

## U.S. BANKERS SAY

# DEFLATION IS LESSER EVIL

BY JOHN SPENCER

**A POWERFUL section of the Wall Street banking clique has stepped up its demand for a deflation of the US economy. This group of bankers and industrialists wants to put the brakes on the runaway inflation which is undermining rapidly the value of the dollar.**

### £100,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

A SPLENDID post. Socialist Labour League branches and Workers Press readers are really going into action.

Our total is now £24,980.75, almost half way to the £50,000 we need by May 31.

We are not in the least downhearted because we have only eight days to go. We know when our comrades set out to do something, they will fight and fight again to do it.

Socialist Labour League branches sent in: East London £31; Slough £10.62; Acton £68; Manchester £54; Holloway £20; Willesden £32.06; Brixton £10.50; Tottenham £21.56; Basildon £15; Wandsworth £57; Swindon £3.80; Exeter £6.50; Reading £5; Middleton £12.50; Oxford £14.50; Southampton £27; Leeds £10; Bristol £2; Bradford £20.50; Portsmouth £16.52; Dagenham £80; Croydon £2; Western Region Conference SLL £50.40; North West Area Conference SLL £58.70; Crawley ATUA £1.10; Paddington YS £3; Oxford YS Cowley disco £5; Swindon YS £1; I. Flynn, Brixton £5.

Post all donations to:

Party Building Fund  
186a, Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG.

Their demand was carried in a main editorial 'Boom or Bust' in the 'New York Times', one of the newspapers piling the Watergate scandal on top of President Nixon's head.

The editorial demands a far tougher policy on wages and describes the current Phase Three policy as 'disastrously weak'. It amounts to a demand that the administration immediately set in motion a slump, even though this may get out of control.

In sections of the ruling class in New York and Washington the knives are now well and truly out for Nixon. So much garbage is being piled outside his door that it seems unlikely that he can remain in office much longer.

The most blunt and influential attack has come from the former director of the CIA, Richard Helms, who has publicly stated that Nixon was implicated to the hilt in attempting to cover-up Watergate.

Helm's shock testimony against the man whom he served for more than four years was followed yesterday by further statements to the Senate investigating committee by James McCord, a CIA operative convicted of Watergate offences.

Appearing under the limelight of nationwide TV, he said 'intense pressure' was brought on him to portray the bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters last June as a CIA operation. The purpose of the pressure to involve the CIA was to clear the White House and the Committee to Re-elect the President of blame for the bugging.

'By now I was completely convinced the White House was behind it and the White House was turning ruthless in my opinion,' he said.

He also testified that James Schlesinger, the newly-nominated Defence Secretary and former CIA chief, was involved in putting pressure on him to blame the CIA for the bugging and not the White House.

It is against this background of presidential scandal that the 'New York Times' said:

The American economy is now running flat out in an inflationary boom that could turn into a bust unless it is soon brought under control. The latest government data show that corporate profits jumped by \$11,600m in the year's first quarter—the second biggest increase in history.

Gross national product has been climbing even faster than reported earlier; the nation's total output was advancing at a 14.6 per cent annual rate in the first quarter—with an inflation rate of 6.6 per cent.

This disorderly boom has bred anxiety at home and abroad—an anxiety that has been deepened by a lack of confidence in the administration's ability to manage the economy. This has produced a slumping stock market and heavy pressure on the dollar.

TURN TO BACK PAGE

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● Picket details see p. 12



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WORKERS from the Huntley and Palmer's factory in Reading, Berks, lobbied shareholders of the parent company, Associated Biscuits Manufacturers, yesterday, in protest at the planned 'phase-out' of their plant.

The closure, to be completed by 1976, will cause 700 jobs to disappear.

The factory has seen only one strike in 150 years and workers are bitter that the company can simply decide to close a factory in the interests of profit.

The token lobby was organized by the Huntley and Palmer Action Committee, comprising shop stewards and union officials of the four main unions.

In their leaflet given to shareholders they say: 'We will fight to keep biscuit production in Reading and to maintain our jobs.'

# workers press

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

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BY OUR OWN  
CORRESPONDENT

**JUST ADD water and watch them swell . . . packet meals that is. Now the Prices Commission has added some extra liquid . . .**

Batchelors' Serve 1 size Vesta meals are to go up by 0.74p and Serve 2 size by 1.48p. Savoury rice and mixed vegetables cooking aids will rise in price from next Tuesday.

Batchelors' ready dishes and

# Food prices swell

meat products supplied to the catering industry will go up between 1.7 and 8.6 per cent from June 1.

Another food manufacturer—Cadbury-Schweppes—also got the go-ahead for price hikes this week.

Increases of 0.75p to a 12oz jar of their New Jam will take effect from June 18.

Cadbury-Schweppes' net profit before interest and tax last year was £24.8m.

Rises of 6.7 per cent in the price of ball and roller bearings have also been announced.

The Price Commission, implementing the loss-making provisions of the price code, has allowed the Bowater Corporation to put up the price of standard newsprint by £6 a ton and lightweight newsprint by £7 a ton.

Bowater's profits last year before tax and interest were £16.9m.

Reed Paper and Board (United

Kingdom) has been permitted to increase the cost of its standard newsprint by £4.95 a ton and lightweight newsprint by £5.80 a ton.

Both rises are to take effect immediately.

Also both Bowater and Reed are applying for still further increases to take effect from July 1.

British newsprint manufacturers had already been granted a price rise of £2 a ton from March 1.

# Second knock for Tanaka

FROM OUR OWN  
CORRESPONDENT

**JAPANESE Premier Takuei Tanaka yesterday made a second concession to the opposition in an attempt to end an 11-day boycott of parliament by four parties over his proposals to reform the electoral system.**

The premier announced he has disbanded a committee set up to advise on a realignment of the lower house constituencies—a proposal which brought opposition charges of 'gerrymandering'.

Last Wednesday, premier Tanaka dropped his reform plan in face of criticism by his own Conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as well as the mainly left-wing opposition—Socialists, Communists, Komeito (Clean Government) and the Democratic Socialists.

The premier had sought to establish a one-man constituency



**Takuei Tanaka . . . second concession.**

system accompanied by proportional representation voting for elections to the lower house.

The opposition said the plan was 'a challenge to parliamentary democracy' and jeopardized the existence of smaller parties.

The opposition stiffened its attitude to Tanaka's proposals when the LDP lower house members last Saturday unilaterally extended the current parliamentary session by 64 days to July 24.

Observers believe the four opposition parties will not return to parliament for some time since they are awaiting fresh proposals by the LDP.



**An Icelandic 'gunboat' and trawler.**

# Poles refuse cod war aid

**ICELAND tried to lease a gunboat from Poland to strengthen its coastguard in the Cod War with Britain, but the Polish Stalinists refused to provide assistance.**

Iceland's premier Olafur Johansson told of the leasing attempt in an interview with the Danish newspaper 'Berlingske Tidende'. He said approaches have also been made to several other countries, without response.

Polish shipping minister Jerzy Szopa told the Icelandic Foreign Minister Einar Agustsson in Warsaw on Monday that Poland opposed all one-sided decisions by any state to extend

its fishing limit beyond the conventional 12 nautical miles.

Szopa said this stand by Poland also referred to Iceland's decision to expand its national shelf to 50 miles. 'I have communicated it to Mr Agustsson during our conversations yesterday,' he added.

The expansion of national fishing limits, particularly by smaller states which have not enough boats to effectively fish in their waters, was dangerous to the world's food economy.

'The fish die out their natural death in these waters and the world is thus deprived of the much needed fish albumen,' Szopa said.

He added that Poland had withdrawn its fishing vessels from the 50-mile limit because it wanted to avoid unnecessary conflict, although it had enough means to oppose Iceland.

# Hardship in Sri Lanka

BY OUR OWN  
CORRESPONDENT

**A MAJOR economic and financial crisis in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is causing great hardship to the working people of the island.**

News of the crisis emerged from the island despite the conditions of tight censorship imposed by the regime.

Domestic food production is unable to keep pace with the increase in population, but the economy is so deep in debt that essential food can no longer be purchased abroad.

Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's coalition government—containing Stalinists and renegade revisionists (LSSP) in addition to her SLFP—is resorting to empty demagogy in a futile effort to overcome the crisis.

Mrs Bandaranaike says a revolution in agriculture is needed: 'To make such a revolution, it is not necessary to shed blood. What we need is not blood but sweat.'

Last year's harvest was bad, in part at least because of a shortage of water. The drought was general throughout Asia and

some foreign rice suppliers defaulted on their obligations.

At the same time the price of imports rose steeply, contributing to internal inflation and creating problems for those on fixed incomes. The external debt increased, as did interest payments on past debt.

Foreign loans are eaten up simply in repaying the interest charges on previous loans, a vicious circle which imposes an ever-increasing burden on the Ceylon working class.

The government has sent the army and the police into the countryside to try and requisition stocks of 'surplus' grain—an action which has not endeared it to the peasants.

At the same time, in the cities and villages, unemployment continues to grow uninterruptedly—this year could close with more than a million out of work in an island with a total population of about 12 million.

Meanwhile thousands of youth are still rotting in the regime's prisons and concentration camps following the uprising two years ago by the JVP.

# Lebanon: Guerrilla deal attacked

**THREE Palestinian guerrilla leaders have openly denounced the terms of the secret agreement that ended the fierce fighting with the Lebanese army earlier this month.**

The deal, which was agreed between the country's president Suleiman Franjleh and Fatah

leader Yassir Arafat, includes the withdrawal of guerrillas from populated areas and the banning of heavy weapons from the camps.

One of Al Fatah's top leaders, Salah Khalef, also known as Abu Ayad, told a memorial meeting in Beirut that the Palestinians would not hand over the mortars and large-calibre

machine guns stored in their camps.

At the same meeting, held in memory of the three Palestinian leaders butchered by Israeli commandos in Beirut last month, two other guerrilla leaders accused Franjleh of doing nothing to protect Lebanese sovereignty against repeated Israeli incursions.

# Pompidou obsessed with power

**PRESIDENT Georges Pompidou of France is steadily tightening his own personal power and making his Bonapartist regime ever more dictatorial.**

He has made it clear that there will not be any return to what he contemptuously terms the 'regime of parties' (i.e. parliamentary democracy).

And he is making a systematic effort to trim the remaining powers of the emasculated National Assembly.

It still retains the right to amend presidential measures by majority decision.

Pompidou's policy was clearly spelled out at a meeting of the Council of Ministers last week:

'I am here to prevent the return of the regime of parties and I shall prevent it.'

At the end of the same session his spokesman announced that the National

# Step nearer civil war

BY FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

March has been marked by many and varied personal interventions.

These are duly handed out to the Press at the close of the session and the nation is then invited to ponder over their significance rather as the ancient Greeks used to ponder the significance of the Delphic oracle.

Pompidou's latest 'little phrase' warning about 'demagogic and partisan overtones' is particularly sinister.

It immediately raises the question of whether the National Assembly is in future to have any power to discuss and amend what the President puts before it.

Earlier this year Pompidou raised the question of depriving the National Assembly of this power.

He put forward a plan to cut the presidential term from seven to five years and at the same time greatly strengthen his powers.

Even the liberal 'Le Monde' was moved to comment that if this was really the aim of the regime, it would be better to dissolve parliament altogether.

In any case its right of amendment has been greatly restricted by the constitutional changes made in 1958 when de Gaulle established the Fifth Republic.

Pompidou's remarks on the 'regime of parties' caused 'Le Monde' to ask whether the regime is really a presidential one or whether it is not becoming an elective monarchy!

But the question is not exhausted by an issue of whether or not the Assembly should be able



**Pompidou**

the working class, which has demonstrated considerable militancy in the past two months despite the Stalinist leaders' desperate efforts to hold it back.

These leaders are collaborating with the government in corporatist schemes like their British counterparts.

They have just announced their intention of joining the European parliament, alongside the Communist Party of Italy.

They form one of the two pillars of the Pompidou regime, the other leg of which rests on the repressive state apparatus.

The President's arrogant bid for untrammelled personal power is a further step in the direction of civil war in France.

Until now the Stalinists have held the ring for the Gaullist regime.

But Pompidou is clearly looking forward to the day when he can dispense with their services and establish a full-scale regime of personal power without parties.

# A REPLY TO MONTY JOHNSTONE



THE PURPOSE of the Moscow Trials of the 1930s was to discredit Trotskyism internationally, to declare it counter-revolutionary and disruptive and to justify the campaign of slander and assassination against Trotskyist groups in France, Spain and other countries.

Its main aim was to prevent the political and theoretical rearming and regrouping of the vanguard of the European and American working class. In short, to forestall the formation of the Fourth International.

This is no forensic argument. The question posed by the Moscow Trials is this: is Trotskyism, 'objectively' or in any way, counter-revolutionary?

Is Johnstone prepared to defend the right of the Trotskyist movement to exist as a legitimate political tendency? If so, what does he propose to do about Communist Party general secretary John Gollan's public refusal to support the SLL-International Socialist campaign on basic rights on the grounds that the SLL is 'disruptive'? Isn't this the same old smear of 'counter-revolutionary Trotskyism' served up in a trendy, post-20th Congress garnish?

Is the era of Stalinism's 'crimes' over? How does Johnstone characterize the supply of Polish coal to Franco during a Spanish miners' strike, or the relation between the USSR and China on the one hand and the Greek and Spanish regimes on the other? And how does he explain the Soviet recognition of the Cambodian regime? Are we to wait another 17 years for a confession about these?

The posthumous rehabilitation of Rajk does not exonerate Johnstone and his Party from the far graver charge that both he and his Party leaders justified the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution and the dissolution of the Workers' Councils in 1956. They gave every possible help to the same leaden fist which later strangled the Czechoslovak CP.

Johnstone no doubt wants to put his conscience on exhibition, but he should be more careful when he does it in the presence of Trotskyists. Johnstone dates his disillusionment with Stalinist frame-ups and murders to 1955 when, like Saul on his way to Damascus, he suffered his first blinding revelation.

The Hungarian Revolution, however, took place in 1956 and Imre Nagy—ex-Prime Minister of Hungary—was foully murdered without any trial in 1957. This alone should have constituted sufficient ground to publicly denounce the Hungarian regime of Kadar and the British CP leaders who covered up for it. Yet to this day Johnstone has done neither.

The truth is that for 17 years Johnstone has been fighting against the truth behind the frame-up of Rajk, the assassination of Trotsky, the Hungarian Revolution. He remains a Stalinist after all these years, fighting on the same policies and 'theories' which led to the 'crimes'.



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Until Johnstone demonstrates in practice his desire to break away from the sordid past of Stalinism, we shall be compelled to repeat what Comrade Slaughter wrote on March 14:

'He is posted by the Gollan clique to mix in revisionist circles and perfect the technique of separating "dissident" Communist Party members from Trotskyism.'

'He played this role in relation to the YCL and CP opposition in the early 1960s. He repeated it at the CP Congress in November 1969, at which the leadership, deliberately and by prior arrangement with him, kept him off the new executive because he was useful to them as a controlled focus of opposition.'

Mr Johnstone tries to evade these questions by pointing a distracting finger at Comrades Kemp and Slaughter. This will not do.

Whereas Johnstone left the Trotskyist movement to slander and distort Trotskyism in the most vulgar and unscrupulous

## PART TWO

way, Comrades Kemp and Slaughter fought uncompromisingly for their principles and were expelled after the Hammer-smith Conference of the CP. They joined the Trotskyist movement in order to smash Stalinism and carry forward the programme of the October revolution.

Mr Johnstone, on the contrary, remained on the best possible terms with the Gollan leadership during this period and became a prominent apologist for Stalinism while setting up a phoney opposition in the Young

Communist League which he skilfully betrayed to King Street.

Both Kemp and Slaughter fought the Stalinist Communist Party in complete independence from the rightward opposition of the intellectuals around the 'Universities and Left Review'. Unlike Kemp and Slaughter these men wanted, in rejecting Stalin, to reject Lenin and Bolshevism!

Now, it is to this very same liberal opposition that Johnstone has turned his face ever since 1956. In 'Labour Review' and then 'Fourth International,' in 'The Newsletter,' and then Workers Press, Kemp and Slaughter have fought consistently not only against Stalinism, but also against these middle-class muddle-heads, who in various ways have found their way back to peace with Stalinism, so long as they can share opposition to Trotsky and Trotskyism.

This is why Johnstone now sits with 'New Left Review' as a trustee of the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Fund.

## BSA workers to fight jobs and wages cuts

A MASS meeting of BSA-Triumph workers, Meriden, near Coventry, yesterday accepted the shop stewards' recommendation of total opposition to the company's wages and jobs cut plan.

The meeting voted unanimously to resist any cuts in wages and any redundancies. An immediate ban on overtime and a policy of non-co-operation with the present management was agreed.

Transport and General Workers' Union convenor Dennis Johnson told the meeting, with reference to previous concessions the stewards had made:

'We were led up the garden path once, we are not going there again. We are fighting this all the way through.'

'There has been a lot of criticism and disgruntlement in the factory from the night-shift and others about the leadership in the past, but now we are all united, not only on the shop stewards' committee, but among all the work forces.'

The take-over by Manganese Bronze is not yet completed, but the proposals by the present BSA-Triumph board are obviously the preparation for the full take-over.

In a statement after the meeting to Workers Press Dennis

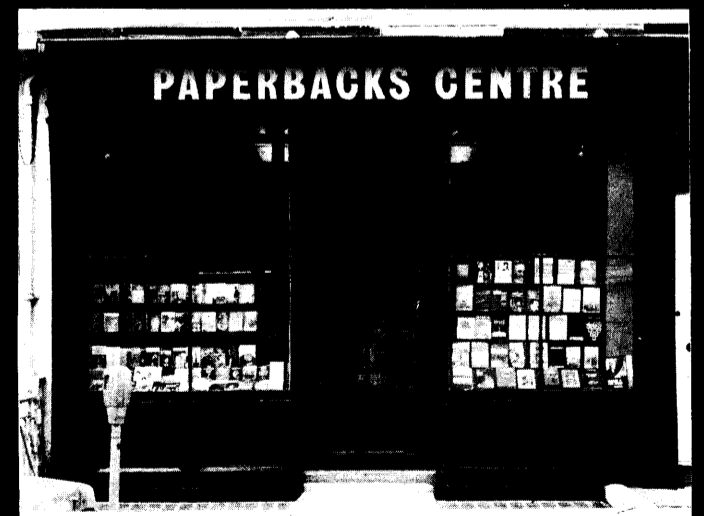
Johnson said: 'The information in today's Workers Press is substantially correct. The work force at BSA-Triumph will resist. We have no interest in meeting the present board, but we will meet the new board. The situation is still very fluid.'

BSA-Triumph workers have taken the first step in resistance to the attacks. But there must be no illusions.

While the present management is putting forward these attacks, it is precisely to lay the ground for the Manganese Bronze-government sponsored take-over. Workers must be prepared for action against this board and the government in the very near future.

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# TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

## THE DISCUSSION GOES ON



Terry James, actor says:

### Educating the working class in Marxist theory is vital

Without a leadership based in the working class, society will be doomed to the necessities of the ruling class. For them to save this system we face depression, unemployment, poverty, trade war and inevitably a third world war.

The development and calls for the use of mini-nuclear weapons in America bears witness to the desperation of the capitalist class internationally.

They now realize that in order to stop the working class seizing power and taking away 'their property', they must necessarily destroy the lives of millions of workers, and if possible without harming the means of production.

These nuclear weapons are geared exactly to their class interests and demonstrate their venomous hatred for anyone or anything on this planet that will not fall in with their own greedy selfish interests.

The working class is driving them to insanity and they are now bent on a course of total annihilation of mankind.

Accordingly, the hatred of the working class must be roused and inflamed against this 'typhoid' in our midst. We must fight with the most ruthless determination to rid the world of the disease of capitalism.

The once progressive role of this system is long since dead.

The programme of the SLL, ATUA and YS is to flush out and unmask the traitors in the labour movement who do deals with the Tories at every turn, who consciously and cynically aid and abet their plans against the working class and to build a leadership that will face and fight for the historical task of revolution.

To build a Revolutionary Party to take power on behalf of the working class is the highest expression of Marxism, not just in Britain but the world.

Educating the working class in Marxist theory is vital in carrying out this programme and during the two years I have worked with the SLL I know that this is being achieved.

For a long time events moved at an incredible rate whilst attitude seemed to change at a snail's pace and I



Members of Equity, the actors' union at a mass meeting and special conference this year. Terry James says, 'With others, I took up the fight within my union and now the right wing is being pushed back at an ever increasing rate...'

retreated from the tasks which I knew to be necessary. But having just spent a week working in Merthyr Tydfil, I now see clearly the strength of our movement.

I now see that a mass movement can be built and for anyone who is conscious to hold back is to hold back the movement and aid the class enemy.

At the same time there must be no illusions about the vastness of making a revolution; the difficulties are great, but we are witnessing the Stalinists being forced further and further to the right and proceeding to isolate themselves from the working class.

The trades union and TUC bureaucrats are finding it increasingly difficult to hide behind the silent majority, because it is now finding a very angry voice. It can be done and it must be done.

I am actor and when I first came into contact with the SLL I had just spent about four years struggling to make a living which was just above the bread line.

I had a short run of decent work with good pay. Then I had to reconcile myself to settling back into all the old round of money difficulties for which I had always blamed my

own lack of ability.

I was fought consistently on principle and the cynicism that the world could not be changed, which was very much generated by the industry I work in, began to give way to an understanding.

I began to see how not just I, but millions of people were held down by the system. When I first recognized the class struggle, I underwent a profound change.

I suddenly began to see the world in a truer light and all the anger and frustration which had always eaten into me was able to be channelled into

changing the world instead of destroying me.

With others, I took up the fight within my union and now the right wing is being pushed back at an ever-increasing rate in spite of slanders and witch-hunts against the SLL.

Our principled fight is gaining more and more support and this is reflected in many other trade unions. I have decided to place my talents and skills at the disposal of the Revolutionary Party, not just as an actor in the revolutionary movement, but as an actor struggling to be a revolutionary.

# SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE BY PARTY

## 'Leaders hand over all basic rights'

JV is a car worker at Oxford: The British working class is faced with a situation where its leadership, in a spirit of 'joyful acquiescence' is handing over to the capitalist class all the workers' basic rights gained in 200 years of struggle.

The employers put forward statements that the country is in a situation of economic growth and prosperity and the TUC leadership, personified by Feather attending a 'Financial Times' conference, denies that Britain has an economic crisis.

This is a situation consciously prepared to confuse and disarm the working class. Backed completely by the Stalinists, the present TUC leadership knows how to serve the capitalist class.

There is a crisis of capital facing the capitalist class. Not only are they conscious of this, they prepare to overcome it.

The way forward for the working class is shown clearly on page 4, column 1 of the Draft Resolution on the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party:

'The gains of all past struggles are at stake, and new ways of struggle must be found.'

This can only be achieved by transforming the League into a revolutionary party.

## 'You've got to organize with others to do something'

Steve Coil (28) is a Dagenham Ford worker and T&GWU shop steward:

I want to emphasize that I'm just an ordinary bloke and I feel I've got to break out. Everything seems to be going against me as a worker.

I came into politics mainly through trade unionism. I didn't like the way the unions were being run. I looked at the Tory government and it didn't seem to be doing a lot for the working man, but the unions seemed to be going away from the working class as well. The leadership didn't seem part of us any more.

Then there was Ford's. It looked to me as if the men who were representing me just wanted a cushy job. They took your arguments and put them across to management, but if they didn't get anything they gave up. In the end I decided to get a shop stewards' job.

People were saying don't mix politics with trade unionism, but you realize that it's politics that decide what trade unions do.

Then a new chap started at Ford's and he read Workers Press. Everybody was opposed to what he thought and I asked myself why.

I started reading the Workers Press myself and attending a few meetings and it made sense to me. Basically it's just what the ordinary man is thinking. Now when I talk to people at Ford's they basically accept what I say.

The Workers Press is about



Henry Ford in Britain after talks with Heath. Above: Workers at Ford's Dagenham plant during a mass meeting on this year's pay claim.

the world. You've got to understand the world. You can't just judge by yourselves. Ford is American owned and we're almost as worried about the dollar as they are in America. If the dollar crashed, what's going to happen to all the American-owned firms?

The Labour Party is not interested in socialism, but they are the only alternative to the Tories we've got at the moment. If we could find another, we'd put them up instead. That's why we need an alternative party.

People are always talking about inflation. I didn't understand how dangerous it is. If it gets bad you can have the more right-wing parties take over as they did in Germany and Spain.

The wages deal at Ford's caused me a lot of concern. The union suddenly started calling for an official strike, but they called it after everything had died out. If they had wanted a strike they should have called it eight weeks ago.

The danger at the moment is that although we've had some really good lads, because they haven't achieved anything, we're getting right wingers standing for office who have never been interested in politics in their lives.

If we don't have a party for

the working class to turn to, they are going to get caught up in right-wing nationalist groups.

The Labour Party leaders have moved away from the working class. So many of them are big businessmen now and on the boards of directors. They are not worried about the working class.

Look at Vic Feather. One day he says we won't go into the Common Market. The next thing you know he's got a big job.

Jones and Scanlon say no to Phase Two and then you read in the Workers Press they're having secret talks with Heath.

Workers Press is the only left-wing paper that's for the working man. The League is not a lot of fanatics, it's a group of ordinary working people. The things that are in the documents are basically common sense; things like democracy and freedom — which you shouldn't have to fight for anyway.

From what I've read of

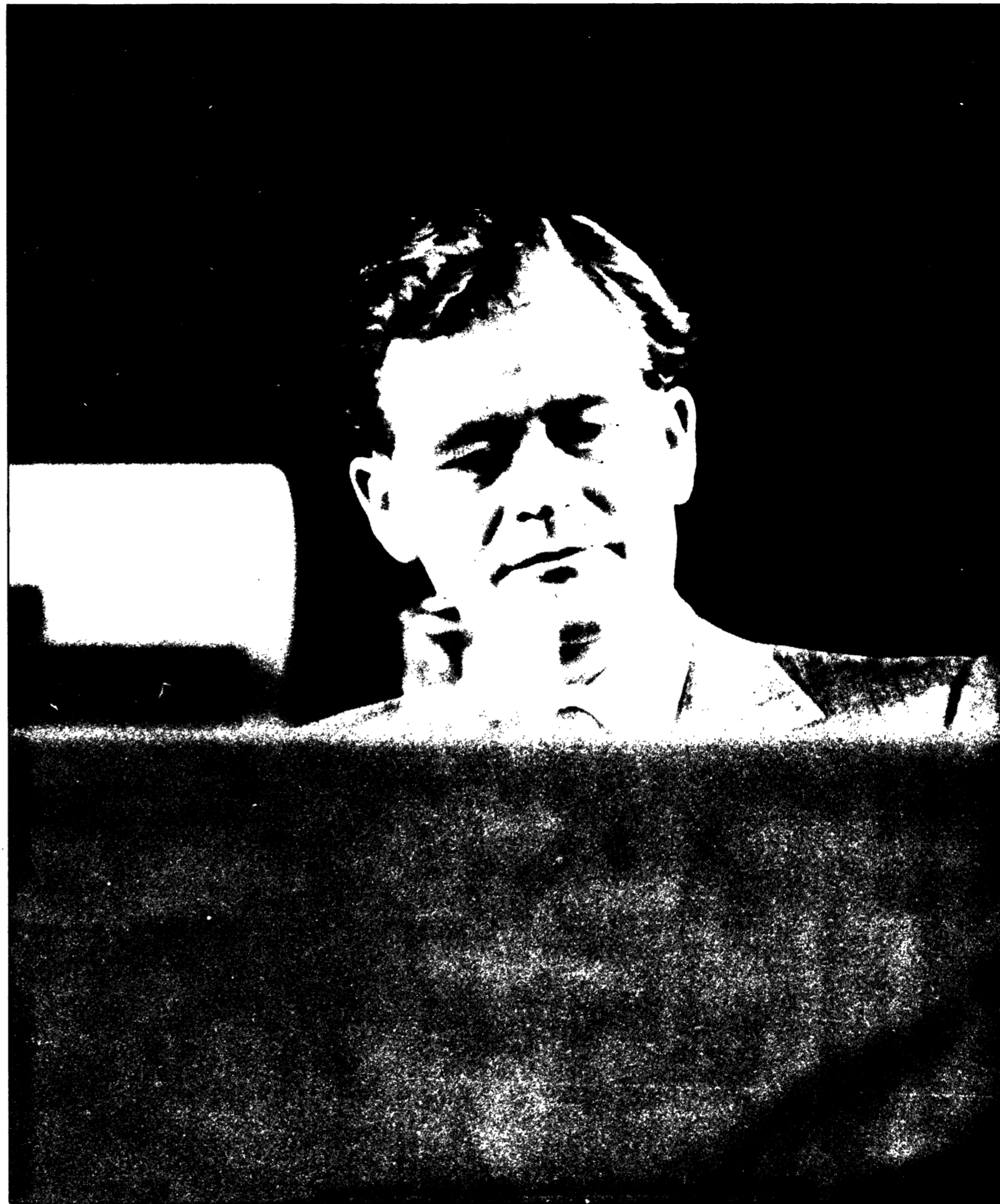
Marxism I think it's the only sort of philosophy the working class can have. One thing that spurred me on to join the League is the great amount of enthusiasm. People know they are doing something and they are willing to participate.

The League puts a lot of emphasis on youth. In all these other associations they are not much interested in the youth—they just tolerate them.

I couldn't say it's one thing or another that has made me interested in politics. It's just the general development. Everything is closing in on you and you ask yourself 'What's happening?'

You suddenly realise your wages and your rights are being eroded away. Everything is going from the working class.

But you also realize you can't do anything by yourself. You've got to organize with others to do something. The only thing the Tories understand is power. The working class has either got to take power or go down.



# THE AMAZING ADVENTURES OF MR CHAN

**Alex Mitchell looks at the Rise and Fall of the Hang Seng Index.**

**Mr Peter Chan is one of Hong Kong's more spectacular financiers. Just over a year ago he kicked off a new stock exchange, the colony's fourth.**

Stock exchanges in Hong Kong are not so much capital-gathering institutions as giant gambling houses. They flourish on the island in the same fashion as the casinos in near-by Macao.

In his biographical profile Mr Chan describes himself as 'inventor, public accountant, stockbroker, social worker and a very well known figure on the financial scene'.

His major 'invention' to date is undoubtedly the Kowloon Stock Exchange. It came into being in January 1972 by the specific authorization of the Governor-in-Council of the colony. This meant the island now had four—the long-established Hong Kong Stock Exchange, the Far East Exchange, started in 1969, the

Kam Ngan (1971) and Mr Chan's.

Until June last year the exchanges quoted the same stocks with about 400 brokers vying for the business of less than 100 companies. Total turnover averaged \$50m (HK) a day.

The comfortable, Somerset Maugham atmosphere in financial circles was shattered by a number of factors leading to one of the most astonishing share speculations in the history of capitalism.

From 330 points in January 1972, the official Hang Seng Index soared in 12 months to 977.8. From January 1 to March 9 this year the index rocketed to 1,775. In one day of colossal trading the index rose 66.67 points.

Total turnover for last year was \$41,311m (HK) compared with \$14,793m the previous year. The number of brokers rose to more than 1,000. This new army of financial advisers was drawn from such sections of the community as taxi drivers, waiters, restaurateurs and other, even more dubious callings.

The share fever reached into every corner of the island's

European and Chinese population—except, of course, the working class who labour in the textile sweat shops producing the colony's only wealth for pitiful wages. The atmosphere which gripped the moneyed classes was much like the phenomena described by Professor J. K. Galbraith in his analysis of the Great Crash of 1929.

He wrote that the furious speculation preceding the crash was 'a seminal lunacy which has always seized people who are seized in turn with the notion that they can become very rich. The Florida boom was the first indication of the mood of the 1920s and the conviction that God intended the American middle class to be rich.'

## HOLY SHARES

The holy men were themselves up to their armpits in the Hong Kong boom. Monks from the Polin Monastery at Lantau Island bought shares in the Hong Kong Telephone Com-

pany. The chairman of the monastery's finance committee, the Venerable Yuen Wai, said: 'If other people can buy shares, why can't we? Monks have to eat in order to live.'

They had quite a portfolio. Apparently the late Venerable Fat Hoi left 1,000 shares to help towards the building of the Tai Hung Precious Temple.

Mr Chan was busy too. He was a director of the newly-floated firm called the Harbour Engineering Company. Queues stretched 50 yards down Chiu Lung Street as people stormed the company's office to fill in share application forms. Office boys and girls did some freelance (and illegal) business selling share forms. 'You want to dig gold?' they cried out. 'Line up.'

Sometimes the price of black market application forms reached \$20 each—and then the buyer had only a 30 to one chance of securing a parcel of shares. The clamour for new issues was fuelled by a veritable riot of new issues.

In August, 1972 no less than 20 new companies were listed on the exchanges. Many were of dubious worth. By this time many local entrepreneurs had

cottoned on to the fact that they could throw some property together—sometimes as little as a few flats and a garage—and call it a property development company. One such new listing had a solitary asset—a 16-year-old tramp steamer. Michael Sandberg, general manager of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, said: 'You could probably float off Brooklyn Bridge.'

## RESIGNED

Mr Chan's most amazing share issue was the Hong Kong Antenna and Engineering Company. This was to launch an invention patented by Professor S. C. Loh of the Chinese University called the 'Backfire Loop Antenna'. The shares in this outfit rocketed from \$1 to \$20 in a few days. In March this year, after the colonial government moved in to restrain the wilder excesses of the market, Mr Chan resigned as founding chairman of his year-old exchange. On

leaving the organization he thanked members for their support and 'specifically for their November decision to vote two further terms for the founding committee and an ex gratia payment of \$513,000 to himself for his work in getting the exchange off the ground'. Mrs Chan talked to the Press and made clear that her husband had quit of his own volition. 'I should like to put it this way,' she said employing an old Chinese proverb: 'He has made it to shore from the rapids.'

Thousands of others, however, many of them small investors, were swept to economic ruin. The market plummeted hundreds of points wiping out the value of their investments and their life's savings.

The breath-taking scale of speculation on the Hong Kong markets didn't happen by accident. It was the outcome of forces at work in the international money markets and the special historical attributes of Hong Kong as a speculator's haven.

The first sign that Hong Kong had achieved international status in the money



Left: Michael Sandberg—'You could probably float off Brooklyn Bridge. Centre: Philip Haddon-Cave. Right: Sir Murray MacLehose. Above left: Hong Kong's commercial centre. Above right: Jim Slater who acquired firms on the Hong Kong exchange through his affiliates in Singapore.

world was early in 1972 with the appearance of Mr Jim Slater. He is head of Slater Walker Securities, the financial conglomerate started some ten years ago by two whizz-kid financiers, Slater and former insurance salesman, Peter Walker, who is now Heath's Trade and Industry Secretary. In a rapid series of moves, Slater set up an investment trust and then used his Singapore affiliate, Haw Par, to acquire a dormant pharmaceutical firm, Kwan Loong. He also acquired 10 per cent of Hutchison International, the youngest and most dynamic of the 'hongs' (local trad-

ing houses). Others followed. Malcolm Horsman's Ralli International became active through Cathay Securities while Sime Darby mounted a number of take-overs. The latter is an interesting company. Its investment advisers are Rothschilds who helped Sime Darby acquire Clive Discount, the London discount house. The company's main money-making enterprise is buying rubber plantations in the Far East and selling them as industrial or tourist real estate. The attraction of the Hong Kong share market is that there is no capital gains tax and

there are virtually no controls on the flow of capital. So hot money can hole up there for a few days in speculative dealing and then move on to other pastures without any of the usual regulations being observed. This kind of money began to proliferate in 1972 following the Nixon decision of August 15, 1971, to end the convertibility of the dollar. The measures were followed by a furious round of currency realignments including the devaluation of sterling. Many big companies began punting on the Hong Kong markets in an attempt to beat

devaluation and increase the size of their foreign earnings. This practice was particularly true of companies which live on narrow margins and need continuously to present shareholders with an optimistic vision of possible earnings.

But when the big boys moved in to gee-up the market they also incited the locals to take their savings out from under the mattress and try their luck. One mighty merchant banker involved in a take-over battle went looking for an important shareholder at the peak of the boom: he found a street stallholder in singlet and shorts... with a trunk stuffed with share certificates.

The colonial government was forced to step into the fray when, among other things, fake scrip was found changing hands.

James Selwyn, a Bank of England wallah, was imported and given the title of Commissioner for Securities to organize the regulation of the market. He estimated the number of 'gamblers' at 300,000. This, he said, was a 'modest guess'.

He added: 'The majority of those who buy shares on the stock exchanges make no attempt to assess what risk they are taking or to seek advice from those experts who are in a position to give it. Indeed, they give the impression that they do not want to know about what they are buying. They just want to believe that they are going to make money and they welcome any rumours that please them. The stock fever in Hong Kong is gambling in its blindest form.'

## LEGISLATION

On Thursday, January 11, the government acted. Fire brigades went to two of the exchanges in the midst of frantic dealing and proclaimed them dangerously overcrowded. One wit on a local newspaper said the unexpected visit by the firemen wasn't really to do with fire regulations but with the overheating of the markets. He was right.

At the same time the island's financial secretary called in the chairmen of the four exchanges and asked them to sign a joint statement warning against undue speculation and the governor made a speech disclosing the government's plan to introduce special legislation to control the markets.

One of the most interesting facts to note is that the government's offensive did not make the slightest impression on speculation. Indeed, it was not until March, some eight weeks later, that share values began to slump.

This was after the European speculators pulled out and the banks began to put the squeeze on clients who had been investing on margin.

In recent days the market has levelled off. This has not been because of the proposed legislation which relies heavily (and optimistically) on the good sense and decency of the business community. The share boom in Hong Kong was a desperate fling by financial conglomerates who gamble their shareholders' money in an attempt to gather paper capital in a time of falling profitability.

It is an expression of the utterly parasitic nature of such business houses.

These share market fixers and profiteers do not produce goods or services for the rest of society. They are manipulators of capital who rely on the gullibility and greed of others to build up empires of share scrip and paper money. Their activities recall an ancient and anonymous Persian proverb: 'Although the house has no foundations, Look, the owner's up there papering the ceiling.'

# TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM

Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the spectre of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries in the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labour movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun a campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the world-wide revolution of the working class. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 published 'Against Trotskyism', a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. In this series of articles MICHAEL BANDA replies to this book.

## PART THREE

The Institute for Marxism-Leninism's attempts to prove Trotsky wrong by quoting Lenin's articles against the theory of permanent revolution written in 1905 are sufficient evidence of the political bankruptcy of the Moscow leadership.

Here is the extract from Lenin's article, 'Social Democracy and the Provisional Government,' written against Parvus (collaborator with Trotsky in formulating the theory of permanent revolution):

Equally incorrect, for the same reason, are Parvus's statements that 'the revolutionary provisional government in Russia will be a government of working-class democracy', that 'if the Social-Democrats are at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat, this government will be a Social-Democratic government', that the Social-Democratic provisional government 'will be an integral government with a Social-Democratic majority'. This is impossible, unless we speak of fortuitous, transient episodes, and not of a revolutionary dictatorship that will be at all durable and capable of leaving its mark in history. This is impossible, because only a revolutionary dictatorship supported by the vast majority of the people can be at all durable (not absolutely, of course, but relatively).

The Russian proletariat, however, is at present a minority of the population in Russia. It can become the great, overwhelming majority only if it combines with the mass of semi-proletarians, semi-proprietors, i.e., with the mass of the petty-bourgeois urban and rural poor. Such a composition of the social basis of the possible and desirable revolutionary-democratic dictatorship will, of course, affect the composition of the revolutionary government and inevitably lead to the participation, or even predominance, within it of the most heterogeneous representatives of revolutionary democracy. It would be extremely harmful to entertain any illusions on this score. If that windbag Trotsky now writes (unfortunately, side by side with Parvus) that 'a Father Gapon could appear only once', that 'there is no room for a second Gapon', he does so simply because he is a windbag. If there were no

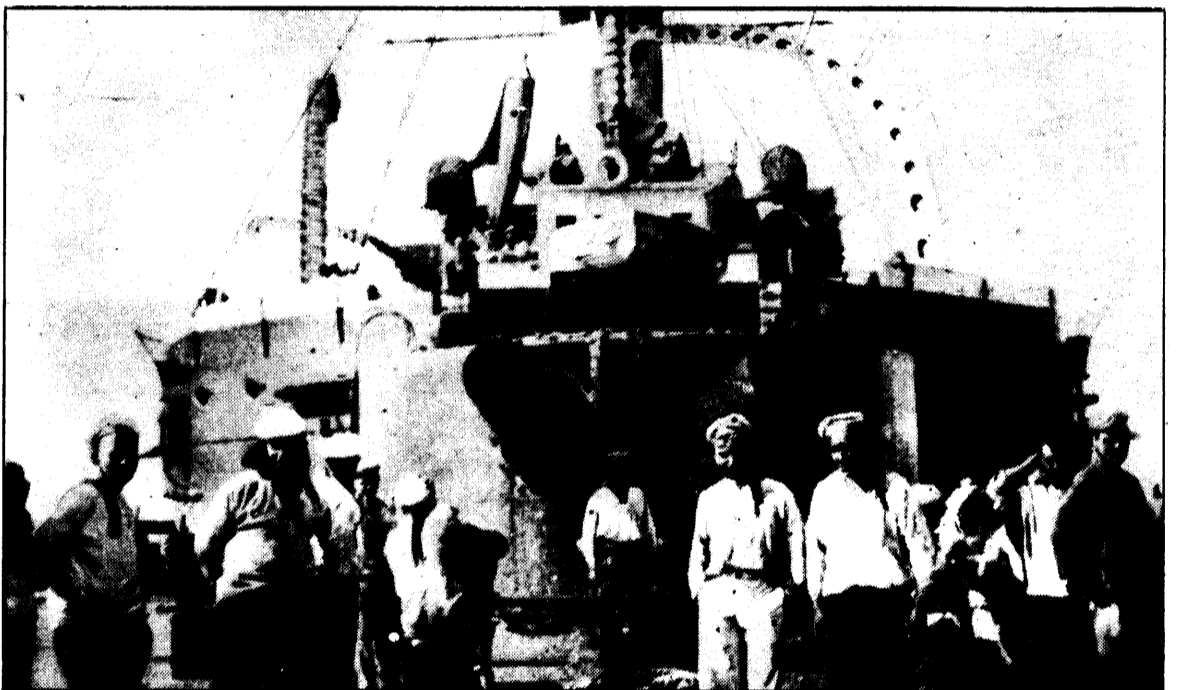
room in Russia for a second Gapon, there would be no room for a truly 'great', consummated democratic revolution. To become great, to evoke 1789-1793, not 1848-1850, and to surpass those years, it must rouse the vast masses to active life, to heroic efforts, to 'fundamental historic creativeness'; it must raise them out of frightful ignorance, unparalleled oppression, incredible backwardness, and abysmal dullness.

The revolution is already raising them and will raise them completely; the government itself is facilitating the process by its desperate resistance. But, of course, there can be no question of a mature political consciousness of a Social-Democratic consciousness of these masses or their numerous 'native' popular leaders or even 'muzhik' leaders. They cannot become Social-Democrats at once without first passing a number of revolutionary tests, not only because of their ignorance (revolution, we repeat, enlightens with marvellous speed), but because their class position is not proletarian, because the objective logic of historical development confronts them at the present time with the tasks, not of a socialist, but of a democratic revolution.



Parvus (left) and Trotsky.

In this revolution, the revolutionary proletariat will participate with the utmost energy, sweeping aside the miserable tailism of some and the revolutionary phrases of others. It will bring class definiteness and consciousness into the dizzying whirlwind of events, and march on intrepidly and unswervingly, not fearing, but fervently desiring, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, fighting for the republic and for complete republican liberties, fighting for substantial economic reforms, in order to create for itself a truly large arena, an arena worthy of the 20th century, in which to carry on the struggle for socialism.



1905: The crucible in which the theories of Lenin and Trotsky were tested out. Mutiny on the cruiser Potemkin, June 14, 1905. Above: Cossacks sent in to control working class districts of Moscow.

In another article in 1909 which the book reproduces, Lenin criticizes Trotsky's theory and advances the argument, central to Lenin's thesis on the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, that the peasantry was capable of creating a party independent of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Both in the First and Second Dumas—in spite of the fact that the counter-revolution had wiped out the first contingents of advanced peasants—the peasantry, now for the first time acting on a nation-wide scale in the all-Russia general elections, immediately laid the foundations of the Trudovik group, which was undoubtedly the embryo of a distinct peasant party.

In these embryos and rudiments there was much that was unstable, vague and vacillating: that is beyond doubt. But if political groups like this could spring up at the beginning of the revolution, there cannot be the slightest doubt that a revolution carried to such a 'conclusion', or rather, to such a high stage of development as a revolutionary dictatorship, will produce a more definitely constituted and stronger revolutionary peasant party. To think otherwise would be like supposing that some vital organs of an adult retain the size, shape and development of infancy.

Here Lenin explicitly states the possibility of the peasantry playing an independent role in the Russian Revolution. History, however, proved otherwise. The failure to realize the democratic dictatorship in Russia and, conversely, the success of the proletarian dictatorship, is irrefutable proof of the correctness of Trotsky's theory and the political impotency of the peasantry.

Lenin, however, and unlike the editors of this book was no dogmatist. At the April 1917 conference he realized the inadequacy of his formulation and revised his prognosis of the revolution. Lenin never looked back on his previous and mistaken conception. The proof of this is contained in an article he wrote in May 1919 called the 'Deception of the people by slogans of freedom and equality'.

The whole of political economy, if anybody has learned anything from it, the whole history of revolution, the whole history of political development throughout the 19th century, teaches us that the peasant follows the worker or the bourgeois... If you do not know why, I would say to such citizens... consider the development of any of the great revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, the political history of any country in the 19th century. It will tell you

why. The economic structure of capitalist society is such that the ruling forces in it can only be capital or the proletariat which overthrows it. There are no other forces in the economic structure of that society.

(Lenin 'Collected Works', 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 29, p. 338. Lawrence and Wishart.)

Quoting this passage in 1930, Trotsky wrote in 'The Permanent Revolution':

It is not a matter here of modern England or Germany. On the basis of the lessons of any one of the great revolutions of the 18th or the 19th centuries, that is, of the bourgeois revolutions in the backward countries, Lenin comes to the conclusion that only the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. There cannot be a 'democratic', that is, an intermediate dictatorship.

('Permanent Revolution', p. 128. New Park Publications, 1971.)

Trotsky's formulation of the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry in the coming revolution proved more accurate than that of Lenin, who advocated until April 1917 the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# NOTHING CLOWNISH ABOUT BRECHT'S SATIRE

TV REVIEW BY ANNE BLAKEMAN

**PLAY OF THE MONTH: 'The Caucasian Chalk Circle'.** By Bertold Brecht. Producer Cedric Messina. Director Bill Hays. BBC 1, May 16.

The villagers argue about their grazing lands: into their midst comes the Storyteller. He is known and loved. He begins a tale—they settle down to listen. It is a tale of The Chalk Circle taken from the Chinese, the Storyteller explains, for 'old and new wisdom mixes admirably'.

In a far off principality, there is war and uprising. The Governor and his wife and household—a mean, depraved set of hypocrites, are forced to abandon the city and flee. In the rush to preserve her favourite possessions, the Governor's wife forgets her newborn child, Mikhail.

Grusha, the peasant girl, comes upon the baby and, although fearing for her life, for there is a price on the child's head, takes him with her on her journey to another land.

Her travels are long and arduous; she leaves the child on a doorstep once, only to return in anguish and claim him back in face of the evil Ironshirt soldiers. She travels many miles, crosses the rotten bridge against all warnings, starves and falls ill.

At last she reaches her brother's house only to be faced with the same petty greed and indifference from him, cowed as he is, by a mean and malicious wife. Grusha dreams of the love she has pledged to the young soldier Simon, gone to the wars; but her brother, anxious to be rid of her, sells her to a local peasant woman and arranges her marriage to the woman's dying son.

But the grotesque funeral celebrations are upset when the war is declared at an end, the son recovers instantly and Grusha finds herself trapped in marriage for the sake of the child which is not hers.

So the first half of Brecht's celebrated fable 'The Caucasian Chalk Circle', shown on BBC 1 last Wednesday, systematically sets out to dispel our illusions about society and the human race.

This is one of the most popular of his plays and, over the years, has been much



Sara Kestelman as Grusha in Bertolt Brecht's 'The Caucasian Chalk Circle', shown on BBC last Wednesday.

abused by various productions treating the play largely as a piece of romantic whimsy and missing Brecht's stringent irony, the harshness of his humour.

The BBC production by Bill Hays fell much into the trap of skimming along the surface, although things improved as the play went on. And the evening was illuminated by rare performances from Sara Kestelman as Grusha and Leo McKern giving us a full-blooded showing as Azdak, the Judge to end all judges, who dominates the second half of the play.

What was also illuminated was the quality of Brecht's own history—one-time member of the Communist Party, self-styled Marxist intellectual, a virulent anti-Nazi and propagator of a whole cult and a body of theory in Marxist theatre, in which he concentrated the major portion of his talents.

The Berliner Ensemble, even now considered to be the only 'true' exponents of Brecht's work and long time under the direction of Brecht himself and his wife Helene Weigel, still remain as a considerable memorial to his work.

In 'The Chalk Circle', Brecht's philosophies range through a mish-mash of 'left-wing' views from confused liberal notions to flashes of his exceptional grasp of the class struggle, of contradiction and matter in motion—of the distortions in man's relations to man perpetuated by a capitalist or fascist society.

The second half of the play is concerned with the gigantic, flamboyant character of Azdak: set up as a Judge through a series of misunderstandings—we watch a dazzling display as Azdak manipulates the army, members of the ruling class

and doles out justice in his unique fashion, giving reward to the innocent, the weak, the downtrodden, the workers and peasants and punishing the exploiters.

After all, 'the law is a very sensitive organ', he sneers.

But eras come and go in the play—the delights of 'chaos and disorder', the reign of the carpet weavers, comes to a close and Azdak is appalled to find that the ruling class has once more retained its grip on the land. Although he crawls and begs, he narrowly escapes a brutal death at the hands of those who once gave him his power—he lives on by a fluke of circumstance and presides over the famous scene of the chalk circle where he wins back the child Mikhail for Grusha the serving maid, and blasts the vain, cruel Governor's wife and her corrupt lawyers, out of court.

Finally he grants a divorce to Grusha and enables her to rejoin Simon the soldier so that all ends well and the Storyteller is able to comment to the townspeople as the tale finishes that piece of doubtful morality: 'What there is shall go to those who are good for it.'

Bill Hays' production tended to exacerbate the weaknesses of the play and was inclined to much heavy-handed frolicsome enthusiasm among his cast, together with some execrable costuming and head-gear which made nonsense of some of the characters.

Brecht's satire, which savagely undercuts the military, the landlords, the petty bourgeoisie, may have a clownish style to it, but there is nothing clownish about its intent and content.

But although the play itself hasn't the stature of some of the others—'Mother Courage', 'Arturo Ui' or 'Mahogany'—yet even the BBC couldn't but shine in the great moments like Azdak's songs—'Is it so'—or his song of triumph—'The People Now Have Granaries, Who Once Cried Out For Bread.'

And Bill Southgate's music did much to highlight some of the better moments.

Whatever the limitations of Brecht's convoluted theorizing and his political confusion, nothing can obscure the glitter and boldness of his extraordinary intellect and the translation of it in some of the finest dramatic work of this century.

## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### ALL IN THE LINE OF DUTY

Weights and Measures inspectors sometimes have to drink beer—all in the line of duty, of course. But now a row has blown up in Durham because they don't pay for it.

The inspectors claim that it is business, not pleasure. But a statement from Vaux Breweries says that licensees who draw beer for these conscientious men regard their non-payment as 'akin to robbery'.

So, when six, yes six, pints of beer were drawn in a

Durham City pub for hard-working inspectors and not paid for, the brewery sent a bill for 54p to Durham County Council. Legal proceedings will be instituted, if necessary, to get the money, say Vaux.

### CANNY MOVE



Lord Stokes

One of the things that bugs foreign investors in fascist Spain is the frightening scale of the bureaucracy. Decisions can take months; the place is laced with red tape.

An American investor recently commented on the wisdom of establishing contacts high in the fascist bureaucracy if you wanted things done fast. He particularly applauded a

canny move by Lord Stokes' British-Leyland empire. When it came to getting a man to head the Spanish subsidiary, British-Leyland chose a lawyer whose father just happens to be the army's chief of staff.

### SACKED

One of the organizations responsible for building in Leningrad failed to meet its targets in 1972 for construction and assembly work.

An inquiry has revealed that a couple of the head officials of the building trust had been taking advantage of their position to build their own dachas (country villas). They had obtained building material at reduced prices through the organizations they controlled.

One of them, Pashkov, has been sacked from his job and expelled from the Communist Party. His case, and that of his accomplices, is now being considered by the Leningrad Prosecutor's Office.

### ZHIVAGO AD

A quarter page advertisement for a film showing in what the copy describes as 'the most elegant cinema' appeared in the French Communist Party daily 'L'Humanité' on May 9.

Nothing unusual about that, perhaps, except that the film in

question is David Lean's 'Doctor Zhivago', based on the novel of Nobel prize-winning Soviet writer Boris Pasternak.

Neither the novel nor the film have been permitted to appear in the Soviet Union. Nor was Boris Pasternak allowed to go to collect his

prize. In fact he was vigorously denounced in the Stalinist Press at the time, doubtless in 'L'Humanité' as well.

Perhaps the paper will explain to its readers how it now comes to be accepting a substantial sum of money for advertising the film.



## BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Where is Britain Going? Paperback 37p

Problems of the British Revolution Paperback 35p

Lessons of October Paperback 60p

In Defence of the October Revolution Pamphlet 15p

Marxism and the Trade Unions Pamphlet 25p

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International Pamphlet 10p

Postage: 10p per book, 5p per pamphlet. Order from: NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG

**TODAY'S TV**

**BBC 1**

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. 2.00 I like it here. 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. 5.15 Cabbages and kings. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.  
 6.00 **NATIONWIDE.**  
 6.45 **WHERE IN THE WORLD? TOMORROW'S WORLD.**  
 7.05 **GORDON PETERS SHOW.** The Generation Gap.  
 8.00 **COLDITZ.** Tweedledum.  
 8.50 **SIX FROM COLDITZ.** Interview with Damiaen van Doorninck who escaped from Colditz.  
 9.00 **NEWS.** Weather.  
 9.25 **SPORTSNIGHT.** Featuring John Conteh v Chris Finnegan fighting for the British, Commonwealth and European light-heavyweight title.  
 10.15 **MIDWINTER.**  
 11.00 **MOIRA IN PERSON.** Moira Anderson with Russell Hunter.  
 11.30 **LATE NIGHT NEWS.**  
 11.35 **NAIRN ACROSS BRITAIN.** Trans-Pennine Canal.  
 12.05 **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. 2.55 Looks familiar. 3.25 Hine. 4.20 Sooty show. 4.50 Jensen code. 5.20 University challenge. 5.30 News.  
 6.00 **TODAY.** 6.35 **CROSSROADS.**  
 7.00 **MISS TV TIMES.** London final.  
 7.30 **CORONATION STREET.**  
 8.00 **... AND MOTHER MAKES THREE.** Home, Sweet Homes.  
 8.30 **THE BEST OF FATHER, DEAR FATHER.** An Explosive Situation.  
 9.00 **SPECIAL BRANCH.** All the King's Men.  
 10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**  
 10.30 **UEFA CUP.** Borussia Munchen-gladbach v Liverpool.  
 11.25 **LATE NIGHT THEATRE: 'The Old Days'.**  
 11.55 **NIGHT GALLERY.** The House of Certain Shadows on the Wall.  
 12.50 **A COMMON MIND.**



Bill Pertwee and Gordon Peters in a scene from 'The Generation Gap', the fifth in a series of six comedy half hours called 'The Gordon Peters Show' on BBC 1.

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 7.30 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather.  
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**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 11.55 You and your golf. 12.25 Weather.  
**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. What's on.

many children run away each year?  
 8.50 **FILM: 'Bringing Up Baby.'** Cary Grant, Katharine Hepburn. Howard Hawks comedy about a quiet anthropologist who falls in love with a lady with a pet leopard.  
 10.30 **EDITION.**  
 11.00 **NEWS EXTRA.** Weather.  
 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Police surgeon. 7.30 London. 8.30 Here we go again. 9.00 London. 12.00 Evil touch.  
**TYNE TEES:** 9.25 Back to Bede. 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.40 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Mr and Mrs. 7.30 London. 11.40 Streets of San Francisco. 12.35 Lectern.  
**SCOTTISH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 This is your life. 7.30 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 teatime. 6.35 London. 7.00 Hogan's heroes. 7.30 London. 10.30 Journey to the unknown. 11.25 London. 11.55 Meditation.

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A journal of international Marxism published by the International Committee of the Fourth International Spring 1973

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Italy's New Fascists

By Stephen Johns

LENIN AND TROTSKY WRITING ON EUROPE

and six International Committee statements

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE**

**MEETINGS**

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

**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m.** Adeyfield Hall, Queen's Square, Adeyfield. 'The fight against Stalinism'.

**KINGSTON: Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m.** Norbiton Hotel, Clifton Rd.

**PAISLEY: Wednesday May 23, 7.30 p.m.** The Bakers' Rooms, George Place. 'Build Councils of Action'.

**WYTHENSHAW (Manchester): Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m.** 'Cock o' t' North', Portway. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

**FULHAM: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m.** 'The Swan', Fulham Broadway. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

**HOLLOWAY: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

**LEEDS: Thursday, May 24, 8 p.m.** 'Peel Hotel', Boar Lane. 'The role of Stalinism in the trade unions'.

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

**MERTHYR TYDFIL: Thursday May 24, 7.30 p.m.** 'Belle Vue' (upstairs), High Street. 'The trade unions and the Tory government'.

**TONBRIDGE: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m.** 'The Foresters', Quarry Hill, Tonbridge.

**TOTTENHAM: Thursday May 24 8 p.m.** 'Bricklayers Arms', High Road, nr White Hart Lane.

**WILLESDEN: Thursday May 24, 8 p.m.** Brent Labour and Trades Hall, Willesden High Road, N.W.10. 'Forward to the ATUA Conference'.

**BERMONDSEY: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'Havelock Arms', Balaclava Street, off Southwark Park Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

**CAMDEN: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Betrayal at UCS—the struggle against Stalinism'.

**PADDINGTON: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'Prince of Wales', Harrow Road, cnr Gt Western Road. 'The economic crisis and the trade unions'.

**TOOTING: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway, SW17. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

**SLOUGH: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

**SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

**WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** 'Crooked Billet', North Circular Road, Walthamstow. 'Labour to power pledged to socialist policies'.

**WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** Copland School, High Road. 'Forward to the ATUA conference'.

**FELTHAM: Thursday May 31, 8 p.m.** 'Three Horseshoes', High Street. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

FOLLOWING THE WITCH-HUNTS AT RECENT UNION CONFERENCES OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE COMMENTS ON COMMUNIST PARTY REACTIONS

# Stalinists and basic rights

THE COMMUNIST PARTY has endorsed right-wing witch-hunting of the Socialist Labour League and the International Socialists at the Union of Post Office Workers' conference.

In two issues of the 'Morning Star' it has complained of 'a blanket attack' on the CP, SLL and IS by union secretary Tom Jackson.

Monday's 'Star' was distressed that Jackson 'lumped members of the CP together with members of the IS and the SLL as undesirable groups working within the union'. Yesterday the paper carried a denial by Bert Ramelson, CP industrial organizer, of charges made by Jackson against the CP, but in no way condemned the union chief's attack on the SLL and IS.

As Workers Press reported on Monday, Jackson made his attack in speaking on a proposed rule change, which would have given delegates the right of reply in debates on amendments they had moved to the executive's reports.

The change would help those who wished to subvert the union for political purposes, he claimed. He referred to an alleged CP faction meeting on the conference and claimed falsely that SLL and IS delegates were 'working together' in the conference and the union.

Workers Press also reported that Stalinist delegates did not speak in the debate.

Only one delegate at the conference, who declared himself an SLL member, rose to defend the right of trade unionists to hold and fight for political views, before being ruled bureaucratically out of order by the chair.



UPW secretary Tom Jackson . . . attacked CP, SLL and IS.

The 'Star' failed to report this principled stance.

But as this delegate pointed out, Jackson's attack runs in line with a number of witch-hunting moves inside the unions.

At the conference of the clerical union APEX, the IS group was actually proscribed after a campaign by the leadership. William McCall, general secretary of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants, opened up a witch-hunt against left-wing 'extreme elements'.

Despite this disturbing background to Jackson's attack, Ramelson's statement fails even to defend delegates' right to hold and campaign for political views inside the trade union movement.

He simply denied that the faction meeting, Jackson had alleged the CP organized, had taken place.

He said of the UPW leadership: 'It is a measure of their inability to allay the postman's

fear of bargaining away thousands of jobs for a few pence, that they resort to the discredited McCarthyite techniques of discovering communist plots'. (It is worth noting that Ramelson fails to mention the role of CP members on the UPW executive in helping Jackson carry out this policy and the 'Star's' silence about it.)

Leading CP members at the UPW conference have consistently refused to participate in a joint effort to make Jackson withdraw his remarks. In fact they attacked delegates who wanted publicly to defend the right of trade unionists to campaign politically.

And Stalinist delegates were themselves prevented from holding a full discussion on the issue when a faction meeting at the weekend was called off.

By refusing unequivocally to condemn Jackson, and defend the rights of all left tendencies, the Stalinists open up great dangers

within the trade union movement and prepare a rod for their own backs.

Moreover, the attitude of Ramelson and the 'Star' on this issue is entirely in line with CP general secretary John Gollan's rejection of proposals from the SLL and IS for a campaign in defence of democratic rights against attack from the capitalist state.

In all the discredited and bureaucratic traditions of Stalinism, Gollan, Ramelson and the 'Star' take their stance with the right wing and their ruling-class masters.

Jackson's remarks are the negation of free trade unionism.

This man, who accepted Phase Two of the Tory pay laws without the slightest consultation with his members, is an ardent supporter of an even more 'flexible' attitude towards the Tories than an already prostrate TUC General Council is at present pursuing.

He holds the Communist Party in contempt, claiming, correctly as it happens, that with an occasional pat on the head the Stalinists will always do his bidding.

Unembarrassed by any of this, the CP feels injured by his attack only because they have supported him so faithfully.

CP members Maurice Styles and Richard Lawlor sat silent on the UPW executive while Jackson accepted Phase Two. Now they sit silent while he assaults trade unionists' most basic rights.

The 'Star', meanwhile, has made its position clear. The implication of its reporting this issue is that the paper would support a witch-hunt of the SLL and IS—as long as the CP itself was left out of it.

## SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

### Merthyr Tydfil

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

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.

## SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

### Salford

The Angel, Chapel Street  
Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m.

'What is the Socialist Labour League?'

Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.  
'The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class'.

## All Trades Unions Alliance Meeting

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)

## 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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All Trades Unions Alliance Meeting  
Special dockers' meeting to discuss  
What next after the acceptance of casualization?  
**LIVERPOOL**  
Wednesday, May 23, 7.30 p.m.  
Workers Press office, 14 Colquhitt Street (off Bold Street), Liverpool 1.

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE**  
Public Meeting  
**GLASGOW**  
Reformism on the Clyde — The Story of UCS.  
**WEDNESDAY MAY 30 7.30 p.m.**  
McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.  
Speaker: Stephen Johns (Workers Press)

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01-720 2000

## Jailed Loyalists for poll

GUSTY SPENCE, leader of the extremist Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force, has confirmed that he and three other detained Loyalists may contest four Belfast seats in the new Northern Ireland Assembly.  
Spence was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1966 for his part in a murder. The three who may stand with him are Ken Gibson, George Orr and William Davidson.  
They would be sponsored by funds from Loyalist organizations in Canada.

## Leg irons—new Tory export

TILBURY, Essex, dockers have placed a ban on four cases of cargo bound for Nigeria's Federal Police.  
The cases contain 500 leg irons, sets of gang chains and 500 pairs of handcuffs—all forming part of the Tory government's export drive!  
George Hughes, the metropolitan terminal steward, told a local newspaper: 'Of course, we've got nothing against the handcuffs. But we don't think the leg irons and especially gang chains are the kind of things that we should be sending out of this country.'  
'We have asked our men to black these four cases until we can get in touch with some organization—whether it be civil rights or whatever—who will lodge a protest about this.'  
'We think there should be an outcry about this—an international outcry.'  
A Port of London Authority spokesman commented: 'There are certain things laid down—such as pornography—which may not be exported. But leg irons and gang chains do not fall into this category.'

## Ex-Tory MP fined £50 in schoolgirls case

THE FORMER Solicitor-General for Scotland was fined £50 yesterday at Ayr Sheriff Court for offences involving two schoolgirls.  
David Anderson, a QC, pleaded not guilty to a charge of breach of the peace.  
He was a Tory MP during the early 1960s and became Solicitor-General for Scotland.  
Last October he was appointed to a top legal post in Edinburgh—he was given a new £8,250-a-year post of Chief Reporter for Scottish Public Inquiries. During the hearing one of the 14-year-old schoolgirls said that Anderson invited her and a friend to a quiet place for 'judo exercises'.  
The charge against Anderson is that he offered them £1 each for walking on him, jumping on him and kicking him.  
Anderson told the court he

## Triang to close plant in Merthyr

TRI-ANG Pedigree Ltd has announced the closure of the Cefn Coed factory, Merthyr Tydfil. Some 175 office staff and indirect workers will be made redundant.  
Production is to be rationalized and centred on the Cyfarthfa works. The management states that 196 vacancies for direct workers will arise at the Cyfarthfa works and all those made redundant who wish to apply for jobs as direct workers will be considered.  
In addition the management is seeking a long-term wages and productivity agreement to be settled by June 1. It is rumoured that if these terms are not accepted, the management intends to close both works.

could have been framed in an attempt to embarrass the Heath government.  
'I have actual official warning against this type of thing taking place against men in public life and I have a letter from the Prime Minister to men in public life warning them of this serious possibility.'  
Anderson said he was a happily married man.

# WAGE-CUTTING BEGINS TO BITE

AVERAGE earnings in Britain fell during March for the first time in over two years. This means that there was less money in people's pockets at a time when price rises were

working their way up to the record increases recorded in April.

The increase in earnings as a percentage over the same month a year earlier has been dropping for some time, down

from 16.6 in November to 12.4 in March.

But the latest figures show, for the first time since the Tory attack on wages began, an absolute decline in total earnings between one month and the next.

This means that not only are average wages improving more slowly than prices are rising, which results in an effective wage-cut, but that there is now an absolute cut in the total amount being earned.

## MAY FUND STANDS AT £840.60 — A LONG WAY YET

WE ARE still a very long way from reaching our £1,750 target and we are now very concerned. Our campaign to raise the May Fund is grinding slowly to a halt. But it can and must be changed.

We know you, our readers, have never let us down, and we are confident that you will help us with an enormous effort now to rapidly change this position.

Workers Press is vital today for preparing workers everywhere for the deflationary measures ahead. As the Tories cut back on public expenditure, thousands in nationalized industries must be hit. But this is only a beginning.

Use our paper, therefore, to fight back as never before against the Heath government. Don't let our Fund slip behind. Raise extra amounts, turn out to new supporters coming around our paper. Post all donations immediately to:

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

## LEADERS WOULD AGREE TO RESTRAINT

# G&MWU WANT A DEAL WITH TORIES

LEADERS OF BRITAIN'S third largest union, the General and Municipal Workers, spoke up yesterday in support of a corporatist-style deal with the Tories involving TUC curbs on wage claims.

While voicing mild fears that the Treasury's deflationary new public-spending cuts might represent 'a return to Tory stop-go policies', they made clear they felt unions would have to accept TUC restraints under such a deal.

Clearer expression of this position came from Derek Gladwyn, G&MWU southern regional officer and a council member of the corporatist Industrial Society.

Gladwyn presaged his remarks with a demagogic statement that the Tories 'had to' listen to the TUC.

But he quickly adopted a more conciliatory tone.

'This is not a dark threat,' he said. 'It is a fact. We want something much more definite than lightning visits to Chequers or No 10.'

He urged the TUC to draw up a policy framework on the level of incomes, saying that unions would have to accept TUC intervention in bargaining.

'The TUC should lay down guidelines on equal pay, low pay, a national minimum wage and threshold agreements and unions would be expected to conform to those guidelines.'

'Such a policy would give the TUC tremendous power over the bargaining power of affiliated unions.'

Gladwyn claimed this would mean the TUC supporting those unions who were in dispute with employers because they were pursuing a claim in line with TUC policy.

He did not attempt to explain why this did not happen, for instance in the case of the G&MWU-led gasmen, despite the undertaking of the March 5 special Congress to mount 'co-ordinated action' in support of unions in conflict with the pay laws.

David Basnett, G&MWU general secretary, called on the Tories to extend zero-rating under Value-Added Tax or even declare negative taxing of a wide range of goods.

Basnett said the Chancellor of the Exchequer's announcement that there were to be cuts of £600m in public spending had brought fear to trade union hearts that there might be a return to a period of Tory stop-go policy.

A resolution seeking to urge the TUC to stop discussions with the government was rejected.

## Two-finger exercise

A MAN who gave a two-finger salute as two High Court judges passed him in their official car was brought before Teesside Crown Court yesterday for showing contempt.

Mr Justice Lawson told William Bangs (51), an electrician, of Coxwold Road, Stockton, that he could put him in prison.

Bangs told the judge that it was all a mistake. 'I thought it was the mayor's car and I have no respect for the mayor of Teesside. I humbly apologise to you. There was no intention of disrespect to your lordships,' he said. He was freed.



## Union fighters to be sacked

PANEL-SHOP workers at a south London garage, just recently returned from a strike for union recognition, have been told they are to lose their jobs at the end of June.

Lankesters, the British-Leyland main dealer in Kingston upon Thames, say because of their commitments to Leyland, they need to expand their work on car sales.

So the panel shop is to be

knocked down to make room for car-cleaning.

A meeting is being arranged between the management and the district organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. But shop stewards have already said they will not accept the redundancies.

Among the seven workers to be made redundant are the convenor and other union activists.

## Postmen oppose part-time sorters

FURTHER recruitment of part-time labour in sorting offices was banned yesterday by the Union of Post Office Workers' conference, against fierce opposition from the union executive.

Delegates overwhelmingly carried two branch amendments to the report of general secretary Tom Jackson.

They did so after warnings that, particularly where parcels traffic was being concentrated at central sorting offices, redundancies amongst full-time staff could be created by the use of more part-timers.

For the executive, Communist Party member Maurice Styles argued that if the amendments

were carried, the union would have to negotiate the redundancy of 11,500 part-time workers already employed by the Post Office.

Earlier, delegates rejected an executive request to withdraw an amendment demanding a review of special services to firms and so-called VIPs. The amendment was carried overwhelmingly.

Eddie Lee, from London, said a special collection service used by about 400 firms in the City cost them £4 a year each when the true cost was about £45.

In one area of London, where a lot of lawyers and 'big wigs' lived, there were instances of management officials delivering mail themselves.

## DEFLATION IS LESSER EVIL

FROM PAGE ONE

... The administration has continued to follow too stimulative a fiscal policy too long. Mr Nixon had hoped to get by without a tax increase and chose instead to shop social expenditures to the bone—while continuing to increase defence outlays.

The time has come for him to face up to the necessity of putting more fiscal restraint upon an economy that has boomed faster than expected... There is to be sure some risk that more fiscal restraint now could deepen a recession that may be already in the works.

But there is greater danger that the boom will be allowed to run on until it is too late—and give way, not to a mini-recession, but to a disastrous collapse.

## SLL TO PICKET PERUVIAN EMBASSY TODAY

A DEMONSTRATION will be staged outside the Peruvian Embassy today in protest against the imprisonment and torture of leading members of the Liga Comunista, Peruvian section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The Peruvian military junta, backed by the Communist Party, has outlawed the Liga Comunista and seized its Press.

Members of other left-wing organizations in Peru have also been subjected to persecution and the most brutal repression.

Today's picket outside the embassy—from 9 a.m. until 5 p.m.—has been called by the Socialist Labour League. Anyone who wants to join the picket line to protest against the right-wing militarists and their agents should come to the

Peruvian Embassy  
52 Sloane Street  
London, SW1.

## BRIEFLY - BRIEFLY

LEADERS of the rail locomen's union, ASLEF, told the British Railways Board by telephone yesterday that they were lifting their 11-month-old ban on the new 125 m.p.h. advanced passenger train after a 'reluctant' conference decision at York.

But union chief Ray Buckton warned that the union would ban all runs by the train if there was any more delay on talks over a new pay structure.

COMMISSION on Industrial Relations recommended yesterday that Equity, the actors' union, should be granted an approved closed shop in the theatre, films and commercial television. The National Industrial Relations Court will now give up to three months' notice of intention to make an order endorsing the CIR recommendation, during which time workers affected can apply for a ballot.

Equity's joint application with the employers for the closed shop, under the Industrial Relations Act, led, along with its registration under the Act, to its suspension from the TUC.

### TOMORROW NIGHT

Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League presents

### GRAND DANCE AND CABARET

Lisa Martin plus supporting group

Heywood Civic Hall  
HEYWOOD,  
MANCHESTER

Thursday May 24  
8 p.m. to 12 midnight

Music Force Band—Iron Maiden—Spider Mike King  
Plus support system  
Admission 50p.

**PUBLIC MEETINGS**  
**Transforming the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party**

**Dewsbury**  
The Textile Hall.  
Thursday, May 24 7.30 pm