

Workers Press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • TUESDAY FEBRUARY 22, 1972 • No. 695 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

THREE JOBLESS MARCHES ON THE WAY

ALL ROADS LEAD TO EMPIRE POOL



ABOVE: BOLD, LANGS. COLLIERY MINERS ACCOMPANY THE LIVERPOOL-LONDON MARCHERS. BELOW: A TRADES COUNCIL DELEGATION HEADS THE GLASGOW-LONDON MARCHERS THROUGH PETERLEE, CO. DURHAM



WEMBLEY, MARCH 12, 1972

THREE Right-to-Work marches from Glasgow, Liverpool and Swansea are now heading towards London for a mass rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12.

Consisting predominantly of unemployed youth, mostly members of the Young Socialists, they are a powerful tribute to the political maturity of the YS since its members were expelled by Wilson and the Labour traitors in 1964.

The amount of political preparation and organization which has gone into making these marches a success is enormous. All the problems and difficulties which are part and parcel of unemployment had to be overcome.

The acquisition of food, clothing and shelter each day and night of the march are only some of the problems which the campaign organizers have had to face.

FORMIDABLE WEATHER

There is also the weather—formidable at this time of the year. On the Glasgow-London route there have been 20-mile stretches in which the marchers have been met with sleet and freezing winds. They've arrived in towns—wet to the skin—where they haven't been certain of a place to sleep.

Such uncertainties have strengthened the marchers. They are fighting for a basic principle of the working class—the right to work! Along the way they were joined by striking miners who were

themselves fighting for a basic principle—the right to a decent wage.

The principles embodied in the Right-to-Work marches and the miners' strike, although being fought for at different levels, prove conclusively that all those opportunists who say the working class and the youth will not fight, have only one task in mind—to weaken the working class. In doing this, they strengthen the capitalist enemy.

In every town and village support for the marchers has been overwhelming from the average trade unionist and, in most cases, their local leaderships. Hostility has come only from the Tories and the Labour right wing. This is as it should be.

Both the Tories and their Labour hirelings are now fighting tooth and nail to hold the working class back. They fear an awakened working class much more than they fear the Tories.

The marchers will enter London on Saturday morning, March 11, and will rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on Sunday, March 12.

MONEY IS NEEDED

Between now and that time a great deal of money is required to provide for their needs. This is money needed in addition to the 10,000 tickets being sold for the Empire Pool.

The Editorial Board of Workers Press not only warmly congratulates the marchers in their struggle for a basic principle, but appeals to every reader of the paper to do something to help the marchers.

You can buy a ticket, and tickets for your friends; you can donate a sum of money, large or small. By assisting in this way you will enjoy good company. Some of the most powerful shop stewards and local branches of trade unions have already contributed generously.

As a trade unionist you should see to it that your branch sends observers to the great rally. Make it known wherever possible. Since we started the daily paper in September 1969, this is our most important appeal ever.

We want help in organizing the greatest political demonstration against this Tory government that has yet been seen in Britain. We look to you, our readers, for a powerful and positive answer.

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AROUND THE WORLD

Bombs rain on NLF as Nixon talks with Chou

BY IAN YEATS

AS CHINESE leaders welcomed US President Nixon and his wife to Peking, six waves of American B-52 bombers launched saturation raids against alleged National Liberation Front bases in S Vietnam.

The NLF has not commented on Nixon's visit, but as the wheels of the Presidential Boeing 707 touched down at Peking airport, guerrillas unleashed rocket attacks on three large US bases near Saigon and shot down two US helicopters. Ignoring the eight-day visit, N Vietnam News Agency quoted Soviet sources condemning Nixon's eight-point peace plan for S Vietnam and urged the nation to persist in its 'struggle for final victory'.

Nixon aims to ease his budget and payments crisis by bargaining for a Chinese sell-out of the war in Indo-China.

He has already turned his back on Taiwan (Chiang Kai-shek has also ignored the visit) Japan and India as first steps in the new courtship welcomed with equal enthusiasm by the Chinese leaders as a means of smashing through the crippling economic development ceiling imposed by their 'isolation'.

With a lengthening record of collaboration with imperialism in Africa, Ceylon and Bangla Desh, China is said to be worried that N Vietnam will openly condemn Nixon's visit and in a bid to forestall any hostile criticism the Foreign Ministry has attacked US bombing in Vietnam.

Meanwhile talks between the so called implacable enemies opened yesterday at Peking's Great Hall of the People, where a state banquet was given last night in Nixon's honour.

Earlier he stepped out of his

aircraft 'Spirit of 76' and was greeted by Premier Chou En-lai and about 20 Chinese government officials backed by a 200-strong guard of honour and a brass band.

Apart from the 100 newsmen, there were no crowds at the airport or along the 18-mile route to Peking where the city's 7 million people were conspicuously absent from the streets as the 20-car motorcade passed by.

Soviet state newspaper 'Pravda' made no comment on the visit—the first by an American head of state since 1949—but Moscow Radio accused Peking of 'splitting the world communist movement'.

Despite Soviet fears of America and China ganging up on her, Nixon's visit marks a decisive phase in the move to collaboration between imperialism and Stalinism already well in hand in Russia and E Europe and now begun in earnest in China and SE Asia.

BISHOP WANTS NEW TALKS



BISHOP MUZOREWA

BISHOP Abel Muzorewa, leader of the African National Council, has called for fresh talks on a new settlement between Britain and Rhodesia if the present terms are rejected.

Speaking on his arrival in Salisbury from an intensive tour of London and New York, he said: 'Everyone I saw seemed to indicate that if there was a rejection there was hope that we could start new negotiations'.

Asked whether his attitude to the proposals had changed as a result of his trip, the Bishop said: 'My answer to the proposals is still "No". But I do see more positive alternatives to the proposals which suggest assurances of security for both the minority and the majority in Rhodesia.'

The welcome for the ANC leader was the biggest African demonstration seen at Salisbury airport for years and at one stage police used canes to beat back a crowd of Africans on the airport's main concourse.

ITALY'S CPers SEEK POPULAR FRONT COVER

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

ITALIAN Communist Party leader Luigi Longo has called for a coalition with the Socialist Party and 'left-wing' Catholics as the only way to solve Italy's government crisis.

The 71-year-old leaders' remarks in an interview with the Stalinist newspaper 'L'Unita' were regarded as the unofficial start of the Communist Party campaign in what are almost certain to be premature general elections this spring.

He said the 80-year-old centre-left alliance of the Socialist Party and the Christian Democrats was dead for all time and reiterated the CP's long-standing call for 'an opening to the left'.

The Italian Communist Party has long sought a Popular Front-type government in alliance with the social-democrats and the left wing of the capitalist parties.

The Party's policy is thoroughly reformist, based on the conception of 'structural reforms' of Italian capitalism. In pursuit of this treacherous goal, the Stalinist leaders have continually restrained and discouraged the militancy of the workers and encouraged a series of protest actions rather than a struggle for power.

Faced with the gravest crisis to hit Italy since the defeat of fascism, Longo is now offering his services to the employing class to head his proposed Popular-Front coalition.

Triumph for Soviet justice

IN ANOTHER triumph for Soviet justice, a Tashkent court has ordered an official to be shot by a firing squad for profiteering, according to a 'Pravda' report.

Ismail Nurmukhmedov, director of a trading organization, was found guilty of an elaborate black market racket. A number of his accomplices were sentenced to long prison terms.

Thousands of roubles in bribes were paid by shop managers for goods in short supply which Nurmukhmedov was able to pro-

cure. They were then sold at black market prices to customers, leaving a handsome personal profit for the managers. The total profits from the racket were estimated at £167,000.

Such rackets are made possible by the scarcity of consumer goods and by the emphasis on the pursuit of personal gain, which Stalinism has always encouraged.

Now the bureaucracy has to clamp down with great ferocity on those in its own ranks who exceed the limits to deflect the anger of the masses.

JAPANESE CASH FOR SIBERIAN OIL PROBE

SOVIET officials are holding talks in Tokyo to negotiate long-term Japanese commercial bank loans for development of the Tyumen oil field in E Siberia.

A 45-member delegation headed by First Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Ivan Semichast-

nov arrived in the Japanese capital on Saturday.

The delegation is holding talks with the powerful Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) headed by Kogoro Uemura.

The plan for joint development of Siberian oil includes building a pipeline from Tyumen to the

port of Nakhodka on the Sea of Japan.

Japanese imperialism has long cast an envious eye over the mineral riches of Siberia and the Soviet government clearly hopes that schemes like the Tyumen development will satisfy the Japanese capitalists' increasing thirst for outlets on the Asian mainland.

COURTROOM ATTACK ON 'WAR CRIMINAL' HUSSEIN

A PLEA for four Palestinians accused of killing Jordanian premier Wasfi Tell turned into a courtroom attack on King Hussein of Jordan in Cairo yesterday.

The former chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Ahmed Shukaify, told the State Security Court: 'An end to the present Jordanian regime means an end to all Arab disasters.'

He said anyone who practised genocide against the Palestinians must be treated as a war criminal, 'even if he is a king'.

The Hashemite dynasty to which Hussein belongs was the main reason behind Arab defeats in their wars with Israel, Shukaify said.

A Libyan and a Kuwaiti lawyer joined Shukaify in condemning the Jordanian regime. The defendants have pleaded

guilty, but say their role in the assassination of Wasfi Tell was that of executioners. When the hearing began they stood in the dock shouting 'Long live Palestine'.

Libyan ruler Muammer Gaddafi has offered his personal surety

for the release of the four defendants and the court is currently considering his request.

The four men are members of the 'Black September' organization, pledged to revenge the wholesale massacres of Palestinian guerrilla fighters in Jordan.

E GERMAN BOSS SELLS SHARES

AN E GERMAN capitalist and Liberal Democratic member of the People's Chamber is to sell his share in a joint-owned weaving factory to the state. Announcing this step, Dr Gottfried Engelmann emphasized that 'private ownership of the means of production in the present phase of development of socialist society was becoming an anachronism and an inhibiting factor'.

Dr Engelmann's decision to stop being a capitalist—though it is not clear what he will do with the proceeds of the sale—came during the Congress of the Liberal Democratic Party which opened in Weimar last Wednesday.

This is a tame bourgeois party which forms part of the ruling National Front dominated by the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party. It represents private businessmen who work in co-operation with state enterprise or continue to carry on small independent firms.

Party secretary Dr Manfred Gerlach, a stooge of the regime, welcomed the fact that many capitalists had decided to sell their part in joint-enterprises to the state. He admitted that 'not all members have as yet grasped that the working class is the decisive social force' and spoke of the need to carry on the 'consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology' and for 'the overcoming of backward views and modes of behaviour'.

WHAT WE THINK

NO COMPLACENCY

THE GREATEST danger following the miners' victory would be a growth of complacency in the working class.

The Tories suffered a set-back, but they are not yet defeated. They are not defeated because, at the point at which the government could have been smashed, the miners' executive decided not to push it over the edge. This allows the Tories—even though they have been forced to concede to the miners—time to recuperate.

They will seek to use this time to prepare harsh measures against effective picketing, vigorous implementation of the Industrial Relations Act and sterner measures to halt other wage claims, while inflation eats away at workers' incomes.

In this situation, the line being pushed in the 'Morning Star' that the Tories are as good as beaten is dangerously misleading.

McGahey, Scottish NUM President and a leading Communist Party member, says: 'We have destroyed the credibility of the government's economic policy... a united trade union movement can defeat any government.'

Jock Kane, another Communist Party member and a member of the NUM National Executive from Yorkshire, is quoted in the 'Morning Star' as saying:

'When the working class is united, it can impose its will even on governments. This government is now rocking. Its policy in regard to the trade unions, and particularly on wages, is in ruins.'

The task facing the working class is not to 'impose its will on' the Tories, but to bring them down.

The lesson of the 1972 miners' strike is that the determination and enormous solidarity of the working class could have brought the Tories down, but was prevented from doing so. By itself, that was not enough. The Tories are still in office today because they were saved by the trade union leaders.

As long as reformist leaders hold back the working class, so long will the ruling class be able to recover from even the most severe set-backs and resume the offensive.

Historically, this is what happened in Germany in 1919, in Italy in 1922 and in Britain in 1925-1926. In each case the working class, when it could have taken power, was held back by its leaders and paid the price in years of suffering—in the first two cases it paid the price of fascism.

The victory of the miners does not lessen but intensifies the need for revolutionary leadership. The Right-to-Work marches and the decision of the Socialist Labour League to form a revolutionary party in 1972 are even more important now than when they were first conceived.

Lynch plans to re-try IRA escapees

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

THE TORIES at Westminster and Stormont have welcomed the decision by the Dublin government to stage re-trials of IRA men who have been freed by district court judges.

The Lynch government is invoking a scarcely-used 1936 Act to bring the acquitted men before a judge and jury.

Attorney-General Mr Desmond O'Malley has also indicated that the government would not rule out 'Special Courts' of three judges if the new measures were not sufficient.

The legal crackdown on the IRA was announced at the weekend at the annual conference of Fianna Fail, Lynch's ruling party.

The conference clearly showed the drift of Lynch's policy: attack the IRA in the republic and start talks with Stormont and Westminster. The 'Irish Times' said yesterday the conference was 'remarkable' for its moderation towards Britain.

The newspaper said: 'Mr Lynch's speech, when viewed in light of the virtual collapse of Anglo-Irish relations since January 30 and Derry, was remarkable for its absence of attacks on Britain or the Unionists, for its appeal for an end to emotional reaction, and for showing moderation on the immediate issue of a United Ireland.'

But it was O'Malley's speech which gave the most glaring indications of Lynch's treacherous plans towards the IRA.

To rousing cheers from his Tory backers, O'Malley said: 'We must deal effectively with the IRA. There will be no ambivalence and no hypocrisy.'

Yesterday the Attorney-General's Department issued summonses against a number of known IRA supporters. In particular, the government is thought to be after 13 Provisionals who were released from a Dundalk court last week through lack of evidence. The men include Martin Meehan and Tony 'Dutch' Doherty, both escapees from Crumlin Rd jail.

The 1936 Act under which Lynch proposes to re-arrest the men was first introduced when de Valera was faced with threats from both the IRA and the fascist-style Blueshirts.

In Belfast yesterday, Ulster premier Brian Faulkner said the measures were 'certainly a step in the right direction'.

Swordsticks take priority

A LABOUR MP is proposing to introduce legislation outlawing Indian swordsticks as 'desperately dangerous and vicious weapons'.

Mr Greville Janner, QC, a Leicester MP, said his Bill would make it an offence to import, manufacture or sell swordsticks in Britain.

Janner recently won a ballot enabling him to bring forward a private member's Bill.

His constituents may well ask why Janner is not using this valuable parliamentary privilege to introduce a Bill which may be of some value to the working class.

Roderick MacFarquhar, the former 'China-watcher' for the 'New Statesman' in Hong Kong, has been selected as Labour parliamentary candidate for Belper, Derbyshire.

He has contested two seats previously—Ealing S in the 1966 General Election and Meriden, Warwickshire, in a by-election in 1968.

Belper was previously held by George Brown, now Lord George-Brown.

ENGINEERS DEMAND EC RESIGNS ON PAY

THE WOODSIDE, Glasgow, branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has passed a resolution condemning the union's executive for abandoning the national pay claim.

The resolution, which is being forwarded to the district committee and the executive council in London, states: 'The abandonment of the national pay claim

by the national committee due to the lack of leadership of the EC represents a cowardly capitulation to the government and its anti-union laws.

'The flinging in of the towel on the national claim in favour of plant bargaining condemns the weakest and poorest organized section of the union to miserable wages.

'The union has thus been fragmented into small groups who are left to fight the employers, government and the anti-union laws in isolation at a time when the maximum national unity of workers is required to defeat the

government and its wages norm. Furthermore the decision is a stab in the back to the strike of the miners who are left to fight the government on their own.

'We consider that those who participated in such a treacherous and cowardly act are not fit to lead. As a matter of urgency we call for the immediate resignation of the EC and the re-election of a new national committee which will unite our membership in a strike alongside the miners for a national claim, the defeat of the Tory government, its wages norm and the anti-union laws.'



THREE OF THE CRUMLIN ROAD ESCAPERS (L. to R.), HUGH McCANN, MARTIN MEEHON AND 'DUTCH' DOHERTY

Comparison of output per worker and per accident for Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, Manufacturing and Pharmaceutical Industries

Year	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing		Manufacturing		Pharmaceuticals	
	Output per worker	Output per accident	Output per worker	Output per accident	Output per worker	Output per accident
1958	85.6	94.2	92.3	113.4	73.4	100.6
1963	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1967	129.7	116.1	110.7	89.6	169.6	120.3
1968						
% Increase from 1958 to 1967	51.5	23.2	19.9	-21.0		
% Increase from 1958 to 1968					131.1	19.6

RESEARCH SHOWS MORE WORK, LESS SAFETY

RECENT research by the Science Policy Unit of Sussex university has proved what most workers suspected, that speed-up has increased the danger of serious accidents at work.

The research analysed changes in output per man in various sectors of British industry to see how they related to changes in risk levels to the workers. By doing this they came up with a rather more sophisticated indicator of risk than the straightforward figure for the number of accidents per industry.

From the output and accident figures for any given industry the Sussex team were able to derive a figure for 'the output per accident'. This figure rises when the tempo of work becomes safer and falls when it becomes less safe. Table 1 summarizes their findings for three major groups of industries.

The findings on the manufacturing industries are particularly important. Over the ten-year period 1958 to 1967, output per worker in the manufacturing industries rose 20 per cent whereas 'output per accident' fell by 21 per cent. Even in those industries boasting an 'improved' safety record, the increase in safety is far slower than the increase in productivity.

The figures so far released are grossed figures covering wide ranges of industries. The comparative figures for increased output and safety for many individual industries have been worked out, but have not yet

been published. It is believed that they highlight the increased rapaciousness of certain industries.

Trade unionists will be well advised to bear such findings well in mind when approached by management for productivity deals.

In the fashionable 'value-free' language of bourgeois sociology, Dr C. Sinclair, leader of the study, comments: 'Increases in social good as indicated solely by considerations of GNP have not been matched by correspondingly good improvements in occupational risk levels'.

In plain language the behaviour pattern of industrialists, fighting to maintain the rate of profit in the period of capitalist crisis, is to throw many workers on the dole and exploit those in work even more ruthlessly, extracting in the process not only more surplus value, but more blood.

WAGE RATES IN DECLINE

FIGURES released by the Department of Employment reveal that, up to the end of January, the percentage increase of basic weekly wage rates over a year ago was declining. The figures are:

August 1971	12.9
September 1971	12.7
October 1971	12.3
November 1971	10.2
December 1971	10.2
January 1972	9.4

Monotype to lay off 10 p.c.

A RECESSION in the printing industry was yesterday blamed by the Monotype Corporation for proposed redundancies involving 160 employees — nearly 10 per cent of its work force at two factories.

Talks have started with the unions on details of the cut-back at the Salford's, near Redhill, Surrey, and the Dunfermline, Scotland, factories.

The company, which makes typesetting and film-setting machines, announced last month a reduction of £172,170 to £665,025 in profits for the year ended September 1971. After tax, the year's profit came out at £343,972, against £412,083.

Right-winger to prosecute pickets

FRANCIS BENNION, director of Freedom under the Law, is planning to prosecute about 20 leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers for criminal conspiracy.

Bennion, a barrister, is closely associated with the right-wing Monday Club. He sprang to national prominence last year when he launched a series of civil prosecutions against Peter Hain, leader of the Stop-the-Tour campaign.

During the Hain case it was revealed that money for the prosecution was raised in S Africa.

Bennion intends to apply for summonses under Section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 at Bow St Court on Friday.

He told a press conference: 'This section makes it illegal to use violence or intimidation or to "watch or beset any factory or other work place". In other words, picketing.'

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!

Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!

DAGENHAM: Wednesday February 23, 8 p.m. Room 11, East Ham Town Hall. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

WILLESDEN: Monday February 28, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW 10. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

W LONDON: Tuesday February 29, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, Kings Cross. 'Crisis of capitalism'.

SW LONDON: Tuesday February 29, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Labour must force a General Election'.

ACTON: Wednesday March 1, 8 p.m. Mechanics Arms, Churchfield Rd, W3. 'Labour must force a General Election'.

LUTON: Thursday March 2, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

SE LONDON: Thursday March 2, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opp New Cross stn). 'The General Strike'.

N LONDON: Thursday March 2, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. 'Building the revolutionary party'.

WORKERS RIGHTS

BY BERNARD FRANKS

THE PLIGHT OF THE PENSIONER

CONTINUED

Pensioners are entitled to money for clothing, bedding, etc. in the same way as the unemployed. They are also entitled to a lump sum to cover emergencies, a new bed, a table, or a chair and extra heating in winter.

The addition can be from a few pence to £3 or more. The average addition in 1970 was 32p.

The 'long-term addition' of 50p included in the supplementary pension payment is reckoned to cover exceptional expenses such as extra heating, a special diet or laundry costs; a ridiculous view, as a quarterly gas or electricity bill in winter can easily exceed £1 a week.

In theory, extra money can be got from the Supplementary Benefits Commission in cases of urgent need, but the wide powers of decision left to the officials means they can always claim that the long-term addition covers any eventuality.

The document which covers the operation of the Social Security system—the 'A' Code—states that 'since the scale rates are intended to cover all normal fuel requirements, it follows that there must be something unusual about a case for extra provision to be required for heating'.

Listed as 'unusual cases' possibly needing extra payment are:

1. A householder or his wife, housebound or unable to go out frequently because of advanced age or chronic poor health.
2. A householder without non-dependants over 21 living with him where (a) the accommodation is damp or otherwise difficult to get adequately warm, or (b) there is no option but to use an expensive type of heating.
3. A non-householder or boarder who is in poor health.
4. Temporary need for extra heating because of illness.

The Code adds: 'When there is a long spell of weather so severe that most people have to spend much more than normal on heating, special help may be needed more generally.'

And clause 2835 of the Code states:

'In this situation officers are expected to make Exceptional Needs payments where necessary either for extra fuel supplies or for other debts which can be attributed to essential expenditure on extra fuel—the rent may have got into arrears or money set aside for clothing may have to be used instead for extra heating.'

Facing winter heating bills can be a terrifying prospect for pensioners. Unlike young people, who may be away from the house at work for a major part of the day, and who can be without heating during the night, the elderly need warmth 24 hours a day.

One expert considers the ideal room temperature should be 70-75 degrees fahrenheit during the day and around 65 degrees at night.

Men and women over 65 are automatically exempt from prescription charges. They have to sign a declaration on the back of the prescription form before handing it to the chemist.

The fact that women are exempt from prescription charges at 65 and not at the retirement age of 60 is a direct discrimination against them. Tory Minister Sir Keith Joseph recently dismissed pensioners' demands on this issue, saying that 'it would be undesirable to create an anomaly by setting a different exemption age for women'.

Similarly, when supplementary pensions were raised, Joseph's reply to demands that a married



couple's increase should be double that of a single person was: 'a married couple should be regarded as a team'.

It would be unfair to wives who have paid full contributions to find that a woman who has not, is getting the same rate he said.

All pensioners are not exempt from dental or optical charges. If they are on supplementary pension or allowance they are automatically entitled to an additional benefit payment to meet charges for dentures, dental treatment or glasses by completing a form from the dentist or optician and sending it to the local Social Security office. Pensioners not on supplementary benefit may still get help with payments on the basis of low income.

Help towards the cost of glasses is usually restricted to the cheapest frames in the National Health Service range (76p) and no aid is given for safety lens charges.

According to clause 3016 of the 'A' Code, payment for installation and rental for a telephone is payable by Social Security where a person may be 'dangerously isolated' without one—that is if the claimant lives alone, is housebound and 'relies entirely on the telephone as the means of contact in an emergency'.

The Code does not include age alone as sufficient reason. It adds 'the risk in such an emergency must be clear cut and thus readily distinguishable

from the risk shared by people in general, e.g. through onset of old age; it could arise on the breakdown of an appliance upon which reliance is placed to preserve life'.

Minimum payment adjustment for people on supplementary pensions is now 30p. For someone whose rent rises by an amount less than this and who has just had a new supplementary pension book, no special action to raise the pension will be taken—there will be a six months' wait before a pensions increase is made to cover the new rent (that is, when a new book is issued).

Even when fully payable, the retirement pension, the supplementary pension and the various allowances have all got one thing in common: at today's cost-of-living level they are totally inadequate to provide for the items they are alleged to cover. At best, pensioners with no other income can try to make do, but many others suffer serious physical and mental distress from the daily struggle to exist.

Other ways of 'getting at' the pensioner are:

The '£1' added to the basic retirement pension in September 1971 turned into only 60p for those also receiving supplementary pension, because 40p was promptly deducted from the supplementary payments.

Women facing continual discrimination in terms of lower wages than men during their working lives find that this

situation is continued into retirement. The reason is that graduated pensions are based on previous levels of earnings, so are consequently lower than for men.

Some pensioners may get a supplementary payment towards a special diet for a specific medical condition or illness such as diabetes or stomach ulcer. But there is no special payment for proper nutritive foods—fresh fruit and vegetables, good quality meat and other high protein food—needed by all pensioners.

Medical experts agree that these foods are very necessary for the elderly, particularly in winter. However, at today's rocketing prices they are totally beyond the income of most retired men and women.

The deduction from supplementary pension by the Social Security office of the amount over £1 given by any organization to a pensioner—if they find out about it—is an exceptionally mean and despicable act. Presents of cash are made precisely to give the pensioner a bit more than usual to buy a few extras beyond the barest necessities required.

The bureaucrats' penny-pinching deductions effectively penalize the worst-off sections of the community and ensure that not even a temporary respite from poverty occurs.

While the social services can certainly do without secret snoopers prying into the personal affairs of single women and others on supplementary benefits,

the periodic visits to the elderly and pensioners in benefit by Ministry officials are an important service until recently largely neglected.

According to the Director of Islington's Social Services, however, the government is planning to cut these visits and 'concentrate instead on new applicants, a policy which, he said, would mean that the elderly 'could literally find themselves left in the cold'.

Many pensioners cannot bring themselves to apply for available awards. The means test, prying, form filling and general condescension of the system stinks of the Poor Law, charity and the workhouse for too many who remember the 1930s.

They would sooner go without, a situation which fits in very well with the Tories' plans to save millions of pounds on social services over the period 1970-1975.

Thousands of workers have tried to prepare for their later years. The 'Age Concern' report shows that supplementary pensioners are certainly not people who have made no provision for retirement, as almost a fifth live in their own house and three out of five have some savings.

But the continuous rise in the cost of living makes the few hundred pounds saved virtually worthless compared with its value when it was originally earned.

The pensioner of 65 and over, born in or before 1907, has lived and fought through two World Wars and the depression years of the 1920s and 1930s. Capitalism, however, gives them no thanks for that.

On the contrary, in an attempt to solve the economic crisis of the system, measures have been taken which specifically depress the condition of the pensioner still further.

Decimalization, entry into the Common Market and introduction of a value-added tax (VAT) are brought together in an attempt to improve the stability and profitability of big business.

But each of these moves directly brings an increase in prices. The working class, particularly those at subsistence level, are therefore the worst hit once more.

Further, the Tories' new National Insurance system is nothing more than a move towards hiving off pensions to 'private enterprise' as a lucrative fund-raising concern for finance and industry.

Industrial action to put out the Tories is right, but the betrayal of the Labour MPs who voted for the Tory Common Market plans must not be forgotten for an instant.

A socialist government elected to replace the Tories must be entirely committed to revoking the Industrial Relations Act, and the Immigration and Common Market legislation.

The Labour traitors must be cleared out from the political and trade union movement.

Everyone reaching pension age must be guaranteed a standard retirement pension tied to the cost of living, which totally obviates the need for Poor Law extras. Also, the best of health service, chiropody, dental, ocular and hearing aid treatment and appliances must be provided free of charge.

Every working man and woman who has contributed a lifetime of labour to society must rightfully be entitled to the best that society can provide and not be callously cast aside; required merely to subsist until dead.

Young and old, trade unionists and pensioners must combine to defeat any attempt to worsen conditions and to win for the pensioners, the sick and the unemployed the support and care which is rightfully theirs.

For those at work, the present government's attempts to hold down wages are only a prelude to using a mass impoverished pool of unemployed to enforce active wage-cutting in the future.

The Tories' plan ruthlessly to exploit and tyrannize the working class must be shattered now. The Socialist Labour League calls on every worker to support the Right-to-Work marches to London organized by the Young Socialists which culminate in a mass rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12.

We must say now that we refuse to let the Tories use unemployment to smash the unions, cut wages, recreate the conditions of the 1930s or take any other action which paves the way for the corporate state and fascism.

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

DISCUSSION ON THE ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE DRAFT MANIFESTO

On November 6 last year a national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance decided to adopt a draft manifesto to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Since the conference a country-wide discussion has been initiated in League branches, in the ATUA, in the Young Socialists and among Workers Press supporters. Until the Right-to-Work rally at Empire Pool, Wembley on March 12, we intend to carry a full page each day devoted to your comments on the Draft Manifesto. We have received more than 100 contributions to this vital discussion. Now we want at least another 100.

Workers and their families, youth, students and the unemployed are all invited to join in this discussion. If you haven't got a copy of the Draft Manifesto write to Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch.

M. BAKSHANDEH
Student, Warwick University,
Coventry

So far as it is interpretive, it seems that there is a serious 'intellectual' confusion, which flows from the fact that many of the key assumptions, concepts and definitions which figure in the so-called 'socialist' movements are arbitrarily implicit and most of all not clearly understood.

The words 'capitalism', 'imperialism', 'fascism', 'socialism', 'social imperialism', etc, appear over and over again in the literature. Yet it is relatively rarely that the exact concepts are understood. Also the terms are often misused or misdefined so as to suit a particular purpose. It is particularly true in the case of those who characterize the Soviet Union as a 'social imperialist' power. For the simplicity of the analysis we shall concentrate primarily on the question of social imperialism.

Accepting imperialism as 'the highest stage of capitalism', it follows that for a system to develop itself to the stage of imperialism, requires a highly advanced capitalist mode of production with its deepest, economic foundation built upon the monopoly form of capitalism.

In the Soviet Union where the means of production have been socialized and the private ownership of such means have been abolished—it follows that the capitalist class is being abolished.

What has happened in the Soviet Union since the Revolution has not been the development of a capitalist class—but the growth of a bureaucratic system appearing in the form of a social stratum acting as a parasite on the working class.



Thus the establishment and growth of the Soviet bureaucracy has led to the present deformed socialist production relationships—organized and built on the Party machinery—the privileged social stratum.)

On the other hand the growth of bureaucracy has forced the deformed socialist state of the Soviet Union to collaborate with the imperialist powers—not due to any ideological wavering or tactical opportunism, but due to the inherent contradictions of the ideological content of Stalinist revisionism.

The historical transformation of the Stalinist policies starting from 'socialism in one country' paved the way for the Soviet bureaucracy to develop itself to the highest point of revisionism: reflecting itself in the crude policies such as 'peaceful co-existence' and 'peaceful road to socialism'.

The doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, being the firm foundation of revolutionary theory, are now being revised, yet the Soviet bureaucracy, along with China and the E European countries, claim the acceptance

of 'everything' in Marxist-Leninism. What they really mean is that they accept 'everything' in Marxism-Leninism except its revolutionary living spirit and its revolutionary methods of class struggle.

Loyalty to Marxist-Leninism in words, but subordination to the imperialist powers in deeds!

In Britain, however, the recent capitalist crisis has brought greater unity between the reformist groups and the bourgeois class. The threat of the capitalist downfall has meant a greater threat to the bureaucratic and bourgeoisified section of the working class.

The reformist and Stalinist bureaucrats, following the bankrupt Stalinist policies, are now preaching to the capitalists and their agents (e.g. Tory and Labour governments) about improving the lot of the workers!! They have abandoned the principles of class struggle in substitution for compromise and class-collaboration.

These disguised servants of the capitalist class, having accepted class collaboration, are now introducing the 'traditional'

chauvinism into the working class. They now want to put the 'Great' back into Britain and 'Keep Britain out of the Common Market'. They do not raise the Marxist-Leninist slogan of the day, i.e. a United Socialist Europe, but instead they call for 'Britain to keep out'. A clear, deliberate act of conspiracy to hide the imperialist, reactionary nature of the existing system.

In practice we observe that the task carried out by the reformists does not push the working class forward—but pulls it back.

Thus reformism, in practice, has expressed the basic bankruptcy of its ideological myth.

It is evident that capitalism is rapidly decaying and is no longer capable of expanding her productive forces. It has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel, unless through severe depression war or other destructive means. It is also evident that the economic crisis itself will not cause the final and eventual downfall of capitalism.

While the working class is disorganized, lacks leadership

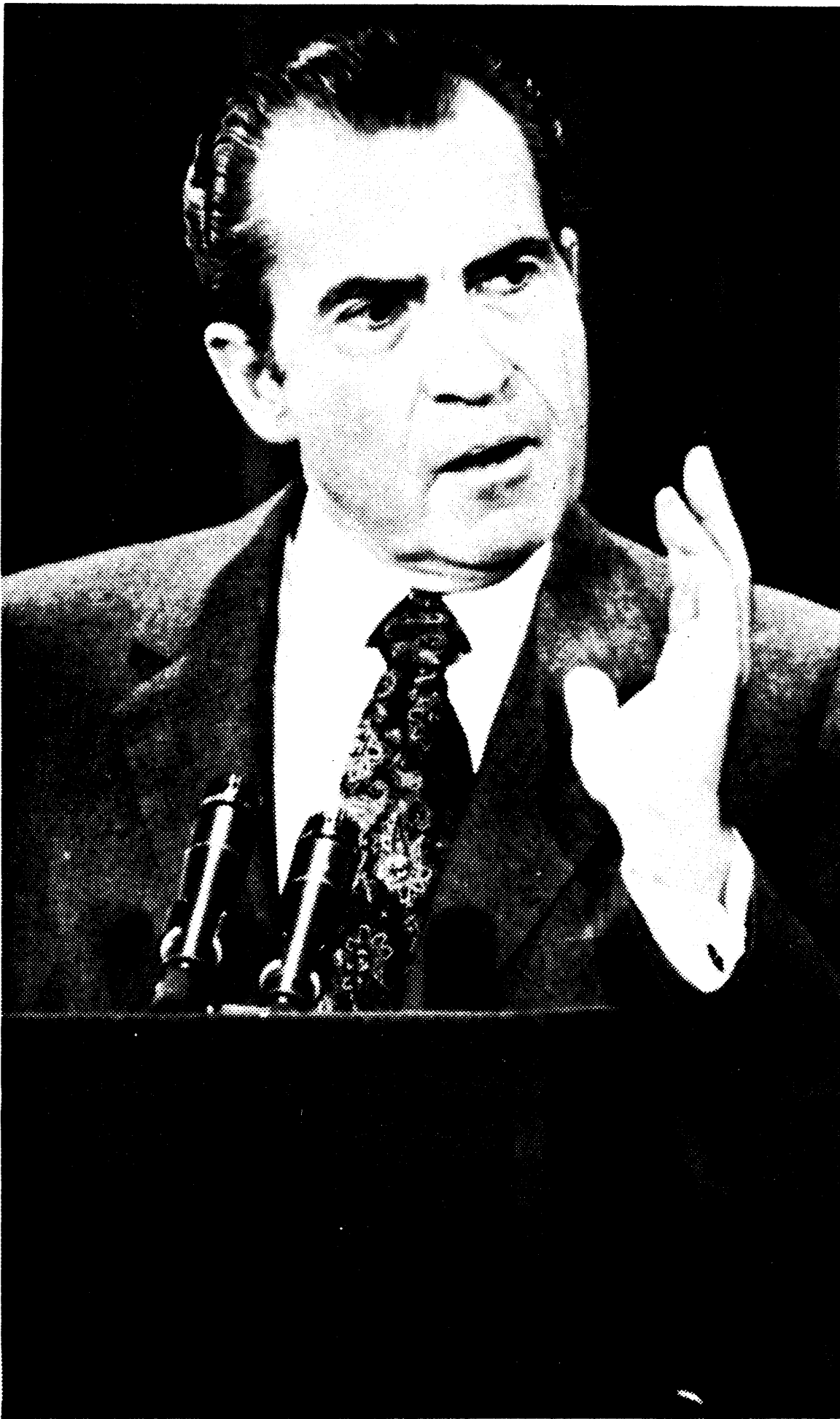
What has happened in the Soviet Union has been the growth of a bureaucratic system acting as a parasite on the working class. Above Stalin, Molotov and Kirov (right) in 1934.

and receives constant heavy blows from within; then the downfall of capitalism is no more than the figment of the 'left' movement's imagination. The capitalist downfall is not natural nor spontaneous!

Capitalism will fall only through a consciously and deliberately organized revolutionary party of the working class—a party which remains the advance guard of the working class and is capable of making every economic struggle necessarily a political struggle so as to lead and not crawl behind the masses.

This is precisely the class essence of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party and the indispensable condition for the downfall of capitalism.

I believe that the foundations of such principles is postulated in the Manifesto.



IN THE YEAR OF THE RAT NIXON MEETS MAO

BY TOM KEMP

The hostility of American imperialism to the Chinese Revolution has been a major factor in world politics since its triumph in 1949. Yet President Nixon began his unprecedented visit to Peking as the honoured guest of Mao Tse-tung yesterday.

Ever since Nixon's laconic announcement of the visit in a TV broadcast on July 15 last year, it has been widely assumed that it will mark a major historical turning point not only for diplomatic relations between the two countries, but for the whole world. Whether this is so will depend upon the outcome of the meeting which Nixon declared 'was to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides'.

The defeat of Chiang Kai-shek was a blow to US ambitions to dominate the Asiatic mainland and the whole Pacific area following the defeat and eclipse of Japan. It was equally unwelcome to the Soviet bureaucracy which saw in the nationalist regime a factor of stability in the Far East and had opposed a bid for power by the Chinese Communist Party.

The period after the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek saw American policy shifting to support for puppet regimes in Asia. The aim was to contain the revolutionary upsurge and prepare for a counter-revolutionary roll back.

The Korean war, in which the S Korean puppet regime was almost destroyed, showed the dangers inherent in this policy and revealed the new strength of China as a military power. The resistance to the French in N Vietnam and subsequently their defeat at Dien Bien Phu and withdrawal forced the Americans to move into SE Asia.

Although unable to defeat China during the Korean war or even to destroy N Korea, the US did not renounce the aim of returning to the Chinese mainland. Military and economic aid on a massive scale was extended to Chiang Kai-shek, whose declared aim this was. China was ringed by American bases at which bombers stood at the ready 24 hours a day poised for atomic attack. The aim was to turn the Pacific into an American lake and to prevent the extension of the revolution anywhere in Asia.

FORMIDABLE

The consolidation of the Chinese Revolution after 1949 and the failure to destroy N Korea obliged the US to build up the Japanese economy, which was later to become a formidable trade rival. A virtual embargo was put on trade with main-

land China, which was treated as a hostile power.

The Maoist bureaucracy in the years after 1949 was forced to depend upon the Soviet Union for technical, economic and military assistance in view of the backwardness of the economy, its isolation from the world market and the danger of US aggression.

US policy at this time assumed that China was virtually a satellite of the Soviet Union or, at least, that the two powers would work closely and harmoniously together.

The seeming identity of interest between the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracy was illusory. Stalin had not wanted the victory of the Chinese Revolution, while Mao Tse-tung could not accept subordination to Russia, especially under Stalin's successors. The different origins and interests of the two bureaucracies led to friction and eventually to split.

While speaking of revolution, the Chinese bureaucracy remained committed to 'peaceful co-existence'. In 1954 it had sponsored the Geneva agreement which brought to an end the struggle of French imperialism to hold on to Indo-China. In Indonesia it supported the Communist Party in its policy of coalition with the national bourgeoisie which finally led to disaster. The reopening of the Vietnam war was more of an embarrassment than an opportunity to spread revolution.

The split with the Soviet Union brought new problems and dangers for the Chinese bureaucracy which aggravated divisions within its ranks and led to Mao's launching of the 'cultural revolution'. The cutting off of Soviet aid was a blow to the economy. The Peoples' Liberation Army had depended upon Soviet supplies of much sophisticated and heavy equipment. Finally, growing tension on the border with the Soviet Union led to bloody clashes. The Soviet Union now has an army of 400,000 equipped with nuclear weapons stationed along the frontier with China.

During the 'cultural revolution' China was driven into a position of dangerous isolation, while, after the Tonkin Bay 'incident', American troops began to pour into S Vietnam. For a time diplomatic links with the capitalist world as well as with E Europe were cut to a minimum. Even Chou En-lai was unable to prevent the cutting off of valuable contacts, which had even included periodical meetings with US representatives in Warsaw.

From 1967 efforts began to be made to mend the bridges which had been broken down during the 'cultural revolution'. The Chinese showed themselves particularly responsive to any initiative from the West. They greatly appreciated the policy of President de Gaulle of France in opposing US domination. The Maoists sent one of the biggest wreaths to his funeral and journalists who have interviewed Chou En-lai remark upon the admiration which he shows for the wily General.

The Chinese attitude towards de Gaulle is a reflection of their basic diplomatic aims which even during the 'cultural revolution' were only overlaid by rhetoric.

What these aims are can be inferred from the Chinese position on concrete political questions, from their actions rather than from their propaganda. The main aim of the Chinese bureaucracy, addicted as it is to the theory of 'socialism in one country', is to ensure the territorial integrity of China. In this they include Taiwan, which is still in the hands of Chiang

Kai-shek, supported by the Americans, and has a small US garrison. It is this aim, not the extension of revolution, which is basic to the policy of the bureaucracy.

American actions after 1949 convinced the Chinese of US imperialism's hostile intent. For this reason the whole propaganda machine was geared to this threat and to preparation for a war with the US.

CO-EXISTENCE

Behind the veneer of Marxist phraseology, however, were the nationalist aims of the Chinese bureaucracy which was never able to make an analysis of modern imperialism. Its desire for 'peaceful co-existence' was always expressed, except at the height of the 'cultural revolution'. What it wants is action by the other side to prove that it is serious in wanting an agreement.

In other words, if it can get some guarantees against encirclement, it is prepared, on the basis of 'normalization', to co-exist with imperialism in the same way as its Soviet counterpart. As a newcomer, nearer to its revolutionary past, which had just overthrown a regime upon which the US had countered as part of its world strategy, the Chinese bureaucracy failed to have its pretension of 'peaceful co-existence' treated seriously.

Indeed, the Americans saw the Chinese People's Republic as an aggressive military power, threatening to US interests, which would one day have to be crushed and should meanwhile be treated as a pariah. This was the official attitude of US policy makers until quite recently, when the Nixon administration, advised by conservative pragmatists like Kissinger, had to reshape policy in the new situation created by the crushing blows in Vietnam.

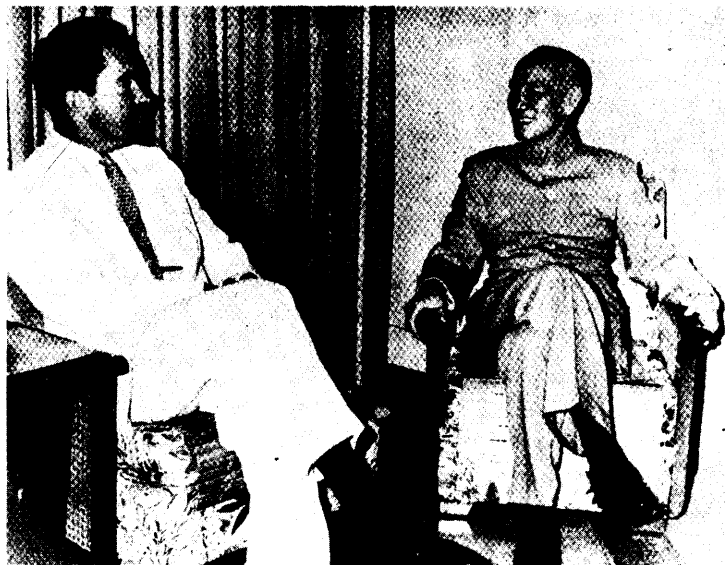
There are a number of reasons why American imperialism should be prepared to do a deal with the Chinese bureaucracy. Above all, there is the failure in Vietnam, which has shown the bankruptcy of opposition to revolution in Asia by military engagement of massive American land forces.

Of similar significance is the hopelessness of the Chiang Kai-shek policy of using Formosa and the off-shore islands for an invasion of the Chinese mainland, a policy which has cost the US thousands of millions of dollars. Ageing and discredited, the generalissimo has no successor and there is no enthusiasm either in Formosa or anywhere else to fight to keep it as an American base.

The collapse of the dollar and the pressure of the world monetary crisis has greatly reduced the room for US manoeuvre. The unpopularity of the Vietnam war, the opposition of the army to this war and its inner decay and the growing internal crisis which the war has aggravated increase the political advantages of a peace initiative; Nixon has been conscious of this ever since he became President.

On the international scene, the US is confronted by the growth of the European Common Market as a rival bloc and by the growing economic strength of Japan in the Pacific. The establishment of normal relations with China opens up new trade prospects, counters dangers from Japan and makes possible the cutting down of military commitments in Asia.

Therefore, without renouncing its long-term counter-revolutionary objectives, American imperialism is considering a pragmatic shift of line. It seeks the complicity of the Chinese bureaucracy in establishing a re-division of Asia on the basis of the existing correlation of forces.



1956: Vice president Nixon with Chiang Kai-shek

It takes into account that the Chinese Revolution cannot be overthrown by methods which have not succeeded in breaking the will of N Vietnam. At the same time it weighs up the weaknesses of China, the threat from the Soviet Union and the desire of the Chinese bureaucracy, after the storms of the 'cultural revolution', for a period of calm to deal with pressing internal problems.

Just how deep and dangerous the internal crisis in China is, or has been, is impossible to say with any degree of accuracy. Strong measures have been taken against some of those who, during the 'cultural revolution', were responsible for breaking China's diplomatic ties with the capitalist world. At the same time, the rumours concerning the fate of Lin Piao point to the existence in the bureaucracy of a wing which wanted to negotiate a settlement with the Soviet Union.

The presumption is, therefore, that the group around Chou En-lai, supported by Mao himself, is ready to do a deal with the capitalist world to enable China to break out of her dangerous isolation. The Chinese, after all, have never abandoned the Stalinist policy of 'peaceful co-existence' which flows from the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

If anything comes of the Nixon visit to China, it can only be on the lines of a kind of Yalta agreement applying to SE Asia and the Pacific zone. This will mean accepting a US sphere of influence and the abandonment of any pretension to give revolutionary leadership in Asia.

It is not difficult to see what the Maoists will seek in return. First there is the restoration of Formosa and the recognition of China's territorial integrity and diplomatic respectability. The admission to the United Nations last November makes this a logical course for the Americans to accept.

More difficult to negotiate will be the withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam and the conclusion of a peace settlement. It is clear that China's allies in Indo-China and in N Korea are apprehensive of a sell-out in both areas.

The Chinese leadership has made virtually no public comment on the prospects for the talks, nor have the popular media said very much about the forthcoming arrival of Nixon. This may be because, after two decades of anti-American propaganda, it is not sure what the effect will be.

For Nixon, with his reputation as a confirmed anti-communist, there is little to be lost from the visit and much to gain. In election year, it puts him squarely in the public eye with a media coverage only paralleled by moon landings.

He will only conclude a deal which is favourable to US imperialism and any improvement in relations or increase in trade which results from the visit will enable it to be proclaimed at least a modest success. If it fails, nothing much will have been lost; it can be conveniently blamed onto the intransigence of the Maoists and will not do Nixon's election prospects any harm.

While the Chinese bureaucracy and US imperialism have a certain common ground in counterbalancing the influence of the Soviet Union, for Nixon a deal with the Soviet Union is incomparably more important than a deal with Peking. He may see Peking as merely a stepping stone to Moscow.

SUPER-POWER

Chou En-lai insists that China is only concerned with Asia and has no ambitions to be a 'super-power'. On this basis he hopes to settle the outstanding problems which have poisoned Sino-American relations and establish a *modus vivendi* in that zone while protecting China against the predation of Japan and the Soviet Union.

Chinese foreign policy has never been a revolutionary, internationalist policy and a deal with American imperialism would represent no change in principle. The Chinese have always wanted to get into 'the thieves' kitchen', the United Nations, to have their rightful place on the Security Council instead of Nationalist China.

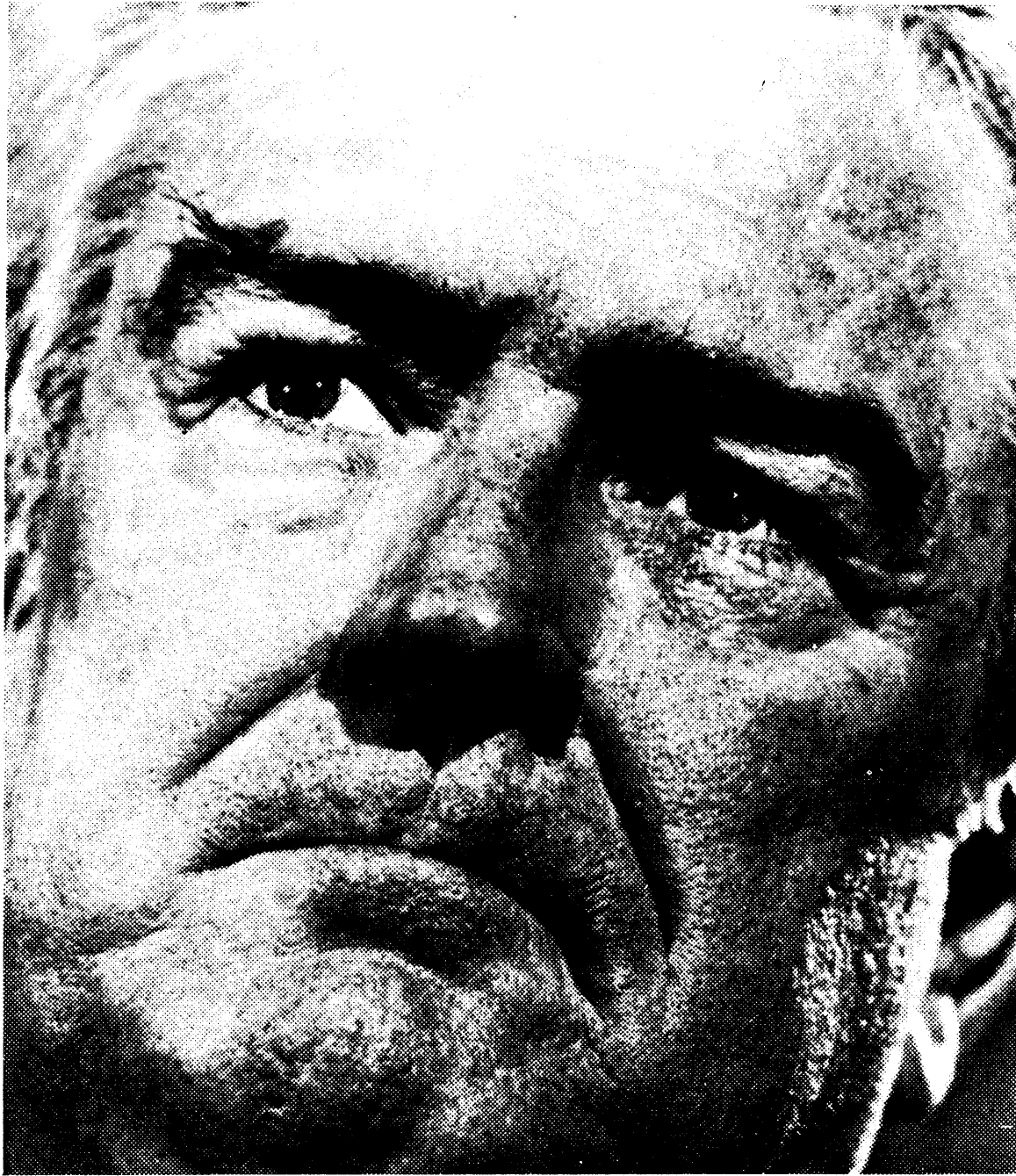
If the Nixon visit proves 'successful', if it results in some kind of pact or deal between Peking and Washington, it will kill any remaining illusions about the revolutionary character of Maoism, the official orthodoxy of the Chinese bureaucracy.



Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek



Lin Piao (right) with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. His fate is still surrounded with rumours



ECONOMIC MIRACLE FOR WHOM?

The United States government regards the Brazilian military dictatorship as a model for the whole of Latin America.

US leaders are delighted with what they call the country's 'economic miracle'.

Treasury secretary John Connally, for example, told a Brazilian economic mission on a recent visit to Washington that he hoped one day the US would be as successful as Brazil.

President Nixon said he was convinced Brazil's policies would one day be followed by the whole of Latin America.

The reasons for the US leaders' pleasure are not far to seek. The much-publicized 'success' in Brazil has been confined almost exclusively to foreign capitalists, with US investors well in the lead.

US money has taken over all the dynamic sectors of Brazil's economy, leaving the native Brazilian businessmen to pick over the remaining scraps.

The Rio de Janeiro newspaper 'Correio de Manhã' complained recently about the reduction in size of Brazilian-owned businesses. 'All the big companies in Brazil are under state control or in foreign hands,' it said.

The article did not point out that the state itself is losing ground and that foreign capital has secured sweeping concessions in sectors of industry that were previously nationalized — the petro-chemical industry for example.

PICTURE

'Hanson's Latin American Letter', a Washington publication which is very influential in business circles, has painted a glowing picture of American investment in Latin American manufacturing industry.

According to Hanson, Brazil and Venezuela show the biggest returns for capital investment in industry. Brazil also tops the list for reinvestment of profits.

Barclays Bank says the 'phenomenal activity on the stock market' is a striking feature of the 'Brazilian economy, with large quantities of domestic and foreign capital being invested in Brazilian companies'.

The Rand Corporation has prepared a report for the State Department on the Latin American military regimes, for circulation to the Nixon administration.

The report will doubtless influence US policy in the area for 1972. It claims Brazil is the Latin American country most likely to become a world power, adding that its success illustrates one of two possible roads for the military dictators of Latin America. The other road is that of Peru.

The Rand study favours the Brazilian road. Though the military rulers have not come out too subserviently in favour of the US, they have accepted huge American loans to build up industry. The US has just lent Brazil \$323m for the development of the steel industry and \$138m to establish a nuclear power plant.

ASSISTANCE

The loans are being provided by the Eximbank (the US foreign trade bank), the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank and private finance houses. Industry Minister Pratini de Moraes has guaranteed that all unfinished steel products will be in the hands of private companies to which the government will give any assistance necessary.

It is not only the world steel barons who have reason to smile at the 'Brazilian miracle'. Last year, for example the computer giant International Business Machines held its annual conference on Brazilian soil. The executives enjoyed their stay at the Sao Paulo Hilton: their company has maintained a 30 per cent annual growth rate in Brazil since 1968.

Big motor firms are in on the act as well. Chrysler recently announced its sales in Brazil had jumped 50 per cent in 1971. Brazilian Chrysler plants aim to capture the Latin American market. Dodge has begun a major advertising campaign in Brazil to try and beat Chrysler to the markets.

Naturally, there is another side to the so-called 'miracle'. This is revealed in a report published from Algiers by the exiled Brazilian Information Front. Their most recent

'Bulletin' points out the steady erosion of workers' living standards under the brutal dictatorship of Garrastazu Medici and his military backers.

Prices are rising at about 20 per cent a year but wages have been held down to a 9 per cent yearly rise. The workers and the huge reserve army of unemployed and under-employed workers in town and country are living worse than ever.

To buy what they bought before the 1964 coup workers ought to earn 240 cruzeiros instead of 180 (per month). The 60 additional cruzeiros which they in fact fail to receive turn into yet more profits for the capitalists and their middle-class hangers on,' the 'Bulletin' says.

Ten years ago, according to a recent study on the economy, the bourgeoisie, which is 1 per cent of the population, received 28 per cent of the national income, with a per capita average of \$8,400.

The upper middle-class (4 per cent of the population), received 16 per cent, with a per capita average of \$1,200. The middle class (15 per cent of the population), obtained 21 per cent, with average income of \$420 a head.

Regularly-employed workers earning the basic wage (30 per cent of the population) took home \$200 a head on average. The so-called 'independent rural and city workers' — comprising fully 50 per cent of Brazil's population — had an average annual income of only \$90 a head.

INCREASED

Ten years later, in 1970, the upper bourgeoisie had increased its take to 30 per cent, the share going to the middle classes had risen to 20-22 per cent and the share of national income going to workers and the unemployed was cut by almost a quarter.

These figures, of course, take no account of the vast sums syphoned off as super-profits by the US monopolies. But one thing is abundantly clear — Brazil's economic miracle is nothing more than the super-exploitation of the working class under a regime of brutal military dictatorship. This is Nixon's model for the rest of Latin America.

WATCH ON EXILES

Chile's Popular government has assured the right-wing Bolivian military dictatorship that it will keep a strict watch on political exiles in Chile.

The promise came in a reply to statements from Colonel Hugo Banzer, the Bolivian ruler, who stated: 'Chile has become a base for political hostility against Bolivia, with encouragement from Cuba.'

Chile's under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, Anibal Palma, hastened to reassure Banzer. He said: 'Chile has been and always will be strict when it comes to demanding of the political exiles in our country a conduct in

keeping with their situation'. Palma indicated that in the specific case of Bolivian exiles: 'We must state that most of them have been granted asylum at the express request of the Bolivian government itself.'

He declared that international and Chilean public opinion is aware that 'the authorities of our country have been severe in controlling the activities of the exiles in Chile'.

He denied Banzer's charges that Bolivian exiles were being trained as urban guerrillas or 'terrorists'.

On this point, he said, the Chilean government will continue to adhere to the basic principles of its international policy — respect for the self-determination of the peoples and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries.

Palma represents a government consisting of representatives from the Communist Party, the social-democrats and the radicals. It is extremely eager to make clear that it has no revolutionary ambitions for the rest of Latin America.

BRAZIL AIDED BANZER COUP

The present Bolivian dictators received arms aid from Brazil for their military coup, according to former Bolivian army chief Luis Reque Teran.

Teran was expelled from Bolivia at the beginning of this month and is now in exile in Buenos Aires. He stated that in August 1971, 15,000 rifles, 500 machine guns and vast amounts of ammunition reached right-wing centres in Bolivia.

The weapons arrived in nine Brazilian air-force planes and were handed over to Colonels Banzer, Suarez and Andre Selich as they launched their coup against the regime of Gen Juan José Torres.

Teran's statement confirms suspicions that the colonels' extreme right-wing regime was installed with CIA help. (The CIA works closely with the Brazilian government.)

The former army chief was himself involved in the coup. He sided with Banzer when it became obvious that the coup would succeed. He is hated by Bolivian workers for his role in leading the fight against the Guevarist guerrillas in 1967.

It was Teran who captured French intellectual Regis Debray, who was later sentenced to 30

years' prison.

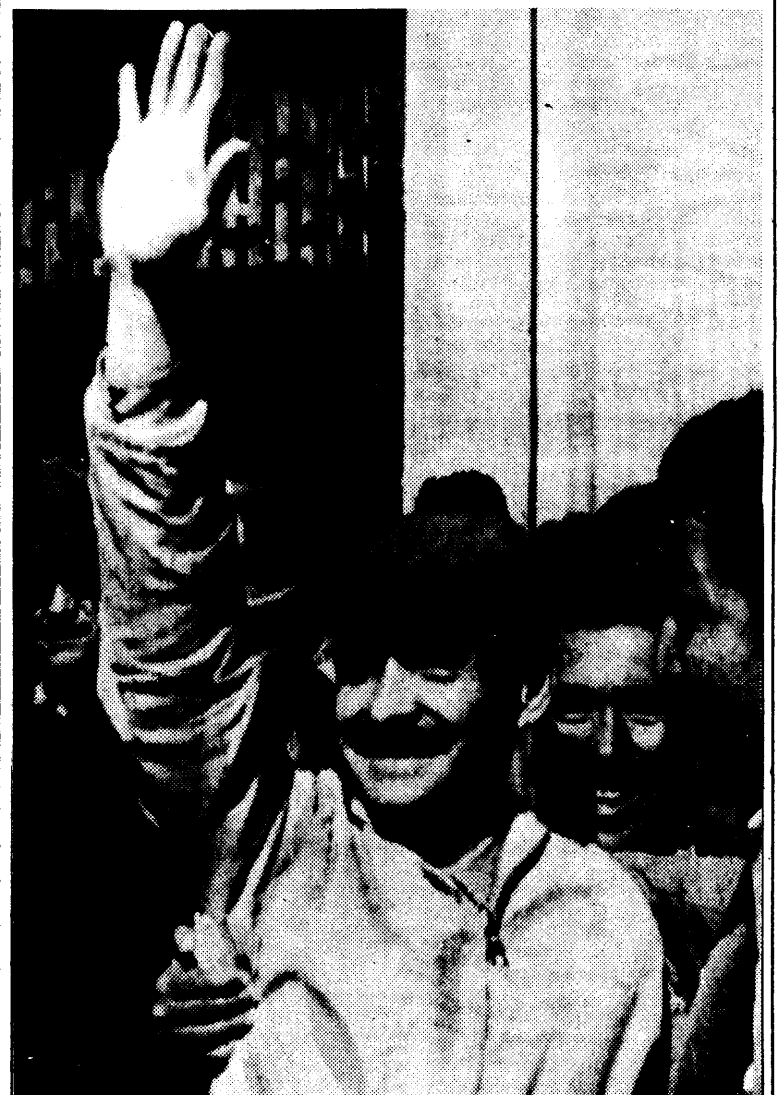
It is not clear why he has now fallen out with the new regime. Banzer claims the former chief of staff misappropriated \$230,000 entrusted to him by the Federal German government.

Teran has replied that the facts of this matter are well known and the issue has simply been raked up to blacken his name.

He now appears to have associated himself with the exiled Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front, embracing all Banzer's opponents, from the revisionist POR, headed by Guillermo Lora, to the Stalinists and the regime's bourgeois enemies.



Torres



Colonel Hugo Banzer

FILM REVIEW

A TRAMP ON THE SHOP FLOOR

GUEST REVIEWER

Chaplin's 'Modern Times' is, without doubt, among the major creative achievements of this century. Released in 1936, it was Chaplin's second sound film (the first being 'City Lights') but preserves all the techniques of the silent movie, including the use of titles. Despite this 'archaism' it remains the most modern of comedies, and one of the most real and beautiful.

Chaplin has always been a great influence, particularly on those seeking to bring strongly socialist content into art. Brecht and Eisenstein in particular acknowledged their debt to him.

This cannot be simply a matter of the 'tramp' character's appeal. After all, the character depended, to a degree, on audience sympathy and identification, so it could hardly be held up as a model of Brecht's ideas on acting.

Brecht insisted that actors should demonstrate the features of the characters they played rather than identifying with them, and said they should seem to quote their lines rather than speaking them as the character might be expected to.

Equally, Eisenstein, who in writings holds up the idea of 'the masses as hero' and rejects the idea of a story based on the adventures of an individual, could hardly justify Chaplin's film according to such principles.

So why was Chaplin important to these other great creators?

Firstly, I think, because of the simplicity and clarity of his approach to film direction. The camera is often still, near enough to the action to show its essentials clearly, but sufficiently distant to keep it in a real context.

Each character and each scene is introduced in simple imagery which remains recognizable in all its various developments, without seeking variety for its own sake—the camera moves only to show the connections between, or the contradictions between, the things that are shown, or to preserve the continuity of reality on the screen.

A few examples might be useful:

1) The capitalist is always shown in the same shot, seated by his monitor television. When we see this image transmitted to the shop floor, it remains the same. We thus see him always as the workers see him—a disembodied figure, issuing commands.

2) The shop floor is introduced by a camera movement which connects the television image of the capitalist (who orders speed-up of production) to the main body of the shop. It moves among the workers, finally coming to rest on an image which includes Charlie and two other workers, all engaged in a frenetic, ballet-like nut screwing routine. They get in each others way, they fall over one another, and they can't get out of the mechanical hand movement habit, so have a hard job trying to eat their food.

Thus Charlie is placed, despite his legendary 'uniqueness', in a context where he is seen as one of many, one of a class.

3) The first time we see him alone is in the washroom, taking a short rest. The camera is very distant, and he seems very small. On the far wall the television image of the capitalist reappears, ordering him back to work, and his class position is instantly re-established—his essential relationship to the audience. Immediately he is no longer alone.

4) Paulette Goddard, a some-



what vagrant girl from the waterfront, is introduced against the background of a moving boat. This simple image of her, repeated and developed throughout the film in various dramatic contexts, seems to convey the essentials of her wayward character in a way that words never could. It goes to the roots of cinema—how to show the inside with a camera that can show only the outside.

5) As Charlie unwittingly leads a march against unemployment, the camera moves along with the whole march, preserving not only the dramatic image of the isolated Charlie, but also the audience's contact with the march, drawing them into it and preserving their contact with it in a precise and unchanging image.

6) Paulette Goddard's father is first introduced as he walks into his house after a day tramping around looking for a job.

The camera is far away so we can see the weariness of his pace. A single close-up as he wipes his forehead is enough to convey his integrity and his frustration. Then, returning to the distant camera angle, we see his children enter to console him.

In roughly 15 seconds, Chaplin has conveyed the degradation of workers and their families during the depression, and has placed the Paulette Goddard character in a context in which we can no longer mistake her for some individualistic lumpen element in the film.

7) At the end of the film, we see Chaplin looking off screen in close-up. We know he is with Paulette Goddard. We expect that the camera will move to show her looking at him. It does move, but she is not looking at him. She is looking at us, and bursts into tears.

This simple gesture speaks volumes about her disillusionment and frustration by using the expectations of the audience. It sets the scene for Chaplin's final confident gesture of hope for the future.

It would be wrong, of course, to say that Chaplin's art is great simply because of its socialist content. It is because of the clarity and reality of this content, the richness of its application in the film, and the control and workmanship which has gone into involving the audience in it, that 'Modern Times' has survived a good 25 years.

Chaplin has done something very interesting—he has made a film of a character everyone thinks of as unique, but by placing him in a class context he has shown how, in the real world, he is not unique at all. This is the real source of the 'tramp's' fascination for audiences, and the source of his influence on socialist artists.

Even so, we have not exhausted the complexity of the character. As in 'Shoulder Arms', the 'tramp' is a political innocent.

He does not want to be drawn into social conflict, but is drawn in willy-nilly. We see him unwittingly leading a march of the unemployed and getting put into prison for it.

In such scenes Chaplin has played the individuality of the 'tramp' against the organized working class, and it is in this, I think, that the source of the richness of the comedy and its real class content lies. The demonstrations in the film hit the spectator with the full force of today's reality, becoming more, rather than less, real with the passing of time, and intrude into the life of the 'tramp' just as the production line did. He participates without learning anything. But the film as a whole transcends this, and brings together a picture of a nation in ferment, with the working class fighting, being beaten by the forces of 'law and order', but fighting on.

Whatever may be said about Chaplin's failure to break away from Stalinism, and his ultimate loss of real faith in the working class after World War II, he was making films with real and continuously relevant class content throughout the darkest days of the working-class struggle. Alone amongst western film makers, he tackled World War I as an imperialist war, and showed its effects on the working class in 'Shoulder Arms', made in 1918.

In 'Modern Times' it hammered the wage-slavery of the production line, the capitalists and their police lackeys, and all the evils of the depression in the year when Hollywood bosses were preparing to stamp out liberal, left-wing protest by imposing the Hollywood Production Code.

A final word about a scene in 'Modern Times' which brings together all the richness and depth of Chaplin's humour. At the end of the production-line scene, Charlie is literally swallowed up by the machine. We see a macabre, funny, and very beautiful ballet as he glides around amongst the cogs, suspending all our disbelief by, simply, an excess of inspiration.

He comes out the other end, and dances around the shop floor, squirting everyone with oil, up to and including the boss (off TV for the first time). The camera glides along with him, obsessed by the improvisatory force of the scene. Charlie is then carted off.

We see a title which dryly informs us that he has had a nervous breakdown. Do I need to say more? The whole of Chaplin—making great art out of real life, making reality out of fantasy, beauty and humour out of tragedy (and the reverse), a picture of class society with a few simple images and the quirks of a single character—all these things make Chaplin what he is—the finest of comic creators, and an artist very much for our own times.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

SEWAGE

The State of Victoria, Australia, plans to rename Elwood Beach, in Melbourne's southern suburbs. It has suggested the beach should in future be known as Prince Charles Beach. The prince actually swam there on his tour of Australia two years ago. He angered the locals by describing the experience as 'like swimming in diluted sewage'.



CENSORED

Why didn't the 'Sunday Times' publish its fully-documented account of the massacre of 13 civilians in Londonderry?

The paper's editor, Harold Evans, was fined £1,000 a couple of years ago after being convicted on a contempt of court charge. He was given a sharp warning by the judges on that occasion.

One senior editor was overheard saying: 'He wasn't afraid to do the six months' jail that they would almost certainly have given him. He was more afraid that he'd lose his job.'

Who are the men on the board of Times Newspapers who apparently worried Evans?

The chairman, Lord Thomson, and his freedom fighting colleagues including Lord Shawcross, Lord Robens and Lord Thomas, formerly Sir Miles Thomas, who was linked with the Mayfair gambling club suspected of Mafia connections.

NASTY

The first feature film ever made about the exploits of an Australian in London will almost certainly be banned in Australia itself. And this will be in spite of the fact that it was the Australian Film Development Council which actually financed the project.

The man who winkled the money out of the council is Bruce Beresford, former leading figure in the British Film Institute. Just as he left Sydney airport to return with the loot, Beresford was warned not to let too many 'colloquialisms' into the script.

Some hope! On returning to Britain Beresford concocted a script with Barry Humphries, the Melbourne-born actor who specializes in sending up Australians. And the central character in the film is Barry Mackerzie, the appalling comic-strip figure who spends his entire life throwing up his lunch and urinating into flower pots.

The Australian film censors, reputed to be among the most rigid on the planet, are expected to recommend that Mackenzie 'doesn't flash his nasty' in any of the prim cinemas Down Under.

WALK-IN

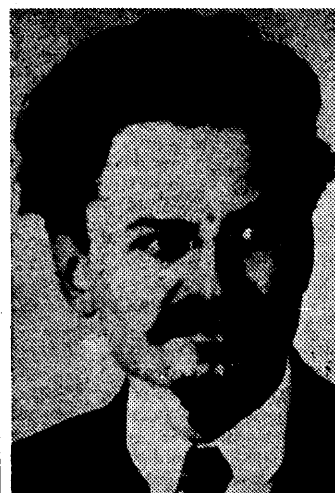
The City of London is upset about a new type of assault—the 'walk-in' thief.

This audacious gent has taken to walking into big offices in the City and lifting anything to hand. The City Police Crime Prevention Unit has reported 700 such thefts last year. That's about two a day.

The most common theft is the lifting of business equipment like typewriters or cash registers. The thieves, posing as workmen, simply enter the office and cart off what they want.

The most daring theft occurred a couple of weeks ago when half a dozen men walked into a large open-plan office and made off with a carpet worth several hundreds of pounds.

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Right-to-Work

DIARY

WE DEMAND
THE
RIGHT
TO
WORK

Jobs marches help construct revolutionary party

THE MINERS' strike has changed the whole course of English history since 1945, Socialist Labour League national secretary Gerry Healy told a rally at St Helens to greet the first leg of the Liverpool-London Right-to-Work march.

'Nothing can be quite the same again in the relationships between the classes. Workers became class conscious during the strike and recognized the main enemy—the Tory government.'

But he warned of the dangers of the Tory counter-attack that had to follow.

'They've got their breathing space. And the trade union leadership have given the Tories time,' said Comrade Healy.

'The miners could have won everything. But their reformist leadership did not want openly to make the Tories resign.'

'That's why the construction of a revolutionary party is so important. It is in this context that the Right-to-Work marches take place.'

'The first major intention of this march is to construct a revolutionary leadership in the trade union and working-class movement. If we do not take up this responsibility, we will suffer a defeat which will make 1926 look microscopic,' he added.

Earlier the Town Hall audience saw a performance of 'The English Revolution'. It immediately warmed to this play which brought out so clearly the lessons of the bourgeois revolution for our struggle in 1972.

The most enthusiastic response came from the marchers. Said Tony Russell from Bootle:

'It showed that what happened there is happening now. The Tories will be beheaded just like Charles I. It will come to a crunch just as it did in Cromwell's days.'

'I always thought actors were top people who didn't care about us. They surprised me tonight and supported us very well,' Tony told me.



PLAYWRIGHT JOHN McGRATH LEADS THE MARCH OUT OF KIRKBY, LANCs.

The marchers from Liverpool received a tremendous welcome outside St Helens. There to greet us were the Pilkington rank-and-file committee and miners from nearby Bold colliery.

It has already been reported that the miners gave £10 towards the campaign. But we got a real lift when we saw 20 to 30 of them waiting for us with their lodge banner to escort us into town.

I spoke to Ted Newley, president of the Lancashire craftsmen's section of the NUM.

'The aims of the march are clear. We want the Tories out. They should have resigned last

Friday when we got our settlement.'

'It is the most reactionary government since 1926. We have set the standard with our strike for the whole trade union movement.'

Jim Fullerton, president of St Helens NUM panel, added: 'We feel we have now won a victory. Now we are determined to lend other sections of the working class, like yourselves, all our support.'

Finally, I must thank on behalf of all of us Kirkby Labour Club for the reception they laid out for us on our midday stop from Liverpool.

NEWCASTLE TRADE UNIONISTS PRAISE MARCHERS' DISCIPLINE AND DEDICATION

THE NEWCASTLE and District Trades Council has passed a resolution complimenting the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work march which passed through the city last week.

An executive committee minute from the council's meeting of

February 17 states: 'The secretary reported that he had met the marchers at Denton Burn and marched with them carrying the trades council banner through Benwell, Elswick to the Central Methodist Church hall where he had arranged accommodation.'

'He paid tribute to their dedication, enthusiasm and disciplined behaviour. It was agreed that a letter in complimentary terms be sent to the march leaders and a letter of thanks to Mr and Mrs Richardson, caretakers of the church hall, for their helpful co-operation.'

'A letter had been received from the ETU (Newcastle E branch) thanking the trades council for their support.'

The minute was sent to the Right-to-Work campaign executive by Mr C. G. Steel, general secretary of the trades council.

The Woodside branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Glasgow, is giving support to the march and making a contribution of £2. Collections will also be undertaken at other branch meetings.

Castleford, Yorkshire, town council has agreed to put up the Glasgow-London marchers for the night on Friday February 25. They will provide them with an evening meal and a breakfast before they set off again on Saturday morning.

The Trades Council in the town has collected £3.80 towards financing the march and has called on all affiliated branches to take collections. The Trades Council is organizing a collection in the town as the march passes through.

Glasshoughton branch of the National Union of Mineworkers has decided to support the march.

Saville miners (NUM branch) from Methley, near Castleford, voted to support the Right-to-Work campaign and agreed in principle that ten delegates should attend the rally.

The AUEW branch at Pollard Bearings, Knottingley, Yorkshire, has donated £5 to the campaign.

LONDON YOUNG SOCIALISTS' Right-to-Work Meetings

Tuesday February 22, 8 p.m.
T&GWU Offices,
173, Clapham Road, SW9

Wednesday February 23, 8 p.m.
Woolwich Town Hall
(public hall)
Market St, SE 18

Thursday February 24, 8 p.m.
Ruskin House,
Coombe Rd,
S Croydon

DAY 15—Hartlepool

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

MARX coined the term lumpen-proletariat. He used it to describe a section of the working class who were driven down by economic deprivation into crime and social degeneration. Eventually they become complete victims of the capitalist system.

Often when the unemployed—and particularly the young unemployed—recount their experiences they describe this process. By joining the march, they have begun an initial break from this danger and are becoming conscious of it.

Eric Kell (17), who has just joined us, left school in Sunderland with an ambition to get a job and money. Enough anyway to give his widowed mother some comfort and to allow him money to spend.

But he was pushed out of the classroom onto the streets of Sunderland where youth unemployment is the highest in England.

For a while he was searching for work. The crowded youth dole was little help.

'You need their green card—that's a recommendation for the

job they send you to—but they never gave me one.

'You're living on £3.60 and you know there's going to be no job. So you just up and wander about the town, looking in the shops. Perhaps at night you will go to a cheap dance—if there is one to break the boredom. Really you're fed up all the time. At the weekend there's nothing to look forward to. You can't go out Friday night with your mates who have wages to spend. Sometimes they buy you a pint or two, but it can't happen every week. You become separated off.'

To break this deadly routine, to strike back at an invisible oppressor, or simply out of sheer boredom the teenager with no job will commit a 'crime'. This might consist of a fight with another youth, petty theft for money.

Eric stole cars. 'I used to drive them around for a while. But I always took them back. I didn't want them. It was just the excitement.'

He was arrested and sent to approved school, then a detention centre. An attempt to escape landed him in borstal.

Borstal and later prison moulds what was a young school-leaver into another personality.

He comes to accept a life of dole, crime and institutions and becomes completely alienated from the labour movement and working class.

Eric told me how this began to happen at his borstal.

'You went in there and from the start they told you who was master. You obeyed them and they had grades to encourage you. The first was Ordinary Grade, the second Training Grade, the third was Senior Grade and then you got the discharge tie when you were due out.'

'Eventually they let me out to sweep the streets in the staff village. This was to put you down and make you feel menial. Especially when the magistrates came, they would see you.'

'When you disobeyed you'd find yourself in the block for punishment. They made you scrub the floor all the day. Sometimes you would stuff Teddy bears.'

'The thing about borstal is not just the toughness, but the



ERIC KELL

monotony and routine. At my place we were one in a cell. The days were all the same. You got to feel strange and different. For example, I used to have good nerves and be confident in front of people. Now I'm very bad, my nerves are bad. I think this was caused by borstal and unemployment.'

The Tories are now attempting to produce a vast new lumpen-proletariat among the youth. A special kind of policeman had been created to deal with this.

The stories of police harassment and brutality on the Tyne match those from Glasgow, and the Vale of Leven. The police arrest arbitrarily in an attempt to force some kind of curfew on youth at night.

In Sunderland, and places like Renton, near Glasgow, youth face immediate arrest simply for standing or walking down the street after certain hours at night.

The fight against the kind of backwardness promoted by the dole, police oppression, borstal is a major issue in getting young workers to fight politically.

DANGERS FACING YOUTH ON THE DOLE

Swansea-London marchers find big response in valleys

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN S WALES

AS WE left the outskirts of Swansea, we passed the site of the Morganite Carbon Ltd plant, where work is to be transferred from Battersea in S London.

This was another warning for the marchers of the techniques used by employers to split the employed from unemployed.

We got a great reception in Skewen, where unemployment has risen rapidly over the last year.

At the Terminus Hotel the landlord and his wife gave us a room and passed the hat round the public bar to support us—and turned out to cheer us into the bargain.

The main employment in the town is at the big new Llandarcy oil-refinery owned by BP. Since the two local collieries—Cefn Coed and Skewen Main—closed some years ago the miners have had to travel to work or leave the industry.

Otherwise workers have a daily journey to Neath, Swansea, or even further afield. For the jobless, of course, even these journeys are a luxury.

Alan Boobier, National Union of Mineworkers' delegate at Tryforgn colliery, in the Dulais valley to the NE of Neath, wished the marchers 'the same success as we had in our strike'.

He told me:

'What we have in common is this: the whole purpose of our strike was to force the Tory government to resign, though that's not to say we weren't militant under Labour.

'We are the workers and that's an end to it. You have to remember that it was the Labour Party who started Heath off with all his policies.

'And though the TUC represents 10 million workers, we've had no lead from there at all.

'We are the majority in this country, but sometimes I can't understand how we've got so low. All we wanted was a living wage, but we had to virtually bring the country to a stop to get it.'

With some feeling, Alan stressed: 'We don't want to just exist all our damn lives. We've got our children coming after us—and this government wants to make them suffer for what our



forefathers had to fight years and years for.'

The marchers were tremendously encouraged by the warm reception they received at Skewen.

Not only were we cheered into the Terminus Hotel by landlord Ernie Burgess and his clients, the whole public bar burst into spontaneous applause when march secretary Clive Norris explained the purpose of the march and offered our thanks.

A generous on-the-spot collection raised £3.97. One regular wanted to hear a song. So we gave him 'The Right-to-Work Song'.

As we left for the last stretch to Neath, saying goodbye to Arnold Wesker who had led the march out of Swansea, Ernie Burgess told me:

'This is the kind of thing we need. There's nothing for youth these days.

'I wish you didn't have to do it, but we all wish you luck.'

Our thanks to Ernie Burgess, Alan Boobier and others at the Terminus.

NEATH is a town with memories of mass unemployment—and they are coming to life again.

In 1935, jobless workers' organized by the Communist Party marched from Neath to London in the search for work.

George Singleton's father was one of them.

Now 52, George remembers the years of depression and doesn't want to return to them. 'As kids we sometimes had to

hang around for the steel workers going home to ask if they had any spare sandwiches.

'Our stomachs were so empty we enjoyed them, too,' he said.

George is a former miner turned electricity worker and in his spare time assistant leader of the Neath Boys' Club, where we spent our second night on the road.

Today he and many other adult workers in the town see their memories revived by the Tory government.

But the Richard, Thomas and Baldwin steelworks are long gone, only a few metal-industry factories remain and the CP is not even leading a 1930s style protest.

Instead the Young Socialists are storming through Wales with their rousing chants of 'We demand the Right to Work! Kick the Tories out!'

Welsh Sundays are not exactly the best time to meet large numbers of people, but by the time we hit Neath, news of the march had travelled far and wide in the labour movement.

A telephone call from Neath to a Ford shop steward, Bernard Pitson, who had helped us in our search for accommodation in Swansea, told us that our brief stop off in Skewen on the way had been discussed at a Ford stewards' meeting that afternoon.

Our thanks to all those at the Neath Boys' Club for their friendly assistance to us.

Because of their toughness, lack of illusions and hatred of the system, these youth can become some of the best political leaders of the future movement.

Eric has joined this fight.

'I heard about the campaign through a dance,' he told me. 'I went because it was a cheap dance. But then some of the organizers started talking to me. I thought the idea of the march was good.'

'I have always been against the Tories, but I don't know much about politics. Generally I feel rage. I get mad when I'm talking to other young people on the dole in Sunderland. I say "You're not just going to take it are you?" They have to fight and I think they will.'

The Glasgow-London marchers send greetings to the other marchers. We hope they have the success we have experienced.

The main response in Hartlepool, a depressed town with 16 per cent unemployment, has come from the Transport and General Workers' Union Steeley branch. They paid for our overnight accommodation in a church hall.

Tomorrow we move on to Middlesbrough.

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TV

BBC

9.38-12.30 Schools. 12.55-1.25 Dechrau canu. 1.30 Andy Pandy. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.55 Schools. 3.45 Rosla and after. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Vision on. 5.20 Motor mouse. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE. Your region tonight.
6.45 QUIZ BALL. Wales v Scotland.
7.05 TOMORROW'S WORLD.
7.30 FILM: 'BREAKOUT'. James Drury, Kathryn Hays, Woody Strode. A convict in a maximum security prison is obsessed with escape.
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.
9.25 THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 'Scramble for Africa'.
10.20 FILM 72.
10.50 24 HOURS.
11.25 VIEWPOINT.
11.45 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-6.30 Open University.
6.35 HANDLING MATERIALS. 'Old Materials—New Methods'.
7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.
8.05 THE SPACE BETWEEN WORDS. 'School'.
9.00 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.
9.25 PLAY: 'JOY'. By Alun Owen. Ian Hendry, Elizabeth Shepherd, Timothy West, Rowena Cooper.
10.50 NEWS ON 2 and weather.
10.55 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Sounds of today's music.

ITV

10.20 Schools. 2.35 Time to remember. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Tea break. 3.45 Matinee. 4.10 Dr Simon Locke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Sooty show. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY. Eamonn Andrews.
6.40 CROSSROADS.
7.05 FILM: 'THE MONK'. George Maharis, Janet Leigh. Mystery set in San Francisco.
8.30 WHICKER'S ORIENT.
9.00 LOVE STORY. 'Never Too Late'. Wendy Hiller, Douglas Wilmer.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 THREE IN A BED.
11.00 DRIVE-IN.
11.30 BEWITCHED. 'Samantha's Wedding Present'.
12.00 THE TEACHERS.

All regions as BBC-1 except:
Wales: 5.20-5.44 Teleweli. 6.00 Wales today. weather. Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 10.20-10.50 Slow centuries of stone. 11.47 Weather.
Scotland: 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland. Nationwide. 10.20-10.50 Capital folk. 11.25 Scottish viewpoint. 11.50 News, weather.
N Ireland: 6.00-6.45 Scene around six, weather. Nationwide. 10.20-

10.50 Derry sound. 11.45 Amateur boxing. News, weather. England: 6.00-6.45 Nationwide. Look North. Midlands today. Look East. Points West. South today. Spotlight SW, weather. 10.20-10.50 MacKenzie Thorpe (North). Long live our England (NW). George Tetley (NE). Contact (Midlands). On camera (E Anglia). It's our orchestra now (West, South, SW). 11.07 News, weather.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 10.20-2.33 London. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Dr Simon Locke. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'When Hell Broke Loose'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Gazette. 11.05 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.25 News. 11.28 Faith for life. 11.33 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Doctor at large. 7.00 Film: 'The Crimson Kimono'. 8.30 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Odd couple. 11.40 Farm progress. 12.10 Weather.

HARLECH: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.50 British Museum. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Y dydd. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Doctor at large. 7.05 Film: 'Cattle Drive'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Goldiggers in London. 11.30 Drive-in. 12.00 Weather.
HTV Channel 10 as above except: 6.01-6.18 Report West.
HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 10.30 Dan sylw. 11.15-11.30 O'r wasg.
HTV West as above except: 6.01-6.35 Report West.

ANGLIA: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.40 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Tea break. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Foreign Exchange'. 8.30 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Mask of the Avenger'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Who knows?

YORKSHIRE: 10.20 London. 2.34 Unit 2. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 Matinee. 3.35 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Dr Simon Locke. 7.00 Film: 'The Hard Man'. 8.30 London. 11.00 My brother's keeper. 11.30 Communicators. 11.55 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 10.20 London. 2.33 Unit 2. 3.05 Pied piper. 3.10 Play with a purpose. 3.35 News. 3.45 Taste and style. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Dr Simon Locke. 7.00 Film: 'The Man From Del Rio'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Snooker. 11.45 News. 12.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.30 Foo foo. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Hogan's heroes. 6.50 Film: 'Mr Belvedere Rings the Bell'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 British Museum.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-3.00 London. 3.38 News. 3.40 Nanny and the professor. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Royal Clansmen. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'You Must Be Joking'. 8.30 London. 11.00 My brother's keeper. 11.35 Living and growing. 12.05 Epilogue.

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Letters turn up — a year late

LETTERS handled by a private post service set up during the postmen's strike have been delivered—a year after they were 'posted'!

170 letters destined for addresses in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire and 'posted' originally in Chelsea have turned up 12 months later in a Battersea letterbox.

So much for private enterprise. Undaunted by this failure, Richard King (30), another of the handful of 'postmen' who sprang up during the six weeks postal strike, has announced plans for a 'permanent' service.

Though the Post Office Corporation remained silent throughout the long and bitter strike, it has now threatened to take legal action against King's 'guerrilla capitalist post office' if he goes on with his plan.

King's 'messengers' are their own employers, without security or protection, and completely dependent on the effort they put in for their take home pay.

King's workforce of ten are very much middle class, so rights and security are not likely to worry them.

King told the press: 'It is our intention to give the public and postal workers the choice of a service and employer they have for too long been denied.'

He is unlikely to find many post workers who want to surrender the benefits of nationalization, whatever the shortcomings, to join his motor cyclist messengers.

DAVIES WARNS COMMONS TORIES MAY TAKE ANTI-PICKET MEASURES

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

IN A COMMONS debate on the miners' strike yesterday, Tory Minister John Davies hinted that top government circles would shortly be considering action to limit picketing.

He said it would be 'about four weeks' before the power situation returned to normal.

Replying to Stephen Hastings (C. Mid Beds), Davies said the picketing during the strike had 'revealed a potential for interference with the life of the nation which few people had anticipated'.

Steps to 'provide some protection for the "community" against such action would have to be considered', Davies continued, 'but it is not a matter for me.'

Employment Secretary Robert Carr told a crowded House: 'It is essential that the country as a whole and all those concerned with pay negotiations should accept that the level of the coal-mining settlement is due to reasons which are exceptional and do not apply to industry generally.'

Carr stressed that the Tory government intended to maintain its opposition to wage increases: 'It will continue to be the basis of the government's firm policy...to ensure continued moderation in wage settlements.'

The result of the miners' ballot is expected by Friday.

In a blatant attempt to influence the outcome of the ballot, Harold Lever, Labour's spokesman on fuel and power, joined Carr in expressing 'Labour's hopes' that the settlement recommended by their

Profiteering from 'emergency' coal alleged

ARTHUR LEWIS, Labour MP for West Ham N, alleged in parliament yesterday that there have been cases of profiteering in coal supply where miners had allowed coal supplies in cases of urgent need.

Tory John Davies claimed that no cases of profiteering had been brought to his notice, but that he would look into any that were.

leaders would be accepted by the miners.

There were 'surprised gasps from both sides of the House' when Tom Swain (Labour, Derbyshire NE) alleged that the miners' settlement was 'the first time in history that a fair deal has been given to workers in the public sector by any government'.



JOHN DAVIES



ROBERT CARR

BLOWS SILENCE TURKISH ACCUSED

A MASS trial of 227 left-wing opponents of the Turkish military dictatorship opened at a martial law court in Ankara yesterday with a flurry of courtroom protests in which guards used truncheons to silence two of the accused.

The military prosecutor is expected to ask for the death penalty for 13 of the defendants and sentences ranging from six months' to 15 years' jail for the others.

The protests broke out in the courtroom, a converted barracks in an army garrison, when the army general presiding as judge asked if the competence of the court was accepted.

Several of the accused leapt to their feet shouting 'Erim fascist' in reference to Prime Minister Nihat Erim. They shouted at the judge flanked by two other military officers: 'You are this fascist government's dogs.'

Troops on guard in the courtroom moved in with truncheons to restore order while others armed with sub-machine guns stood by. The judge ordered a 45-minute adjournment after order was restored.

The chief defendants are charged with leading Dev-Genc (Revolutionary Youth), a military left-wing student organization banned after martial law was declared 11 months ago.

The charge carrying the death sentence alleges attempts to overthrow the constitution by force and to set up a communist regime. Other defendants include teachers and trade unionists charged with aiding the students.

These include Professor Muammer Aksoy, former head of the school of journalism at Ankara University and Mrs Naciye Oncul, former head of an Ankara Teachers' Training school.

Bhutto's police demand union

SEVERAL hundred policemen staged a noisy demonstration in front of the provincial governor's house in Peshawar, Pakistan, yesterday to back demands for more pay and other benefits.

They beat up press photographers and smashed windows of the district court-house before going on to attack a local technical college. The Inspector-General of Police, Muzaffar Khan Bangash, was forced to join the demonstrators.

In defiance of service rules, the police have formed a union for which they are demanding immediate government recognition.

The provincial governor is holding urgent consultations with the central Pakistan security authority.

INDONESIA IN TALKS ON EEC

COMMON Market commissioner Ralf Dahrendorf had talks in Jakarta yesterday on the implications of British entry into the EEC for trade with Indonesia.

The Indonesian military dictatorship is seeking a special relationship with the Common Market.

Since the military coup d'etat against nationalist leader Sukarno eight years ago, the Indonesian regime has cemented extremely close ties with European and American big business. Foreign investment in Indonesian industry is extremely high.

Dahrendorf's talks with the regime's functionaries are aimed at cementing even closer relations with European imperialism.

Bloody Sunday 'not a policy of murder' Widgery told

THE BRITISH army acted 'responsibly' in Londonderry on January 30 when 13 civilians were gunned down, many of them shot in the back.

Mr Brian Gibbens, counsel for the Ministry of Defence, told the Widgery tribunal in Coleraine yesterday that the army had used 'minimum force'.

The soldiers did not fire indiscriminately, he said, nor were they carrying out 'a policy of murder'.

The Lord Chief Justice, Mr Justice Widgery, was hearing the opening submissions into the events of Bloody Sunday which is being boycotted by the N Ireland Civil Rights Association and the relatives of the murdered men.

Counsel to the tribunal, Mr John Stocker, said it was the intention of the court to inquire into the orders and instructions given to the soldiers and to the circumstances that led to the deaths.

He went on: 'It is not for the tribunal to accuse any person or any organization, or indeed to whitewash anyone or any organization.'

He said the army had been criticized on three counts:

- They had fired at random into the streets that were crowded with people.
- They had fired at unarmed civilians.
- The operation launched by the military, by its very nature, was likely to lead to deaths.

In reply the army contended they came under fire first and when they did fire they only aimed at what they believed were gunmen or bombers, Mr Stocker said.

As Mr Stocker spoke, Mr Justice Widgery examined a wooden scale model of the Bogside laid out before him.

When he addressed the court Mr Gibbens described as 'outrageous' allegations that General Ford, Commander of Land Forces in Ulster, had set in operation a plan to wipe out the

IRA without consideration of the marchers.

He said that since accusations had been made against the First Battalion, Parachute Regiment, it was significant that of the 328 officers and men who were in action, only 21 fired any bullets at all.

'Eighteen hundred regular troops were employed of whom only 28 fired any shots and of them 14 fired no more than two shots,' Mr Gibbens said.

When the tribunal adjourned late yesterday Widgery left the building under an armed troop escort. He then flew by helicopter to a secret destination.

The inquiry resumes today.

Brown's pay policy

LORD George-Brown, a Minister at the Board of Trade and Foreign Minister during the last Labour government and former deputy Labour Party leader, suggests a new wages council, formed of trade unionists, which would deal with 'damagingly high pay claims'.

He says the government, together with the National Economic Development Council, should decide each year the percentage the national wages bill should be allowed to climb.

The trade unionists' wages council—to be called the National Council for Regulating Differential Wages—would then recommend to parliament how differentials should be changed within that annual wages bill.

BUKOVSKY'S APPEAL TODAY

AN APPEAL by Vladimir Bukovsky, young Soviet oppositionist sentenced in Moscow last month to a total of 12 years' jail, labour camp and exile, will be heard before the Russian Federation Supreme Court today, according to his friends in Moscow.

Bukovsky (29) was given the maximum possible sentence by a Moscow court for so-called 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. His trial was held in semi-secrecy.

His chief 'crime' in the eyes of the Stalinist bureaucracy was that he championed the cause of the political opponents of the regime held incommunicado in KGB 'mental hospitals' while perfectly sane, in order to make them conform.

FEBRUARY £1,250 FUND NEEDS £464.09 IN 8 DAYS

ALL OUR efforts must turn now to completing February's Fund. This is our final week and our total stands at £785.91.

We have no doubt that you, our readers, will clear our target in time. The enormous support given to all three Right-to-Work marches, now on the road, shows the feeling inside the working class for a fight to defeat this Tory government.

Workers Press, we know, has all your support. Let's therefore try this week to raise a record amount for February's Fund. Press ahead as much as possible and post all donations immediately to:

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

LATE NEWS WEATHER

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION
01-622 7029

EASTERN parts of Britain will be cloudy with a little light rain, drizzle or sleet and fog patches over high ground.

Western parts of Britain will be mainly dry, with a few bright intervals, but perhaps a little rain at times over NW Scotland. It will be generally rather cold.

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Mainly dry. Some drizzle at times in E England. Rather cold in most places.