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Of course, government spokesmen try to justify the allowance in a number of other ways such as 'recognition of the exceptional

By our Belfast correspondent strains', but how these operations involve more strain than similar work in other colonies is not explained.

Protestant feeling against the troops is clearly mounting.

Troops again attacked Protestant demonstrators on Tuesday morning when a crowd of 200, gathered behind a barricade in North Queen Street, Belfast, began to throw missiles at police and army vehicles.

The army's house-to-house searches for arms in the Protestant areas, like those over the weekend, are also adding to the hatred for the British units.

These developments in the Ulster crisis are forcing on the working class, both Protestant and Catholic, the realization that the troops are only there as repressive forces on behalf of British imperialism.

The call for the immediate withdrawal of troops is the only way principled support can be given to the Irish workers' struggle and should be fought for throughout the labour movement.

All those who welcomed the troops as bringing a temporary peace serve the interests of imperialism by paving the way for the repression of all Irish workers, regardless of religion.

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LIVERPOOL
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7.30 p.m.

Museum Lecture Hall
William Brown Street

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Just before the Kremlin invasion, the Czech workers were beginning to exercise a degree of factory and mines control.

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Behind the trade surplus ballyhoo

From a special correspondent

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lion surplus is peanuts compared with what British capitalism requires.

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By a foreign correspondent

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Fixed for November 3, it is believed the speech will attempt to take the wind out of the sails of the vast anti-war movement now building up.

Wednesday's 'Vietnam Moratorium', the day of nationwide protest and demonstrations against the war, has gathered such momentum that Nixon now comes under great pressure to make gestures towards US withdrawal advocates.

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Also present at the discussion were Dr. Kissinger, the President's foreign affairs adviser, and Philip Habib, the last remaining member of ex-President Johnson's Paris team.

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Greeting to the daily

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The present trend in industrial struggle is not given much thought by the non-thinking workers who are drifting along and when the time comes for a showdown it will be too late; with your daily however this is seen and it will help to enlighten these workers of the dangers ahead. (The present thinking, that a few days out of the gate and we will get what we want, is dangerous and self-destructive.)

We must not, as in the case of 'The Torrey Canyon', realize the dangers ahead too late to avoid them and bring disaster for the workers.

It is only by constant reminders of these dangers that they can be avoided and what better way than through the press and a daily issue the best of all?

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When there is not one paper they will read another so all the good done one day can be undone the next.

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The more profitable sections of road haulage were denationalized when the

Tories returned to power in 1951 and have been in conflict with drivers over low basic wages and working conditions since.

The economic crisis is now hitting the industry, particularly the small firms. Maintenance costs have rocketed over the last two years.

The only trick in the offing is aimed at the drivers in both the private sector and the nationalized British Road Services (BRS).

An agreement to introduce work-study into BRS has already been negotiated with the T&GWU through Alan Law, the union's Midlands trade group secretary.

Both the Labour government and the road haulage employers agree that productivity deals are essential.

An RHA eastern area official has suggested that lorry drivers' wages should be raised as high as £22—nearly £9 more than at present—in exchange for acceptance of increased productivity.

This would involve use of the tachograph—the 'spy-in-the-cab' device for recording details of a lorry's journey—which up to now has been rejected by the unions involved.

He also recommends that drivers be made to feel more personally involved with the employers' fortunes.

The deals demanded by the government and the employers must be rejected in the fight for a policy of nationalization of the basic industries, including an integrated and planned distribution system—road, rail sea and air.

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Behind the trade surplus ballyhoo

From a special correspondent

THE HARSH reality behind September's £26 million trade surplus is increased unemployment, rising cost of living and cuts in the money supply.

This assertion, which cuts like an icy knife through the ballyhoo from the press and the Labour leaders, comes from the British National Export Council in a report out this week.

Its chairman, Sir Peter Runge, says that improved trade position has not been achieved 'without some pain' and goes on to list the real reasons for the surplus.

The Labour leaders' cheers for this 'achievement' are exposed in their true light. They are delighted that their attack on the working class is at last bearing some fruit.

But their delight should be tempered with some caution,

because the trade figures cannot be taken at their face value.

It turns out that having allowed in past months for under-recording of exports, the statisticians have now been faced by a flood of returns for exports made in earlier months.

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lion surplus is peanuts compared with what British capitalism requires.

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The key consumer goods industry—motors—is racked from end to end with struggles over wages, conditions and sackings.

Dustmen and other council workers all over the country are striking for a living wage.

Big wages struggles have begun in the mining industry.

The Labour leaders need a look no further to find what workers think about their 'achievement'. The working class answer to the trade surplus is right there.



The gradual depreciation of all paper currencies in the post-war period has completely undermined the Keynesian economic theory designed to prevent a return to the slump of the 1930s. Above: Maynard Keynes (right) at the Bretton Woods talks of 1944, seen with Henry Morgenthau, banker and diplomat.

THE RECENT decision of the West German government to allow the Deutsch-mark to 'float' or find its own level in world money markets—means a new turning point in the economic and financial crisis now facing the capitalist system.

The fact that the Bonn decision has led to such unease and speculation amongst large sections of the capitalist class, and brought with it fears that other countries may follow the German example, is an indication that the more perceptive members of the ruling class themselves realize the significance of the decision.

The recently-concluded International Monetary Fund talks in Washington also indicate similar developments.

Although no firm decisions were taken, there was widespread discussion on the need to 'reform' present monetary arrangements.

FLOATING RATES

There seemed to be considerable support for the idea of 'floating' exchange rates (again where each currency would be allowed to establish its value in competition with all other currencies) or at least for a widening of the range in which currency values could fluctuate.

The German decision and these discussions indicate the beginnings of the final break-up of the monetary arrange-

ments which have served capitalism since the end of the last war, arrangements which many members of the ruling class thought and hoped would allow capitalism to expand in an uninterrupted crisis-free manner.

After the war the capitalist class above all feared a return to the 1930s with its unemployment, slump in investment and social crisis.

The monetary arrangements and institutions which were devised after 1945 were an attempt to ensure that the system never again went through such a phase.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the other bodies which were established in the post-war years aimed to regulate capitalism on an international scale and prevent the return of such a slump.

The IMF, created as a result of the 1944 Bretton Woods talks was to play the role of international banker, supplying credit to any country which might run into difficulties.

Its purpose was reflected in the Articles of Agreement:

'To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income.'

'To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements and to avoid competitive exchange depreciations.'

'To shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the individual balance of payments of members.'

The idea that if a country ran into balance of payments difficulties and, as a result, speculation occurred against its currency, it could draw from the IMF to counter such speculation, meanwhile taking the necessary domestic action—credit restraint, increase in interest rates and so on—to

Behind the Deutsch-mark crisis: BREAK-UP of world money system

By Peter Jefferies

deal with the original source of the disequilibrium.

To meet these aims, all countries joining the Fund had to agree to suitable gold 'par' values for their currencies.

These values had to be strictly observed—with provision for a 1 per cent fluctuation either side. In fact all currencies were valued in terms of the American dollar which itself was anchored to gold at a fixed rate.

At the centre of these arrangements was the American guarantee of a fixed dollar price for gold. All holders of dollars were entitled to exchange their holdings for gold whenever they chose at the rate of 35 dollars a fine ounce of gold.

In this way the Americans aimed to raise the dollar to the status of gold and provide conditions in which all paper money was thereby linked, through the dollar, to gold.

All changes in par values could only take place with the agreement of the Fund.

To allow it to play the role of international banker, the IMF was provided with funds subscribed by the member countries. Each country paid in a 'quota', 25 per cent of which was to be in gold, with the rest in its own national currency.

DRAWING RIGHTS

At the beginning of 1967 these quotas totalled around 20 billion dollars, having been several times revised. The US, Britain, Germany and France contributed roughly half of this sum.

In return, each member country had certain drawing rights from the Fund which it could make use of when its currency was under pressure.

The size of these drawings were related to the quotas and certain conditions about the circumstances under which drawings could be made were laid down.

To the end of 1966 actual withdrawals from the Fund totalled almost 13 billion dollars, about a third having been made by Britain—a clear indication of the chronic weakness of sterling through the period.

The Americans were the real power behind the IMF—an indication of the fact that they were now the dominant capitalist power, with a responsibility for the stability of the whole system throughout Europe and the world.

This role of American capital was seen in the large aid which was handed out to a shattered Europe at the end of the war and the years immediately following.

Lend-lease and later the Marshall Aid programme were inspired by the fear of social crisis in Europe and the power of the working class.

But the flow of dollars abroad in the form of aid was to be reinforced and then superseded in the post-war years by large military expenditures abroad, and above all by the export of private capital.

'AID' PROGRAMME

The arms expenditure was, of course, directly inspired by the same fear of communism which necessitated the 'aid' programme.

This 'aid' itself was an indication of the organic need of American capital to spread its tentacles abroad to maintain stability at home.

Pressure on the rate of profit at home forced capital to search for more profitable outlets abroad.

Post-war Europe was ideal in this respect.

Unemployment in many countries was high and wages were low, and in those countries where fascism had earlier destroyed the organized working-class movement intense exploitation of the labour force was possible.

The result of all these developments was an enormous flow of dollars abroad in the post-war years.

The consequences of such an outflow, and the seeds of the present crisis, can be seen from the following figures.

	Dollars holdings abroad	US Gold reserves
1950	\$8.6 billions	\$22.8 billions
1964	\$28.8 billions	\$15.4 billions

In other words, as the volume of dollars held abroad—by governments as part of their reserves, by banks and other financial institutions and private individuals—grew, so the volume of gold held by the United States to back this outflow steadily diminished.

And the process has, of course, continued. Liabilities abroad are now around 30 billions with only an 11 billion gold reserve to sustain them.

The turning point came towards the end of the 1950s,

maintain a fixed dollar price of gold.

At the moment there are, as we have seen, roughly

three times the nominal value of paper dollars circulating outside the United States compared with the Fort Knox gold reserve.

Clearly if all dollar holders attempted to cash their dollars for gold, the Americans would have to go back on their pledge to maintain the dollar price of gold at 35 dollars an ounce.

The late 1950s mark a turning point in the development of the world money crisis: the holdings of dollars abroad now began to outstrip the US gold reserve.

In other words, for every dollar spent on an average commodity in 1934, a consumer would, by 1965, have had to spend around two and a half dollars.

Yet throughout the entire period, the dollar price of one commodity—the one that was the basis of the entire world monetary system, gold—remained fixed.

It is this which has limited the production of sufficient gold to keep pace with the expansion of trade in the post-war period. Trade has grown at around four times the rate of gold production for much of the time since 1945.

Why is this so? There are many 'experts' who call for more gold mining to deal with the crisis.

What such people fail to understand is that gold production like that of all commodities must obey the law of value.

The fact that world prices have risen at a steady rate for 25 years has meant that investment in South Africa gold mining—where prices have been artificially kept down by the American capitalists—has suffered at the expense of more lucrative investment.

TRUE VALUE

Although this tendency has been offset to some degree by technical improvements in gold mining and increases in the productivity of labour in the South African gold fields (through the more brutal exploitation of the labour force) the general tendency is clear, and for capitalism ominous.

Only a restoration of gold to its true value—which would mean a doubling if not a trebling of its price—will raise production to the levels required by the needs of world trade. In other words only through savage depreciations of all currencies will the operation of the law of value be restored.

The late 1950s saw the writing on the wall for the Bretton Woods arrangement with their Utopian attempt at a 'managed' international capitalism.

It was at this point, with growing fears about the stability of the dollar, that attention was focused on the US balance of payments deficit.

The consequences of the great outflow of dollars by American institutions was a growing deficit in the balance of payments (which took the form of corresponding increases in the dollar holdings of foreign governments).

From the beginning of the 1960s first US President Kennedy and then Johnson began to pay close attention to the problem.

Cuts in the 'aid' programme were announced; economies were made in diplomatic and military spending abroad; taxes were later placed on tourism and later still also on investments abroad.

Although such efforts made little impact upon the external deficit—which continued to get worse, thanks in part

(1934=100)	USA	UK
Index of prices		
1958	220	330
1965	240	400



The need to escalate the Vietnam war coupled with large amounts of credit mobilized to prop up Sterling has placed increasing strain on the American economy. Above: Crop-destroying plane in Vietnam.

when the present crisis began to gain momentum.

The dilemma can be summed up in the following way. Without the export of American dollars on this scale there would certainly have been a deep crisis for European capitalism after the war.

It was only American capital which allowed investment to proceed at a rate sufficient to guarantee relative stability and full employment.

On the other hand, the very export of the dollar on such a scale eventually called into question its stability and the ability of the Americans to

Underlying this crisis is the gradual depreciation of all paper currencies which has occurred in the post-war period. The capitalists were able to save their system after 1945 only through inflation, with all its attendant risks.

We can gain some idea of the degree of this inflation if we compare the movement of retail prices since 1934—the year in which the gold price was established at 35 dollars an ounce.



Despite the brutal exploitation of workers in South African gold mines, world trade since 1945 has grown at about four times the rate of gold production. Above: African miners—average pay: £3 15s. per month.

to the need to escalate the Vietnam war—they placed increasing strain upon the European capitalist countries.

The impact of the US measures was to slow down the rate at which world trade was expanding, as well as to reverse, in part at least, the flow of funds out of America.

Now many American concerns in Europe, faced with a squeeze on credit at home, began to repatriate some of the funds built up in Europe since the war (Euro-dollars).

This pushed interest rates up to record-high level.

This changed relationship of forces can be seen above all in the events leading up to the sterling devaluation of November 1967, which was a decisive, turning-point in the development of the crisis.

From 1964 the Americans since they had staked everything on the struggle to maintain sterling's value.

They knew that a sterling devaluation would spark off a series of convulsions for all European currencies, which would inevitably hit the dollar.

BAIL OUT

It was for this reason that unprecedentedly large amounts of aid and credits were mobilized for the Wilson government.

The decision to devalue was, therefore, a blow not only for the then Chancellor James Callaghan and the Cabinet, but a blow for American strategy. Capitalism no longer had the resources to bail out a leading country that found itself in difficulties. Reactions to the November 1967 move were swift.

By March the following year, the dollar found itself in the middle of the crisis.

The Americans were forced to suspend, in part at least, one of the lynch-pins of the Bretton Woods Agreements.

With the two-tier system which was instituted, the dollar and gold were no longer freely convertible. Since that time there have been two gold markets: the 'official' one in which the 35-dollar price has been retained for transactions involving purchases and sales of gold for reserve purposes, and a 'private' market where the price of the metal, although fluctuating, has usually been 20 per cent above its 'official' level ever since March of last year.

The next stage in the disintegration of Bretton Woods was marked by the crisis meeting in Bonn at the end of last year, when it became clear that there were deep and growing splits between the leading capitalist countries about economic and financial policy.

The French—at that stage with American support—refused to devalue the franc and the Germans refused a mark revaluation.

But the general tendency which had now been set in motion continued inexorably. The French franc devaluation following the upheavals of last year marked yet another stage of the crisis.

Under de Gaulle the French appeared to be so strong, with large gold reserves and a strong balance of payments position, but they were forced to devalue.

This was only an expression of the real relationship of forces between American and European capitalism.

And now the crisis surrounding the mark. The decision of a major country to 'float' its currency is a clear and open breach of Bretton Woods' plans.

It indicates the open phase of a return to the economics of the 1930s, when devaluation followed devaluation as one country tried to steal an advantage over its rivals in the struggle for world trade and markets.

We are not, in other words, dealing with a temporary crisis of the capitalist system which it can hope to survive.

The blunt fact which the capitalists themselves are now having to face is that America, despite her wealth and power, has not been powerful enough to regulate and stabilize the system.

This is why the experience since the war has been so different from that of the old gold standard.

In the period before 1914 capitalism enjoyed a relatively stable monetary system (the gold standard) because of the overwhelming power of British imperialism. The City was able to act as banker and financial centre for the whole world capitalist system.

The 1920s and 1930s—years which saw chaos in the world monetary system and the collapse of the Gold Standard—marked a decisive and irreversible shift in the centre of world economic, financial and political power, away from Britain and London and to America and New York.

But it was a shift within a social system now in crisis and decline and one which suffered enormous defeats in 1917 through the Russian Revolution, and again with the loss of Eastern Europe and China after 1945.

UNBEARABLE

So, though British imperialism was able to export capital on a huge scale in the 19th century to provide the means for a capital investment in Europe and America and the expansion of world trade without suffering significant shocks, this has not been true of American capitalism.

The strains of sustaining a world role in the present period of capitalist decline have proved unbearable.

They have, as we have seen, led to the present rapidly worsening crisis.

The events since the end of 1967 mark a new stage in the acute and historical crisis of imperialism.

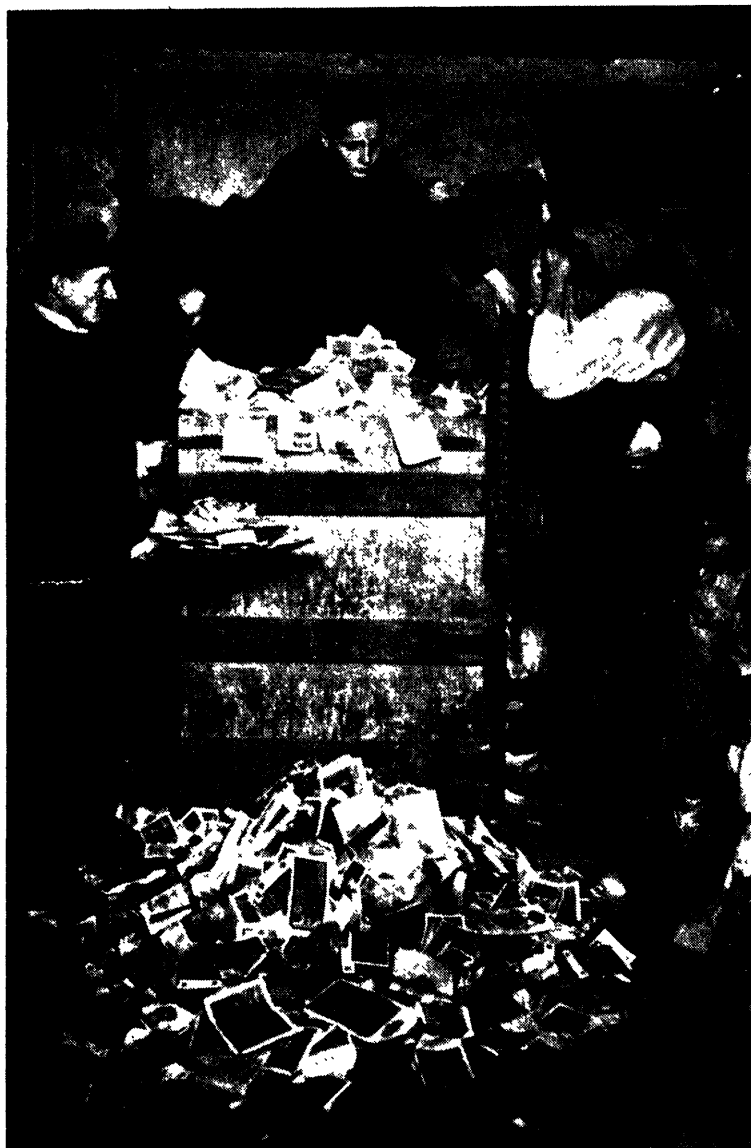
For capitalism there is no way out.

Only savage deflations, preparation for a trade war and currency war, offer any even temporary solutions. But such 'solutions' involve enormous battles with the working class, especially in western Europe, at a time when this working class is now beginning to break decisively from the stranglehold of its bureaucratic leaderships, both Stalinist and social-democratic.

The monetary crisis is the expression of the crisis of capitalism in decline and disintegration.

There can be no reformist answer to this crisis.

The task of the working class, led by the revolutionary party, must be to grasp the historical significance of the struggles which it has now entered, and by so doing prepare to take power from the capitalist class.



The decision to float the mark indicates the start of a return to the economics of the 1930s when the whole of Europe was gripped by an unprecedented wave of inflation. Above: In Germany in the 1930s the value of paper money dropped so much that thousands of marks were burned.



The recent devaluation of the French franc following on the revolutionary events of 14st May and June marked yet another stage of the growing crisis of capitalism. Above: Renault factory in Cleon during a sit-in strike.

POST

The working class and the hippies A letter...



The hippies (seen above at 144 Piccadilly), unlike the working class, want to change capitalism in an idealist manner which is out and out reactionary.

THERE are one or two points in your editorial comment (September 27) that I would 'take up' with you.

First, you say that the stuff written about the hippies and the mouthings from the Liberal conference have nothing in common with the daily life of the working class.

Surely as part of the society whose change you wish to accelerate, they do have something in common with the working class, insofar as they too want changes?

Now whether those changes would be for the betterment of society, does certainly need to be argued and debated and not 'spiked' as material that is of no consequence to the working class.

Every new facet of change is of consequence.

Secondly, you say that: 'The most politically-minded members of the working class, the people who matter most, are rallying to our side.'

Are you then implying that the workers who are not yet politically minded—unfortunately at any moment the majority—do not matter?

'Don't worry? We'll tell you what's good for you.'

Much the same philosophy as most other political parties, trade union executives and establishments.

So how will we ever know which is the party of truth, perhaps not until we're once again being told what is good for us?

With that said, may I wish you well with your publication. Every call for change needs to be heard out.

B. Day.

...and a reply

MR. DAY'S claim that the working class has in common with the hippies and Liberals a desire for change is a valueless truism.

Every class in present-day capitalism wants change—in factory after factory the employers are trying to change piece-work for Measured-Day Work, to weaken shop-floor organization, to get more work out of less men.

In the interests of their continuation as a class, the employers want the most violent changes in their relations with the working class.

The struggle over these changes forces the working class into struggles not just to change but to overthrow capitalist private property.

The hippies, on the other hand, want to change capitalism in a reactionary idealist direction.

They offer nothing to youth who want to fight capitalism but the perspective of 'dropping out'—abandoning the class struggle and taking up reactionary mysticism, drugs and in general the worst aspects of capitalism in decay.

The idea of the hippies, that there is something noble in parasitism, in volunteering to become a beggar and live in squalor, runs counter to the whole daily life of the working class.

But there is more to it than that.

Despite their anarchist slogans against the state, the hippies are used by the capitalist mass media to discredit the idea of revolutionary struggle and to distort the issues facing the working class.

For we are dealing here almost entirely with manu-

SOCIALISM or barbarism. These alternatives are at no time more clearly revealed than today in the era of atomic power.

On July 16, 1945, the first man-made atomic explosion took place at Los Alamos, New Mexico. The explosive power of this bomb was 15 million times that of its weight in TNT, equivalent to some thousands of tons of high explosive.

Today such a weapon would not be considered sufficient to arm a single Polaris missile.

In August 1945, two similar weapons exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki killing 110,000 Japanese instantly and condemned thousands more to a slow death from radiation damage.

Each weapon contained at its heart about ten kilograms of uranium 235.

Today, in Western Europe alone, there exists 20,000 kilograms of fissile material which can be used in the construction of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Of course, the development of the A-bomb by the United States in the last years of the war had little to do with the fight for 'freedom'. From the beginning of the project the main enemy was seen to be the workers' state of the USSR.

The Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 wrenched out of imperialism's hands a sixth of the earth's surface, rich in natural resources.

It dealt a massive body blow to capitalism in its death

agony and faced the ruling class in every country with the spectre of the proletarian revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union could not prevent the establishment of the workers' states in Eastern Europe and in China.

However, the collaboration of this counter-revolutionary caste with the imperialist powers enabled capitalism to maintain its grip over Western Europe.

Having used Stalinism to drive back the working class from power, the US poured immense resources into capitalist Europe to prop up its crippled economy and to prepare to take back the gains won by the working class, in the workers' states.

The existence of the A-bomb as the sole possession of the United States was short-lived. In spite of the devastation of sections of Soviet industry during the war, and the crippling effects of bureaucratic mismanagement, the USSR produced and tested an atomic device in 1947.

There could, therefore, be no easy military victory for imperialism through a monopoly of nuclear bombs. The development of the inflationary boom, boosted by the Korean war, saw the launching of the arms race proper.

ICBM

By the early 1950s the US had developed nuclear weaponry, rocket propulsion and missile guidance and control to the point where an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) could be built. The knowledge that the USSR was already working on an ICBM programme was all that was needed.

The Air Force's Thor, Atlas and Titan programmes and the Army's Jupiter programme were launched almost simultaneously. The Navy's Polaris programme and the Air Force's Minuteman programme were phased in just a few years later.

The Army, which had the responsibility for ground-based air defence (including the Nike Ajax and Nike Hercules surface-to-air missiles, or SAMs), began to study the problem of how to intercept ICBMs, and soon afterwards initiated the Nike Zeus programme, an attempt to construct a nuclear-armed rocket capable of intercepting a simple missile.

By 1960 it became clear that the USSR was taking seriously the possibility of constructing a viable anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. This now led the US to study the problems of penetrating missile defences.

In 1962 the Nike-X concept was formulated. Basically this involves the use of missiles with multiple warheads, each of which can be directed against a small target with great precision.

Such a target would be the Soviet equivalent of the Minuteman missile, the main US ICBM, which is housed below ground level in a hardened silo to prevent easy destruction by nuclear attack.

In terms of atomic weaponry the US and USSR now have 'parity'. Both now possess around 1,000 ICBMs although the US is ahead on long-range aircraft and Polaris-type submarines. This gap is now rapidly closing.

Extinction

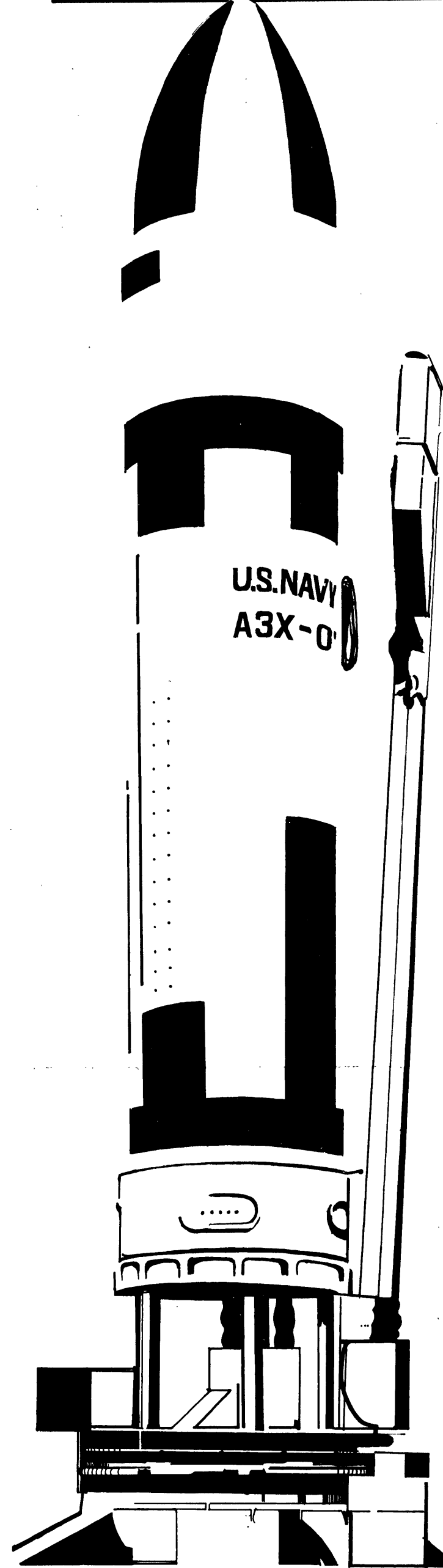
It is at present impossible for any 'first strike', no matter how massive, to prevent a massive retaliation and the possible extinction of the human race.

Scientists in both the US and USSR admit that without a huge increase in spending on weapons research there is still no sure defence against a concerted nuclear attack.

A recent US report states: 'Still, after 15 years, and the expenditure of more than 20 billion dollars, it is generally conceded that we do not have a significant capability to defend ourselves against a well-planned air attack.'

The existence of ABM systems in themselves constitute a huge danger to man-

THIS SCIENTIFIC WORLD



to launch the ABMs before they can be destroyed or blasted off course) human intervention must be cut to the minimum and the main decisions taken by computers.

Mankind's future could therefore be placed in jeopardy through some minute item of defective electronic equipment.

In the United States, the ABM programme has been an explosive political issue over the last few years.

The Johnson administration proposed constructing the Sentinel system, a 'thin' ABM system designed to defend the US against a Chinese missile attack in the 1970s.

Nixon has modified this to the Safeguard system.

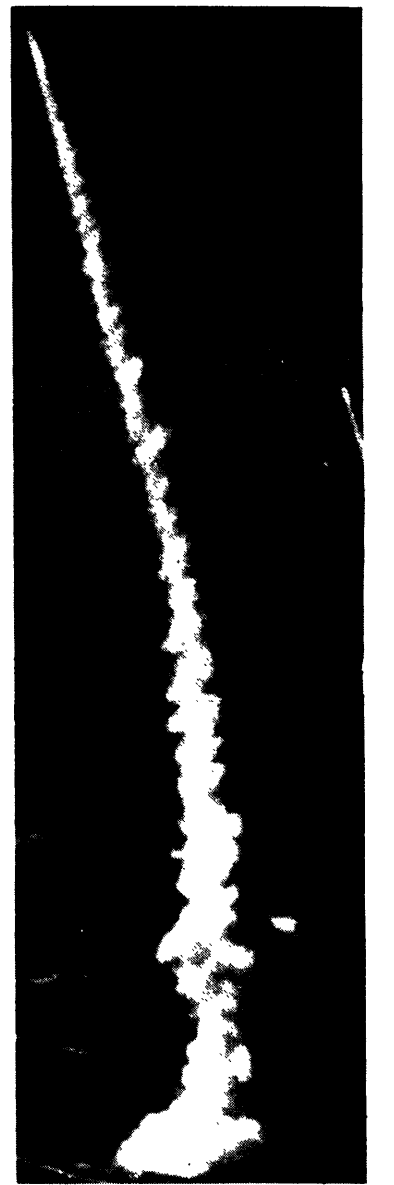
Admitting that it is impossible to defend American cities against nuclear attack, this system has as its sole aim the protection of part of the Minuteman force in order to carry out effective retaliation.

Obsolete

However, it has been estimated that even this system will be obsolete within five years.

Massive expenditure is therefore necessary precisely at a period of economic crisis. It is at this point that the Soviet bureaucracy, as the main prop of imperialism, lends a helping hand.

The US imperialists know that the bureaucracy is opposed to proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and that it fears the



The first launch of Minuteman at the Vandenberg Air Force base, California, in 1960.

offensive of the East European working class against its own repressive rule.

'Peaceful coexistence' with imperialism now entails closer collaboration between the Soviet leadership and the American ruling class to prevent revolution throughout Europe and to prepare the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution.

It is expected that the USSR will shortly announce its agreement to hold bilateral talks with the US on strategic arms limitation—referred to as SALT.

China

Concerning the possibility of such talks the 'Financial Times' (September 24) commented:

'At the very least, they can hardly avoid discussing China, since it is against a possible threat from China that part of the nuclear force of both sides is directed. In the long term, any bilateral agreement reached would have to take account of China's growing nuclear power—would the agreement be revised, for example, if China's nuclear strength grew faster than the mutual estimates of both sides, or if the Chinese leadership became more aggressive?'

The policies of the Stalinists openly endanger not only the Chinese Revolution but also the conquests of October. The lessons of history prove time and again that such betrayal, far from preserving the status quo, can only lead to war. Today such a war could be final.

The Fourth International, steeled in the struggle against bureaucracy, and now striking hammer blows at the Stalinists internationally will resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership, the crisis of mankind. Socialism not barbarism.

TODAYS TV

B.B.C. 1

9.38 a.m.-12 noon, Schools. 12.30 p.m., Farm Management. 1.0, Cadw Cwmni. 1.30, Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53, News and Weather. 2.05-2.25, Schools. 4.20, Play School. 4.40, Jackanory. 4.55, Blue Peter. 5.20, Journey To The Centre Of The Earth. 5.44, Babar. 5.50, National News and Weather. 6.00, London-Nationwide. 6.45, The Newcomers. 7.05, Top Of The Pops. 7.30, Dad's Army. 8.00, Softly, Softly. 8.50, The Main News and Weather. 9.10, Sportlight With Coleman. 10.00, British By Choice. 10.30, 24 Hours. 11.15, Weatherman. 11.17, Car-Wise.

Regional Programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.0-6.45 p.m., Midlands Today, Look East, Weather, Nationwide. 11.47, News Summary, Weather for the Midlands and East Anglia. North of England: 6.0-6.45 p.m., Look North, Weather, Nationwide. 11.47, Northern News Headlines, Weather. Wales: 2.30-2.50 p.m., Gwlad A Thref. 6.0-6.45, Wales Today, Weather, Nationwide. 6.45-7.05, Heddiw. 10.0-10.30, Tŷpyn O Steil. Scotland: 2.30-2.50 p.m., Around Scotland. 6.0-6.45, Reporting Scotland. 11.47, Epilogue, Scottish News Headlines. Northern Ireland: 2.30-2.50 p.m., For Schools. 6.0-6.45, Scene Around Six. 11.47, Northern Ireland News Headlines, Weather, Road Works Report. South and West: 6.0-6.45 p.m., Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather, Nationwide. 11.47, South and West News Headlines.

B.B.C. 2

11.00-11.20 a.m., Play School. 7.00 p.m., Teaching Adults. 7.30, Newsroom, Weather. 8.00, Call My Bluff. 8.30, The Money Programme. 9.10, John Mortimer: Plays Of Today. 10.30, News Summary, Weather. 10.35, Line-Up.

THAMES

11.0 a.m., Schools. 2.58-3.45 p.m., Racing From Newmarket. 3.55, Face Of The Earth. 4.15, News Headlines. 4.17, Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30, Crossroads. 4.55, The Adventures Of Robin Hood. 5.20, Magpie. 5.50, News From ITN. 6.03, Today. 6.40, Peyton Place. 7.10, 'Schools For Scoundrels' starring Ian Carmichael and Terry Thomas. 9.00, Nearest and Dearest. 9.30, This Week. 10.00, News At Ten. 10.30, Cinema. 11.00, Tales of Edgar Wallace. 12.00, The Church And Its Wealth.

Border TV

1.40 p.m., Schools. 2.58-3.45, Racing From Newmarket. 4.0, Border News Headlines. 4.02, Junkin'. 4.15, Katie Stewart Cooke. 4.40, Once Upon A Time. 4.55, The Adventures Of Robin Hood. 5.20, Magpie. 5.50, National News. 6.0, Border News and Look-around. 6.35, Crossroads. 7.0, The Wild, Wild West. 8.0, Peyton Place. 8.30, Our's Is A Nice House. 9.0, Nearest and Dearest. 9.30, This Week. 10.0, News At Ten and Border Weather. 10.30, Cinema. 11.0, Omri's Burning; play by Welsh writer, Ewart Alexander. 11.55, Border News and Weather.

Westward

11.0 a.m.-12 noon, Schools. 1.40, Schools. 2.58-3.45, Racing From Newmarket. 4.08, Westward News Headlines. 4.10, Peyton Place. 4.38, The Gus Honeybus Show. 4.50, The Flaxton Boys. 5.20, Magpie. 5.50, National News. 6.0, Westward Diary. 6.20, Pett Subject. 6.35, Crossroads. 7.0, The Thursday Film: 'Thunder In The East' starring Alan Ladd and Debra Kerr. 8.30, Miss Westward '69. 9.0, Nearest and Dearest. 9.30, This Week: five years of Labour government. 10.0, News At Ten. 10.30, Cinema. 11.0, Seaway. 11.50, Fair For Life. 11.56, Weather.

Yorkshire

11.0 a.m., Schools. 2.58 p.m., Racing From Newmarket. 4.15, News Headlines. 4.17, Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30, Arthur. 4.55, The Forest Rangers. 5.20, Magpie. 5.50, News. 6.0, Calendar, Weather. 6.30, Castle Haven. 6.55, 'Somewhere In The Night' starring John Hodiak, Nancy Guild, Lloyd Nolan and Richard Conte. 9.0, Nearest and Dearest. 9.30, This Week. 10.0, News At Ten, Weather. 10.30, Cinema. 11.0, A Man Of Our Times. 12 midnight, Late Weather.

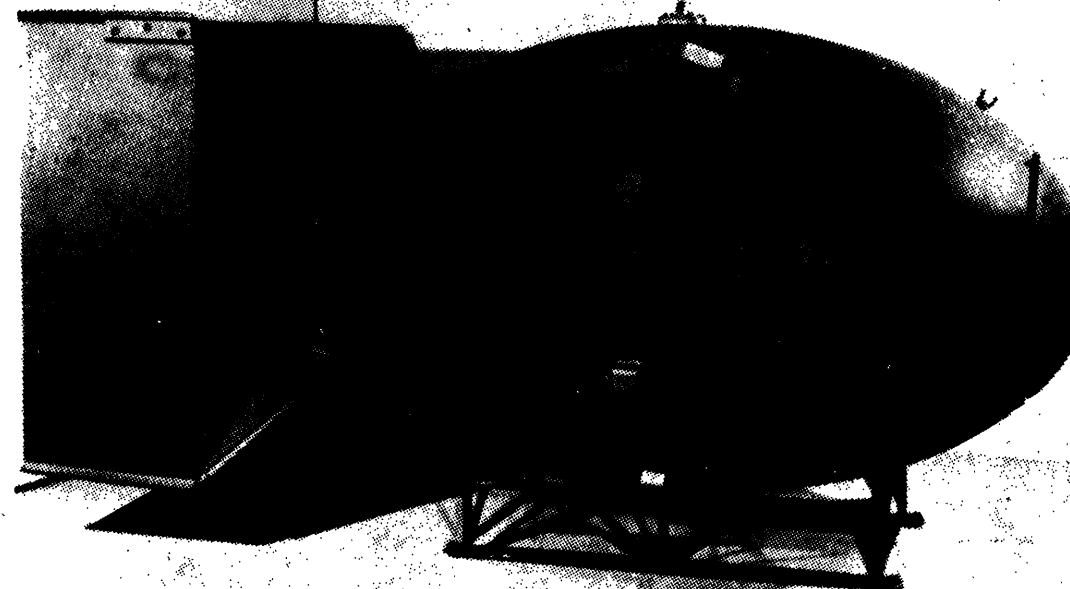
Tyne Tees

11.0 a.m., Schools. 2.58 p.m., Racing From Newmarket. 4.13, North East Newsroom. 4.15, News Headlines. 4.17, Sara and Hopolly. 4.25, Mr Piper. 4.53, North East Newsroom. 4.55, Ivanhoe. 5.20, Magpie. 5.50, News. 6.0, Today At Six. 6.30, Peyton Place. 7.0, Marcus Welby, MD. 8.0, Man In A Suitcase. 9.0, Nearest and Dearest. 9.30, This Week. 10.0, News At Ten. 10.30, Cinema. 11.0, Late News Extra. 11.45, The Samaritan Stopped.

THE POLITICS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

kind. By their nature these systems must have an extremely rapid response. Ideally, the ABMs should be launched immediately the attacking missiles leave the ground.

This is, of course, impossible, but for the system to be successful (in other words



Above: 'Fat Man', the uranium bomb dropped on Nagasaki. It was 11 feet long and had a 60-inch diameter.

EDITORIAL

Unemployment

FROM PAGE ONE

to make workers work faster. Such is the nature of the capitalist crisis and the massive intervention of the state machine in the re-organization of industry, that the opposition of the British-Leyland shop stewards' committee to the threat of sackings means that right from the start they become involved in a political struggle.

And how could it be otherwise?

The fight against unemployment is the most political of all fights today.

If British-Leyland is able to spend £70 million on re-organization of its plant, why is not a portion of that money put to alleviate the hardship of its workers?

Is it not clear that machines are more important to the capitalists than human beings?

It should also be understood that it is impossible for car workers to fight the threat against their standards of living today, isolated as they are in separate factories.

There must be an organization covering all these factories which is prepared to mobilize the maximum strength at the point where it is most needed.

The All Trades Union Alliance is such an organization.

It starts out to organize workers, irrespective of union, on the basis that these workers, when facing unemployment and wage attacks, have common problems that are essentially political.

The ATUA has constantly insisted that political leadership must be built inside the trade unions.

The conference of car workers which will be held in Birmingham on November 8 comes at a most timely moment.

We must now break down the divisions and unite the broad mass of car workers in a common fighting organization.

The Birmingham conference will be a big step forward in this direction.

Yorkshire T.V. profits top £100,000

YORKSHIRE Television profits topped £100,000, despite the collapse of its Emley Moor, Huddersfield, broadcasting mast, it was announced on Tuesday.

Forecast profit was £145,000 for the first year of transmissions. Various factors had cut this projected figure, YTV chairman Sir Richard Graham told shareholders.

Nevertheless, the final profit figures bear witness to the fact that commercial television franchises are still 'licenses to print money'.

All Trades Unions Alliance conference

Motor workers' conference
All car, car components and delivery workers are invited to a motor workers' conference

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth Birmingham
Saturday November 8
2 p.m. to 7 p.m.
Write for credentials to:
R. Parsons,
21 Strawberry Path, Blackbird Leys, Oxford.

Conference fee: 5s. a person

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SHOPKEEPERS FIGHT PARIS POLICE

By a foreign correspondent

PARIS POLICE broke up a 20,000-strong demonstration of small shopkeepers and artisans on Monday night. The trouble began after a meeting was called by the Independent Workers' Action Committee, a body federating about a dozen small traders' organizations.

Under pressure from militants at the meeting, the moderate leaders attempted to lead a march to the local radio station.

After blocking their path, the police charged into the demonstrators. The shopkeepers fought back, hurling paving stones and other missiles.

The rally was called to protest against government financial policies which after the new budget 'squeeze', threaten the 'small man' with extinction.

Germany

These latest riots have great political significance for the working class.

The small proprietied and self-employed section of the French population is about as numerous as the industrial working class and has in the past been a firm supporter of Gaullist or even more right-wing policies.

The pressure that hit the franc last year and which still mounts, has forced the French capitalist class to attack its loyalist supporters.

It was significant that just before de Gaulle's defeat in this year's referendum, small shopkeeper and artisan riots broke out in south-east France, the heart of Gaullist territory.

Significance

In the absence of decisive working-class action against the monopolies, such middle-class ferment can be turned towards fascism and attacks on workers' organizations, as in Germany before 1933.

With a confident French working class after its enormous struggles of last year, there is every opportunity to win these middle sections for joint action against their real enemies—the bankers, the monopolies and the Pompidou government that serves them.

Coventry miners vote to strike

1,200 miners at Coventry colliery unanimously decided to stop work yesterday in support of the Yorkshire miners' pay claim.

National Union of Mine-workers Midlands area executive unanimously voted yesterday to work normally. The Coventry delegate was absent from the meeting.

The National Coal Board says the strike is unofficial and will cost between £8,000 and £10,000 per day due to lost production of approximately 1,800 tons of coal per day.

Soviet bureaucracy comes to Pompidou's aid

IT WAS announced in Moscow on Monday that following talks between French Foreign Minister Schumann and Soviet Communist Party secretary Leonid Brezhnev, three top Soviet leaders (Brezhnev, Prime Minister Kosygin and President Podgorny) will visit France in the near future.

By Robert Black

This comes after confirmation that Pompidou will travel to Moscow some time in 1970.

It was also disclosed in Paris that the French Prime Minister, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, was going to Poland at a date still to be fixed.

By making this open gesture not only to the Kremlin but to one of its most loyal supporters in the invasion of Czechoslovakia last year, the new French government has restored the close working relationship that flourished up to the downfall of de Gaulle.

Cold-shoulder

The Rumanian government, on the other hand, finds itself cold-shouldered by France, even though it favours closer economic and diplomatic ties with the West.

The Soviet bureaucracy has a great deal more to offer the French capitalist class than trade talks.

Despite its initial opposition to the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia, the French Communist Party still looks largely to Moscow for its political line.

In fact it signed the statement issued after the Moscow conference of world Stalinist parties last June.

This, as much as trade relations, is what determines French diplomacy today.

Three times in the past; 1936, 1944-1945 and again in

ATUA meeting

LEICESTER

'Wages battle, unemployment and Workers' Press'

Thursday, October 23, 8 p.m.

Queens Hotel Rutland Street



A demonstration during the earlier days of the tremendous strike and sit-in wave now building up in Italy. The picture shows over 50,000 engineers packed into a Turin square carrying the banners of their towns—most of the leading industrial centres were represented.

Italian strike wave continues

Workers' Press correspondent

ANOTHER round of strikes hit Italy on Monday.

In Naples, striking taxi and bus drivers blocked all the city's main streets by creating traffic jams at strategic points.

Cement workers began a national three-day strike while in Taranto, scene of a recent strike in the huge modern steel works, farmers blocked roads in protest against low milk prices.

In the North, a series of lightning strikes hit the Pirelli plant in Milan.

CHINA PREPARES TO MEET WAR THREAT

By a foreign correspondent

PEKING radio announced on Tuesday new government measures to counter the threat of war with either the Soviet Union or the USA.

Quoting from an article in the latest edition of 'Red Star' (journal of the Peking Revolutionary Committee), the broadcast called for the dispersion of industry.

If it was done effectively, China would have big and small reliable bases scattered all over the country.

Peking radio then gave the following warning: 'Should US imperialism and social imperialism (Chinese term for the Soviet bureaucracy) impose a war on China, she will have greater manoeuvrability. Each locality could conduct war independently, wipe out the enemies, and win the war.'

This basically guerrilla strategy is geared only to warfare with 'conventional' weapons, in which the US and the Kremlin are anyway superior.

Against a nuclear strike, such as that contemplated by the 'hard-line' anti-Chinese faction in the Kremlin and in the Red Army, these measures would prove useless.

International working-class action against the Stalinist and imperialist enemies of the Chinese Revolution remains the only sure defence.

Dustmen

FROM PAGE ONE

corporation employees moved into action to reject the national offer of £2 10s.

On Tuesday, Victor Feather, TUC general secretary was asked to intervene by Mr Michael Morris, Islington Borough Council leader.

If the TUC could not control its members, he said, the council would ask for direct government action.

Wilson has already assured the Tories that troops are ready to break the strike if the employers request it.

They hope to drive the strikers back to work and into negotiations based on the national offer—with productivity strings.

This is why the all-London strike committee's recommendation to begin separate negotiations with local borough councils is so dangerous.

The tremendous national support must be strengthened and built on.

May and June last year, the French ruling class was able to lean on the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy and ensure that, through the leaders of the French Communist Party, working-class revolutionary struggles were broken.

Neither the Kremlin nor Pompidou are likely to discard this strategy now.

Lancaster busmen strike over disciplined driver

Workers' Press correspondent

LANCASTER busmen, employed by Ribble Motors, may be on strike again if the company does not remedy its treatment of a driver who was disciplined for refusing to take out a bus.

The 70 drivers and conductors at the Lancaster depot, who are members of the buses' section of the NUR, walked out on October 3 after the driver had been sent home following his refusal to take out a bus.

Union officials are due to meet the management on Wednesday.

Branch secretary Stanley Kellett has warned that there could be another stoppage if the Ribble management do not pay the driver who was sent home.

Meeting

The busmen allege lack of proper maintenance of the vehicles.

Labour MP for Lancaster,

Students heckle Barbara Castle

By Charles Parfitt

BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Employment and Productivity, had a 'hot' reception from a large audience of students and staff at Lancaster university on Friday.

Hecklers interrupted her when she praised the government's record on housing and education.

Mrs. Castle's remark that the government 'had to have priorities' was greeted with shouts that her priorities were the bankers.

She was also heckled about the incomes policy.

On the question of anti-union legislation she claimed that the government-TUC deal was a success and quoted the 'Daily Express' editorial praising Victor Feather's intervention in the Fleet Street dispute to prove her point.

Regime

An African student asked: 'Why does the Labour government allow the use of British weapons against Biafra whilst at the same time it is against these weapons being used against the Smith regime?'

Mrs Castle did not answer the question. She simply made a remark to the effect that she presumed the question was biased. This brought protests from the audience.

Asked why the government had not introduced any socialist policies, Mrs Castle said that her questioner should 'define his terms' and that she did not know of any satisfactory definition of socialism.

Mrs Castle was the guest of the university Labour Club.

A leaflet, distributed at the

Deflation in U.S. Living costs and unemployment rising continually

By Robert Black

NIXON'S measures against inflation are at last beginning to 'bite', according to the US Labour Department's unemployment figures.

They now stand at 4 per cent of the working population, an increase from 3.5 per cent in only one month.

This sharp increase is what the US government,

employers and bankers have worked for over the last year or more.

Treasury secretary David Kennedy told the Congressional Joint Economic Committee that this rise was acceptable. He refused to regard a level of 6 or even 7 per cent as 'unacceptable'.

RESULTS

Kennedy listed the following results of the Nixon government's anti-inflationary measures (high interest rates, tax surcharges etc):

● A slowing down of the growth rate from 5.1 per cent in 1968 to 2 per cent in the first three quarters of 1969.

● A sharp drop in the sale of goods and services from 20,000 million dollars in the first quarter of 1969 to 16,000 in the second.

● A drop in industrial production in August.

● A fall in the same month in the volume of new orders received by manufacturers for durable goods.

● A fall in unfilled orders for durable goods.

● A 4.6 per cent fall in August for new machinery, suggesting that the demand for capital investment has begun to ease.

● The reported 4 per cent unemployment rate for September, suggesting that the long period of extreme tightness in the labour market may be ending.

These statements are a sharp warning to the US working class.

Unemployment is now going to be used as a whip to drive down their hard-won wages and working conditions.

WEAPON

Though obviously afraid of a large scale recession, the US ruling class is forced to use the weapon of deflation and the sack in its fight to hold up the rate of profit.

(This is already undermined by the steadily spiralling interest rates that have been the outcome of the fight to defend dollar parity.)

This twin fear of inflation and recession is multiplied by the tensions building up in the working class.

'Fortune', the US business magazine, has just published figures that reveal the real position of the US working class:

'After an unparalleled economic boom the average American worker in private industry is slightly worse off today than he was four years ago.'

'Fortune' forces:

'Deep forces are gathering that could make the coming year a time of epic battles between management and labour.'

REBELLIOUS

The magazine speaks of the working class as being in an 'acquisitive and rebellious frame of mind'.

SUPPORT FOR MINERS

FROM PAGE ONE

asking for much—only for a decent standard of living which they haven't got and reasonable hours to work.

Said one surfaceman's wife:

'The men won't bend now. I've been married 25 years and brought up three children on those wages and never had a week's holiday. You just live an existence, hand to mouth—it's disgusting.'

'Ask Mr Wilson if he could live on it with his wife . . . and I've always been a Labour woman.'

'Tell him to come and see me and see if he can live on it. I've been and scrubbed my guts out and taken washing in, over the tub till 12 o'clock at night to earn a few shillings to put a meal on the table.'

Jim Bailey, a conveyor attendant at Prince of Wales colliery, Pontefract, told the Workers Press:

'This strike should be for higher wages as well as hours.'

'A pit-top man should have a lot more than the £13 12s. he gets now.'

'The strike wants making official. I'm a day-

wage man and I have to stay on overtime so I can go out on Saturday—and then I've nothing left for Sunday.'

Many of the miners are bitterly hostile to the local and national union leadership.

As Wheldale belt maintenance man Bill Turner pointed out:

'We ought to sack the lot at Barnsley [Yorkshire NUM headquarters]. Pit-top men should have the same hours as those underground. You just live an existence, hand to mouth—it's disgusting.'

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'While we are on strike the union should demand payment of their claim for £15 on the surface and £16 underground. Also the market men should be paid a minimum of 5s. 2d., no matter what job they are sent to.'

'Men on the surface should work the same hours as those underground.'

Brian Lavery, underground craftsman, Wheldale:

'Rank-and-file miners are putting enormous pressure on their leaders.'

'The Cadeby miners rejected all appeals to return to work and the area council called a strike on surface hours as a way of heading off a big wage demand throughout the coal-field.'

'But this will develop into a broader strike. Demands for a bigger basic wage for surface and underground day wage workers must come.'

'Every other section of workers is demanding wage increases of £3 and £4.'

'Day-wage mine workers, like farm workers, are on a ridiculously low wage.'

Poor leaders

Trevor Parsons, underground development worker at Glasshoughton said surfacemen were fed up with a total wage of £13 12s. 6d.

'They see strikes of dustmen, dockers and car workers for increases of £5-£10 and they think of the poor leadership of the NUM.'

'Cadeby has been on strike for four weeks with no support from the Yorkshire panels.'