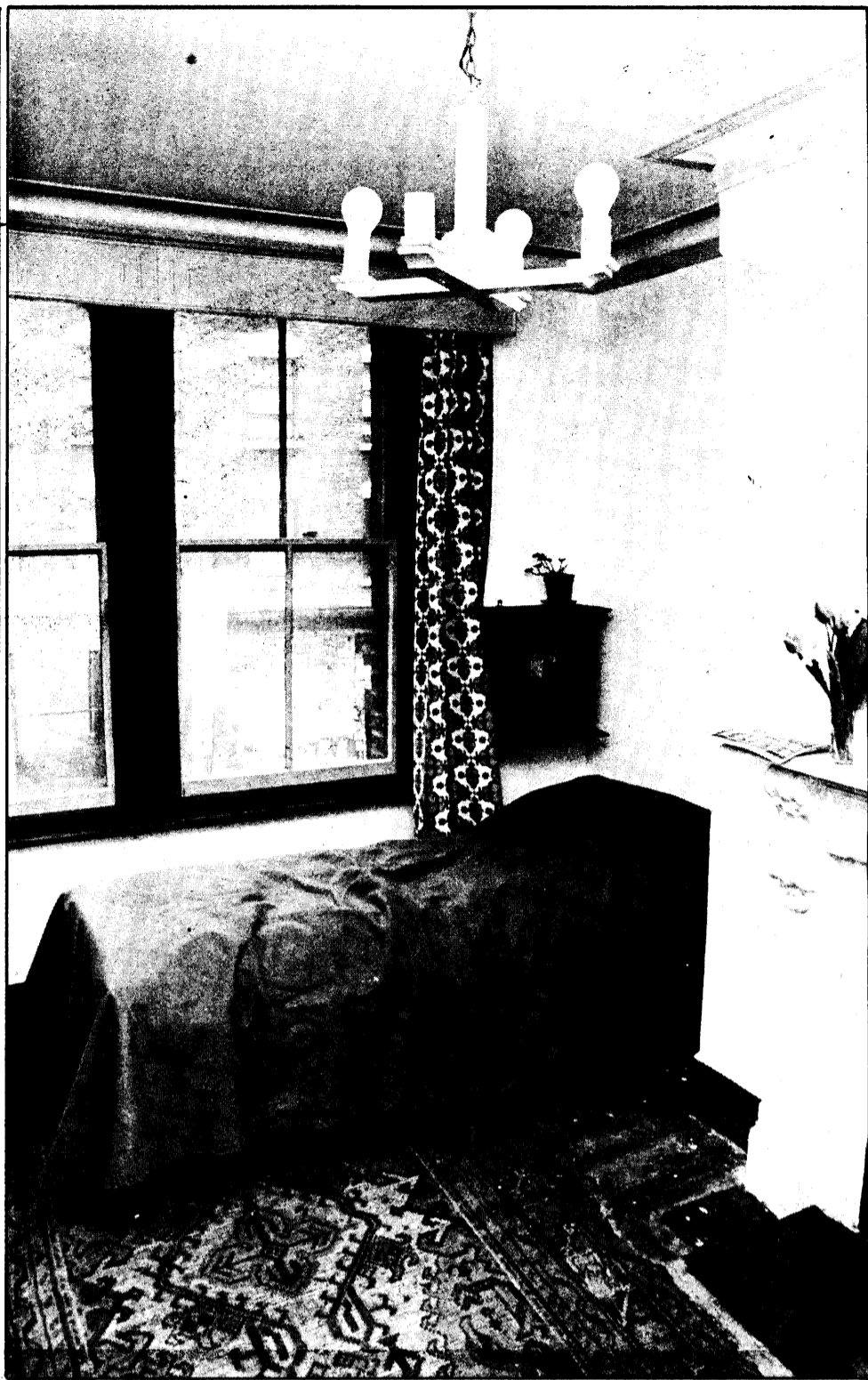
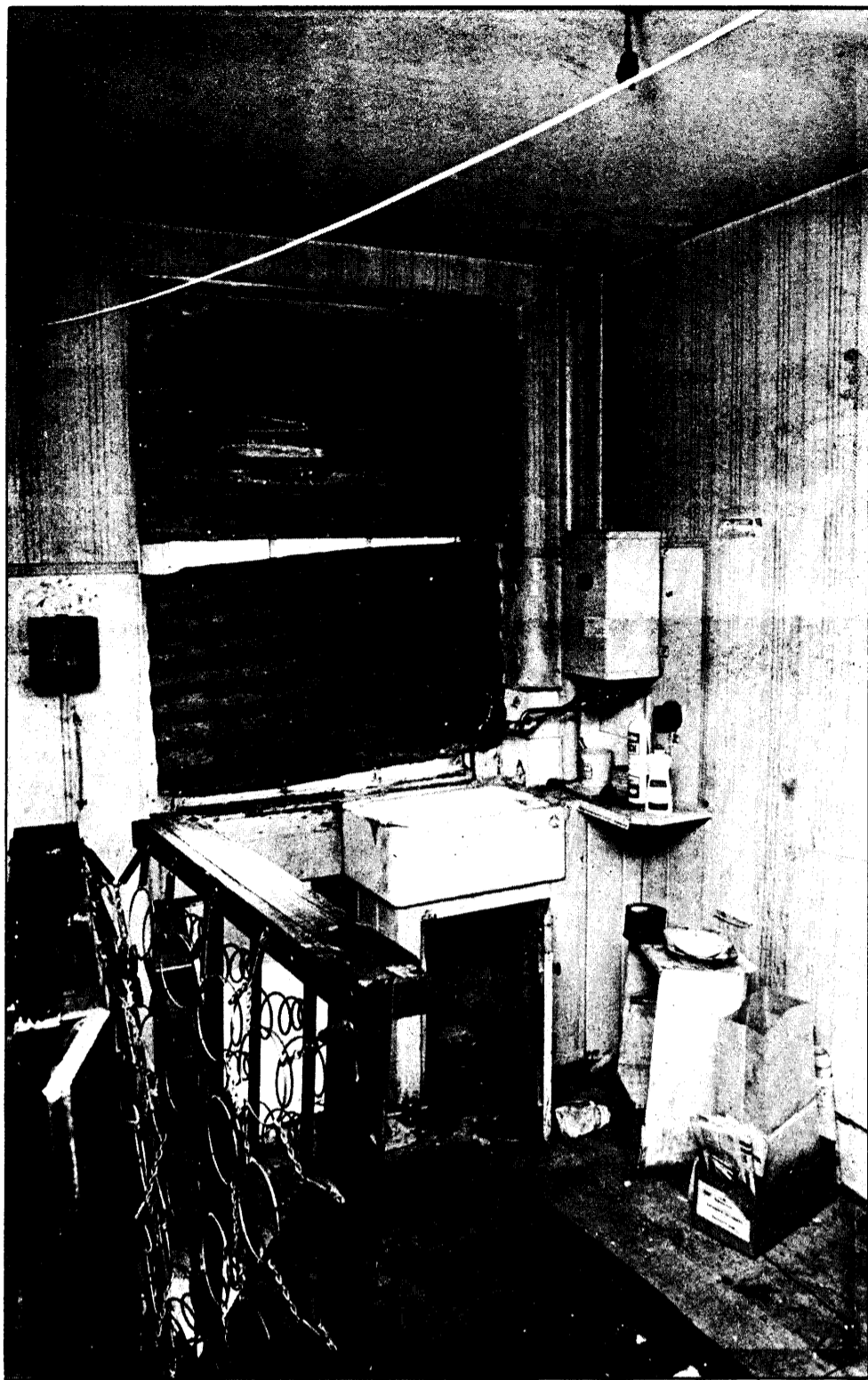
Nevertheless, the Murphy-Tanner battle continued in the shop stewards' movement. When, in April 1921, the NAC declared that it could only support one paper and that would be 'The Worker' and not Tanner's 'Solidarity', the latter announced that he would start a new paper to be called 'The Liberator'.

He wrote in 'Solidarity' on April 29, 1921, that his new paper would be 'devoted to the class conscious workers . . . who are working for the industrial revolution . . . unhampered by connection with any official or unofficial political group or political party.'

Tanner's flirtation with communism was virtually over (though he was to find himself on the same line as the Stalinists in World War II after the invasion of Russia).

Henceforth he was to devote himself to work as a trade unionist, to emerge as a loyal servant of capitalism at the head of the engineers.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



FLATS DESTROYED FOUR YEARS BEFORE DEMOLITION

Sandringham Flats West is a block of low-cost housing owned by Westminster City Council and threatened with demolition in furtherance of the former Conservative Greater London Council's policy of widening Charing Cross Road.

Most of the 90 flats and 15 shops have stood empty for months, although a new situation has arisen with the new Labour GLC committed to abandoning new road projects for central London.

Nevertheless, proposals that even if the flats have a limited life they should be used for emergency housing because of London's acute homelessness problem have been turned down by Westminster council.

On present Labour policy, road-widening would not take place for at least four years.

Tenants remaining in the flats are concerned and uncertain about their fate.

The empty flats, although structurally sound and with a potential life of 20 years have been systematically broken up by the council and the doors sealed. In order to make them impossible to live

in, lavatory pans have been smashed and concreted, taps have been cut off and windows boarded up — all, presumably, with council sanction.

The remaining tenants complain of being disturbed by vandals, lead thieves and 'dossers'. And they claim that in one case council workmen destroyed a flat's facilities before the tenant had actually left.

It is easy to see why several of the tenants—mostly older people who have lived in Sandringham West for many years — view the council's activities as harassment.

On top of everything, these

tenants, in a three-quarters empty and boarded up block, have recently been informed of a rates increase and their rent books taken away to mark the alteration!

As one tenant responded: 'We should be living rent-free in conditions like this.'

The shop tenants downstairs are hardly more secure with six-month break clauses in recent five-year leases at double rents.

On the same site as Sandringham West stands Newport Dwellings, which has 134 flats—all now empty.

The Sandringham West and Newport Action Group has

Above left: A destroyed bathroom in one of the boarded up flats. Right: A bedroom repaired and redecorated by Sandringham tenants.

taken over and repaired and decorated flats in Sandringham West and has demanded that they be used as temporary accommodation for homeless families.

They also say that if and when redevelopment takes place, it should be done by the council and the 225 low-cost housing units in Newport and Sandringham West should be replaced, together with shops, to be leased at comparable rents to those existing at the moment.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

VACANCY

A Manchester reader has sent us a sinister advertisement which appeared recently in a local newspaper. It read:

A vacancy exists at the above Establishment for a person with experience in processing rubber and plastics to work in a polymer laboratory on interesting research and development projects.

The work will involve mixing and calendaring rubber, the moulding of rubbers and plastics by compression, transfer and injection methods and the hand building of rubber components from calendared sheets.

The work is of a high technical standard, conforming to British Standard specifications and requiring the operation of process control instruments.

This is permanent and pensionable employment enjoying excellent working conditions at an Establishment in pleasant surroundings.

And what is this 'establishment in very pleasant surroundings'?

It's the Chemical Defence Establishment Porton Down. No prizes for guessing what they're producing now.

TV DEATH

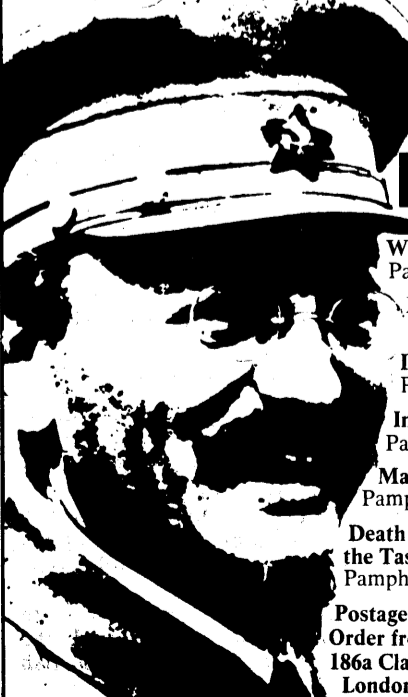
President Nixon's proposal to bring back capital punishment in the United States does not go far enough for Democratic Senator Robert C. Dennis of South Carolina. He thinks the best deterrent would be for the executions to be carried

out in public.

Speaking in a debate in the state legislature, Dennis declared that the method of execution should be changed from the old electric chair, which does the job rather too quickly, to that of a gas chamber with a television camera installed in it. In this way, thousands of people could sit in their own homes and watch the victim's death agonies.

A sort of 20th century version of the mediaeval public hangings which would not involve the spectators in even the effort required to walk to the town square to see the fun.

Dennis, well-known for his racist and reactionary views, thinks this would be a great deterrent. 'Let the people take note that if they want to kill somebody, they should recognize that what they have seen on TV might happen to them,' he said.



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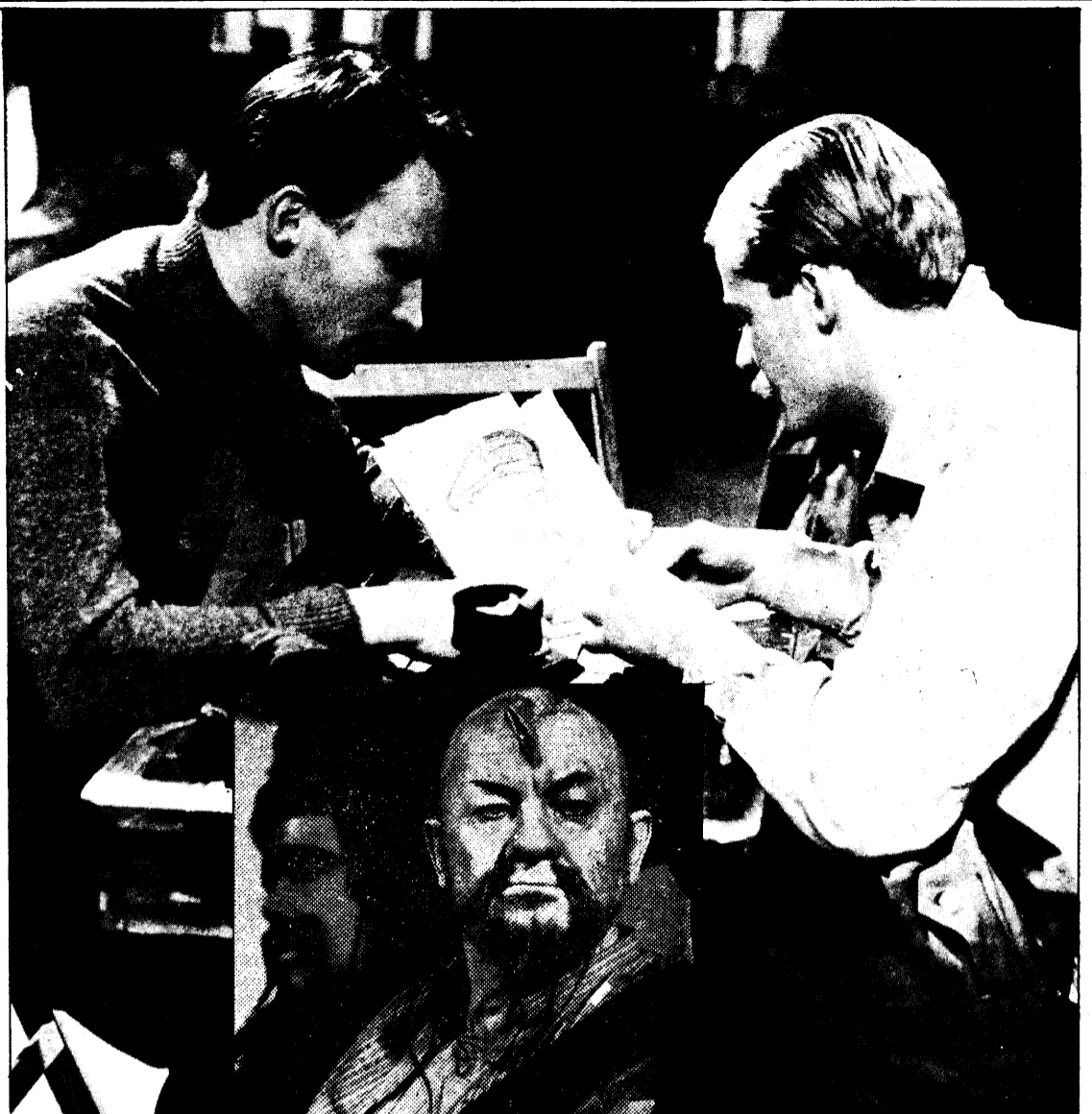
9.38 Schools. 12.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Barnaby. 1.45 Made in Britain. 2.05 Schools. 2.30 Great zoos. 3.00 What shall we tell the children? 3.35 Television top of the form. 4.00 Peter. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Boss cat. 5.10 Cabbages and kings. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.45 WHERE IN THE WORLD?
7.05 TOMORROW'S WORLD. From Peking.
7.30 GORDON PETERS SHOW. The Redundant.
8.00 COLDITZ. Court Martial.
8.50 SIX FROM COLDITZ. Interview with Peter Allan who escaped from Colditz.
9.00 NEWS. Weather.
9.25 PLAY OF THE MONTH: 'The Caucasian Chalk Circle.' By Bertolt Brecht. With Leo McKern, Patrick Magee, Sara Kestelman.
11.35 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
11.40 NAIRN ACROSS BRITAIN. From London to Lancashire.
12.10 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.35 Yoga (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Cuddles and co. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Scotch corner. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 2.50 Racing from York. 4.15 Cartoon. 4.20 Sooty show. 4.50 Jensen code. 5.20 University challenge. 5.50 News. **6.00 TODAY.** **6.35 CROSSROADS.**

7.00 SHIRLEY BASSEY — THIS IS YOUR LIFE.
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 AND MOTHER MAKES THREE. Wedding Talk.
8.30 THE BEST OF FATHER, DEAR FATHER. The Life of the Party.
9.00 SPECIAL BRANCH. Death by Drowning.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 HOME INTERNATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP. Scotland v N Ireland.
11.30 DOLLY. The Other Lady.
12.00 NIGHT GALLERY. They're Tearing Down Tim Riley's Bar.
12.50 A THANKLESS TASK.



Peter Penry-Jones (left) as Pilot Officer Muir and Richard Heffer as Capt Downing in 'Court Martial', one of the Colditz stories specially chosen for re-showing on BBC 1. On the same channel Leo McKern (inset) plays Azdak in Bertolt Brecht's 'The Caucasian Chalk Circle'.

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WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 11.57 News. 12.00 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 2.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 7.00 London. 12.00 News. 12.10 Weather. Epilogue.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 2.50 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Cuckoo in the nest. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 12.00 European journey. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.20 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

HTV West above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 2.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Anna and the king. 7.30 London. 8.30 Adventurer. 9.00 London. 12.00 Reflection.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

7.05 HOMES AND THE HOMELESS. Home, Sweet Home.

7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 LOOK, STRANGER. Anyone Can Have a Go. Hastings Musical Festival.

8.05 MAN ALIVE. Mothers to Blame? Deserted mothers.

8.50 ONE IN TEN. Buffy Saint-Marie sings.

9.00 FILM: 'The Appointment.' Omar Sharif, Anouk Aimee, Lotte Lenya. An Italian lawyer is enchanted by his friend's fiancée.

10.45 EDITION. **11.10 NEWS.** Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Guide. 12.05 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 8.30 Our kid. 9.00 London.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.45 Romper room. 2.55 London. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Adventurer. 7.30 London. 8.30 Anna and the king. 9.00 London. 12.00 You and your golf.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Jobs around the house. 3.00 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 12.00 You and your golf. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. What's on? 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Police surgeon. 7.30 London. 8.30 Anna and

the king. 9.00 London. 12.05 Evil touch.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Christian aid week. 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.40 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Mr and Mrs. 7.30 London. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.45 Streets of San Francisco. 12.40 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 2.50 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 12.00 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.52 News. 2.55 London. 5.15 Wildlife theatre. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Thompson at tea-time. 6.35 London. 7.00 Hogan's heroes. 7.30 London. 12.00 Meditation.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

SLOUGH: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. 'The Crooked Billet,' North Circular Road. 'Force the Tories to resign.'

WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

WOOLWICH: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. The Castle, Powis Street, SE18. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

DUNDEE: Thursday, May 17, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Constitution Road.

MIDDLETON (Lancs): Thursday May 17, 7.45 p.m. Assheton Arms, Long Street. 'Trade unions and the Tory government.'

SWANSEA: Thursday, May 17, 7.30 p.m. YMCA. 'Defend workers' basic rights. General Strike to Force the Tories to resign.'

BASILDON: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

CROYDON: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

LANCASTER: Thursday May 17, 7.30 p.m. Trades Hall, Fenton Street (near GPO). 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

FELTHAM: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes,' Feltham High Street. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

ACTON: Monday May 21, 8 p.m. 'Six Bells', High Street, W3. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

LEWISHAM: Monday May 21, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

ABINGDON: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. Above New Top Taxis, Ock Street. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

BATTERSEA: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. 'Nags Head', cnr Wandsworth Road/North Street. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living.'

DAGENHAM: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'The inflationary crisis and the rising cost of living.'

TOTTENHAM: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', High Road, nr White Hart Lane.

HACKNEY: Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Build the Revolutionary Party.'

LUTON: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

'Mental war' on Long Kesh internees

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

CONDITIONS in the Long Kesh internment camp are causing mental damage to prisoners jailed for their opposition to British imperialism in Northern Ireland.

One high-ranking officer of Provisional Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Provisional IRA, said that some internees are in danger of 'cracking up'.

'Some lads are withdrawing totally and just remaining in their beds all day. They read or do nothing at all.'

One of the worst blows to the mental health of the internees has been the withdrawal of all visits from outside.

This follows protests by prisoners against humiliating searches by prison authorities of wives, relatives and friends before they were allowed into the compound.

Other forms of mental cruelty include restrictions on material needed by prisoners to make models. Many men at Long Kesh preserve themselves from mental deterioration by making elaborate wooden harps—the symbol of Irish nationhood.

Wood supplies have been severely restricted. Only six-inch pieces are allowed into the camp.

Other curbs include the banning of Gaelic in all correspondence and the outlawing of the

name Long Kesh. The authorities insist that internees call the concentration camp Her Majesty's Maze Prison to lend it an air of 'respectability'.

These restrictions are deliberately designed to break totally the internees' spirit. But they have so far been unsuccessful.

Internal life goes on with duty routines and political discussion. Political newspapers, including Workers Press, circulate in the camp and the issues raised are eagerly debated.

These physical and political activities are hated by the prison authorities and the army since they preserve the prisoners' ability to continue their fight



LONG KESH CAMP

against oppression.

'Long Kesh is the result of a long study by British army intelligence,' the Sinn Fein spokesman said.

'The British army has refined all the techniques for destroying human beings developed in places like Kenya, Malaya, Cyprus and Aden and have put them all to work at Long Kesh.'

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

Merthyr Tydfil

Given by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

Wednesday May 16

Dialectical Materialism—a Marxist theory of knowledge

Wednesday May 23

Theory and Practice of Marxism

Wednesday May 30

Role of the revolutionary party at St David's Church Hall, Church Street, Merthyr 7.30 p.m.

Jarrow

Given by Cliff Slaughter SLL Central Committee member Civic Hall, Jarrow 7.30 p.m. Monday May 21

The Socialist Revolution in Britain:

2. The roots of capitalist crisis: Marxism and the contradictions of capitalism. Britain and the world crisis.

3. The state and revolution. Reformism and revolution in Britain. The fight for democratic rights today means preparing for working-class power.

Basic reading: Perspectives for transforming the SLL into a revolutionary party. Marxist Analysis of the Crisis. Problems of the British Revolution (Trotsky).

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, Communist Manifesto.

All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

TEACHERS' MEETING

The way forward after the NUT conference Thursday, May 24, 7.30 p.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

HOSPITAL WORKERS' MEETING

Hospital workers and the fight against the Tory government Tuesday May 29, 7.30 p.m.

Norfolk Room Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

BUILDING WORKERS' MEETING

TUC must break off talks with Tories! Build revolutionary party! Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m.

Tudor Room Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

POSTAL WORKERS' MEETING

Break off secret talks with the Tories! Force the Tories to resign! Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

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Talks on Nuneaton fettle's jobs

TALKS continued all yesterday at Sterling Metals, Nuneaton, between the Transport and General Workers' Union and the area management of the Birmid group over the sacking of 25 fettle's.

The fettle's, who were sacked last Friday for striking, met the regional organizer Ron Marsden. He told them that if no definite answer was forthcoming for reinstatement, a mass meeting of the factory would be called.

He told Workers Press yesterday: 'I met the shop stewards on Monday and they have pledged full support against these sackings. I met the management on Monday, this morning and will be meeting them on Wednesday afternoon. There is no movement so far on their part.'

'If they do not give an answer on Wednesday a mass meeting of the factory will be called.'

Feeling is beginning to run high in the factory. One worker said: 'We cannot let the management get away with this. No one will feel safe to voice any grievance if they get away with it.'

The 25 fettle's originally struck work on Tuesday, May 8, over a demand for relief workers to be employed on the track. Steve Dewiss, one of the fettle's, said: 'At the moment we cannot even find time to go to the toilet. The track is continuously running.'

The company sacked the workers when they did not return to work last Friday.

A special executive committee of Nuneaton Trades Council is being called if the men are not reinstated.

Hunger strike at Crumlin Rd jail

JAMES McCAMBRIDGE, a young remand prisoner, dramatically interrupted proceedings at Belfast magistrates' court yesterday claiming that more than 200 men at the city's Crumlin Road prison are now on hunger strike.

He said that a total of 211 men are on hunger strike in the prison's 'A' wing in protest against brutality.

McCambique (18) faces arms charges with his mother, Mrs Rosaleen McCambique, who is on bail. Both were yesterday remanded until May 22.

The charges against them jointly are that they possessed guns and ammunition at their home in Stanhope Drive, Belfast, while James McCambique is also accused of having nine guns at another address in the city.

RAIL UNIONS IN CONFERENCE

Staff workers oppose state pay laws

RAILWAY staff workers yesterday declared complete opposition to state control of wages, threw out a move to register under the Industrial Relations Act and defeated a call for the TUC to soften its line on the Act.

All three developments came at the annual conference of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, meeting in Great Yarmouth.

Delegates representing the 75,000 TSSA members voted overwhelmingly to stay de-registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

Percy Coldrick, retiring general secretary, told them: 'We do not wish to opt out of the main stream of trade union feeling in this country.'

Coldrick, a right-winger of long standing, went on to say it was particularly important to back the TUC fully on the Act because of the forthcoming talks with the Tories on pay.

The conference endorsed submission of a new pay claim under Phase Three of the state pay control laws.



PERCY COLDRICK

Locomen slam TUC inaction

RAIL locomen's president, Les Felton, yesterday slammed the TUC General Council for its failure of leadership over the May 1 protest strike.

He told the annual conference of the locomen's union, ASLEF, that the General Council's instructions for action had been 'weak, unclear and futile to a degree.'

This, he said, was 'the very

negation of leadership'.

People did not now know where they stood in relation to concerted action by the unions, he added.

Felton called on the TUC to formally censure those who supported the strike call at the March 5 special Congress, but failed to carry it out.

These unions had evaded their moral responsibility, he accused.

Miners annoyed by lack of jobs fight

BARRY WILSON, president of Gomersal branch of the National Union of Mine-workers, is dissatisfied with the action taken by union leaders on pit closures in Yorkshire (dealt with in detail on pages 6 & 7 today). He told Workers Press:

The decision of the North Yorkshire panel of the NUM to adopt a 'wait-and-see' attitude to pit closures is very disappointing. It amounts, in the case of St John's colliery, to the acceptance of the closure. The strike called by the Yorkshire NUM for May 14 against pit closures is now in abeyance.

Now, instead of a clear lead, a mass of rumours abounds. At Gomersal the NCB is still probing for the two old shafts, the presence of which has led to the virtual shutdown of the colliery.

The NCB has obtained, after some haggling with a local farmer, the use of five acres of land at a reported price of £750 an acre. This is now fenced off. However, one of the suspected shafts is outside this fence.

The shaft outside the fence is potentially the most dangerous as it is newer, deeper and brick-lined. It has not yet been uncovered and probed.

Many miners feel that in searching for the small shaft and not leasing the land above the brick shaft, the NCB is simply playing for time.

In our opinion, officials are hoping that the good face at Gomersal will deteriorate and the pit will become unworkable.

All this delay and confusion is demoralizing the men and puts them in the doldrums.

jobs fight

We are still doing salvage work at the pit, but we could be employed opening up a new face at Blocking Plane 11.

The acceptance of closure by the men at St John's colliery has been a bitter blow and the 'wait-and-see' policy of the Panel is not good enough. Time is vital. Some of our lads who are travelling to work at other pits have been given preferential treatment to attract them away from Gomersal.

Also, the new NCB redundancy scheme offering an extra sum up to £1,250 for 25 years' service is very tempting to the men who are getting fed up with being messed about.

The NCB seems to be prepared to spend millions on redundancy payments. 60-70 per cent of the men at Gomersal would qualify for these payments.

SEE CENTRE PAGES: A special correspondent explains the background to the lack of fight against closures.

PUBLIC MEETINGS Transforming the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party

Central London

Sunday May 20, 7 p.m. The London Film School, 24 Shelton Street (corner Langley Street) London WC2 Speaker: Roger Smith Showing the Pageant Film: 'The Road to Workers' Power'

Goole

Thursday May 24, 8 p.m. 'Cape of Good Hope'

Hull

Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m. 'Windmill Hotel' Witham

Allegation by solicitor MP in Commons

Security firms use police files

A SOLICITOR MP claimed yesterday that private security companies such as Securicor have had unofficial access to police records.

Mr Stanley Clinton Davis (Lab Hackney Central) was questioning the powers to be given to such companies under the Protection of Aircraft Bill, a House of Lords measure designed to protect aircraft and airports against violence.

The Bill would give private security companies the power to search passengers and luggage before being allowed to board aircraft.

Mr Davis told a Commons

(Lab Hackney

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

committee on the Bill it had been alleged that, operating through the 'old boy network, the firms were able to have access unofficially and unlawfully to police records.

'I believe it to have happened. Indeed unless they have had such unofficial access, there would be no way of Securicor or any of these other organizations being able to make a quite deliberate assertion that none of

their employees or potential employees have been involved in serious crime.'

Mr Davis criticized the uniforms of private security companies which he said could lead to confusion with the police.

'There is evidence that some private enterprise security organizations go out of their way, going as close to a breach of the law as they can, to try to parade their people in uniforms which bear a very close similarity to those of the police.'

He felt that the 'vastly ex-

tended powers' which would be given to private security organizations under the Bill, and without effective supervision, were wrong.

The Minister for Aerospace, Mr Michael Heseltine, said it was a specific issue of principle whether or not searches should be carried out.

It was a misuse of trained resources to rely solely on police, he said.

He said some of the reputable organizations consulted the police about uniforms.

South Africa questions annoy Stokes

LORD STOKES, head of British-Leyland, angrily attacked Labour MPs yesterday after being asked about the wages paid to his company's black workers in South Africa.

His most bitter outburst came when Dr Mark Hughes, MP for Durham, hinted that Stokes would have gone along with slavery had he been a cotton employer in the last century.

But earlier in his evidence to a House of Commons Select Committee there was possibly an even more interesting exchange.

In answer to committee chairman, William Rogers (Labour, Stockton-on-Tees), Stokes had claimed that all black workers for Leyland in South Africa were now being paid at or above the official poverty line.

Joel Barnett, Labour MP for Heywood and Royton, then asked if the company would be prepared to pay above the poverty datum line even if it meant running at a loss.

'It would depend on what the loss was', said Stokes.

Then, in a bid to rescue this revealing statement, he went on: 'We are prepared to pay for productivity and for better quality workmanship. If we get better productivity and better quality workmanship, we wouldn't mind the loss.'

Dr Mark Hughes asked whether it would be unfair to suggest that if Lord Stokes had been in the cotton business in the United States during the last century, he would have gone along with the custom and practice of slavery.

Angrily Lord Stokes retorted: 'That is a most unfair and unwarranted suggestion. We came here in a co-operative spirit. We are quite proud of what we have done in South Africa where we are trying to improve conditions and build-up prosperity.'

To try to compare him with a situation like that Dr Hughes had mentioned was 'unwarranted'.



LORD STOKES . . . Poverty-level questions by MPs upset him.



Powell turns down poll platform

ENOCH POWELL has declined an invitation to speak for the Conservative candidate in the forthcoming West Bromwich by-election.

In a letter to the candidate, which he released yesterday, Mr Powell, MP for Wolverhampton South West, said his appearance to speak would put both of them in a false position.

He said the candidate, Mr David Bell, had explained to him that he did not share his views on Commonwealth immigration and the Common Market.

'It would put both of us in a false position if I were to ask the people of West Bromwich to vote for you in a by-election which must largely turn upon

those very issues.' Powell's letter added.

The National Front has nominated 30-year-old Martin Webster, its national activities organizer, who is calling for a ban on coloured immigration and repatriation of settled immigrants.

The Labour candidate is Miss Betty Boothroyd.

FORD PAY FIGHT COLLAPSES

FROM PAGE 1

of action must fall on myself. 'They may be right about it. I would be the last to say that members were not prepared to accept a strike call in February.'

Asked if the NJNC policy was seen as a mistake, Evans said that the strategy of maximum economic sanctions against the company with the minimum amount of sacrifice by the workers had cost Ford five weeks production.

It had been decided on in view of the long strike sacrifice in 1971 and the uncertainty of all-out support for a strike in 1973, as well as doubts about the

actions of other workers affected by the pay laws.

All of this misses the point. The need is for a political fight and for ending the TUC's collaborationist role, which rests entirely on the role of the leaders of the two main Ford unions, Jack Jones (T&GWU) and Hugh Scanlon of the engineers.

Evans admitted that at yesterday's discussion, the TUC's role, the overall fight against the Tory pay laws and the mounting difficulties for workers from price rises, were not even discussed.

Who is expected to give wor-

kers a lead in the sharpening political situation if not the trade union leaders?

But Evans had not one word to say about the deepening crisis of capitalism.

Keeping quiet about the crisis and refusing to take workers into all-out strike action against the Tory government is not a mistake.

The trade union leaders know exactly what they are doing. Reformists to a man, they have already resolved to help the 'British' economy — capitalism — out of its 'difficulties'.

This means a corporatist deal with the employing class and its

Tory government, at the centre of which is wage restraint. With prices rising relentlessly, this, in fact, means wage-cuts and a drop in the working-class standard of living.

The unions will now go back to Ford to accept the Phase Two deal and ask for some minor fringe benefits.

Along with the rest of the working class, Ford workers will remain totally dissatisfied with the present state of affairs.

Their wages remain held down by Tory laws and by their union leaders' refusal to fight, while the capitalist inflation runs rampant.

MAY FUND STANDS AT £477.39

YESTERDAY'S post brought £19.22, which is still not enough to pull our May Fund up. Our total stands at £477.39, leaving £1,272.61 to raise over the next 16 days. We urge you all—do everything you can to raise our total now.

As the price of gold rockets, the seriousness of this inflationary crisis can clearly be seen.

Workers Press is vital today for preparing workers everywhere for the next round of deflationary measures that the capitalist class must be forced to introduce. Unemployment looms ahead on a mass scale as we face a crisis more severe than even 1929.

The speed at which this political situation is developing requires a very special effort for our Fund this month. Don't let days slip by. Help by raising extra amounts—start today. Post every donation immediately to:

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

BRIEFLY - BRIEFLY

EDUCATION Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday announced that the main rates of student grants fixed for 1973-1974 at an amount up to £20 higher than the current rates, would be increased by another £20. The starting point for parental contributions is to be raised from £1,100 residual income to £1,500 residual income. A spokesman for the 500,000-strong National Union of Students commented: 'It does not meet our demand and the NUS grants campaign will continue.'

A COVENTRY Prisoners' Defence Committee has been formed to campaign on behalf of the 'Coventry 6' now held in jail on charges of conspiracy to cause an explosion. The Six are: Father Patrick Fell; Anthony McCormick (18); Thomas Rush (26); Anthony Lynch (46); Francis Stagg (31); and Herbert Francis Kelly (28). The Committee publishes a weekly bulletin 'Free the Coventry Six' from 27 Paynes Lane, Hillfields, Coventry. It asks for letters to be sent to the prisoners who are being held in Birmingham Prison.

REYROLLES, Hebburn, 1,200 workers claim they have been locked out following a pay dispute. The men's claim—within the state pay laws of £1 plus 4 per cent—included improvements in minimum earnings, increased piece rates and disputes rates. When the claim was rejected, the men decided to work to the national consolidated rate, which reduced production.

All Trades Unions Alliance Meeting

What next after the miners' ballot?

The fight against the Tory government

CASTLEFORD

Thursday May 17, 8 p.m.
Sagar Street Rooms

Speaker: G. Healy (SLL national secretary)

After Jones-Aldington

What next for dockers?

SOUTHAMPTON

Wednesday May 30, 7.30 p.m.
Conference Room
Civic Centre

Speaker: M. Banda (SLL Central Committee)