

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • MONDAY JULY 10, 1972 • No 813 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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TORIES OUT TO SHELVE SCANDAL

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They also reveal the state of the leadership of the Tory Party which is a composition of merchant bankers, real estate agents, construction tycoons and unit trust men.

As the economic situation plunges into crisis, the reality of some of these business associations is revealed in the starkest fashion.

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YS march in west



The Young Socialists' regional Right-to-Work campaign moved to the western region with a march through Bristol last Saturday. See p. 12.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

**URGENT—calling
all trade unionists**

LOBBY

**TUC, Congress House,
Great Russell Street, WC1**

**Wednesday July 12, 9.30 a.m.
BREAK OFF ALL TALKS WITH HEATH!**

RECALL THE TUC!

FORCE THE TORIES TO RESIGN!

Support grows for lobby

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Called by the All Trades Unions Alliance, the purpose of the lobby is to stop the TUC leaders' retreat before the Tories on pay and the Industrial Relations Act.

Its three slogans are 'Break off all talks with Heath!' 'Recall the TUC!' and 'Force the Tories to resign!'

The TUC chiefs will be considering a proposal from Tory premier Edward Heath for a joint working party to work out so-called voluntary alternatives to legislation.

But as Eric Bogle, convenor of the locked-out engineering workers at Stanmore Engineering, London, told Workers Press at the weekend:

'There is no point in talks with Heath. The government has been trying to tie us hand and foot with its anti-union Act. The answer to any call for co-operation by the unions must be a resounding no!'

He expressed support for the lobby, and a group of workers will join the engineering con-

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'The TUC must call action to remove them from office.' He summed up succinctly: 'No Tories means good living.'

Engineering workers from the Midlands pay struggle will also be button-holing their leaders as they arrive for Wednesday's key meeting.

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DOCKS NATIONALIZATION

A VITAL ISSUE

WHAT WE THINK

TODAY three haulage firms begin their House of Lords bid to overturn the Appeal Court judgement that the Transport and General Workers' Union is not responsible for container 'blacking' by its docks stewards.

Tomorrow, Midland Cold Storage, the London warehousing company which won a stop-blacking order from the industrial court on Friday, will seek a similar order in the Chancery Court.

Once again the employers are moving to legally strangle the dockers' fight for jobs.

What is urgently required in this situation is political leadership. To defend jobs, defeat the legal threat and remove the Tory government, which is organizing these attacks, a policy is required for the future of the industry.

This is essential to unite the ports in action and win the support of the other sections of workers involved.

But this kind of leadership and policy are just what is missing at present.

Some hours before the Lords starts its hearing today, the London stewards are expected to step up their blacking campaign by picketing the London International Freight Terminal at Stratford. The stewards who escaped jail for picketing nearby Chobham Farm container depot, Bernie Steer and Vic Turner, say they will not be deterred by the court order at Midland.

Yet simply to continue the black-

ing campaign in this context is only a very partial solution to the problem, and it contains within it a number of very serious dangers.

The first of these is that the dockers will become isolated from other sections of workers. We have already seen protests by T&GWU transport drivers against the picketing. T&GWU members at Chobham Farm took Steer and Turner to court. Now members of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers at Midland, and railwaymen at the Freightliner depot next door to LIFT at Stratford are seriously concerned about their jobs.

The second danger is of splits between the ports themselves. Already dockers in ports such as Felixstowe, which though relatively small are capable of a very high containerized throughput, feel themselves cut off from the struggle in the bigger centres. What is more, a division between the northern ports, who wanted strike action from July 25, and London and Southampton, was in evidence at the last meeting of the national stewards' committee in Birmingham.

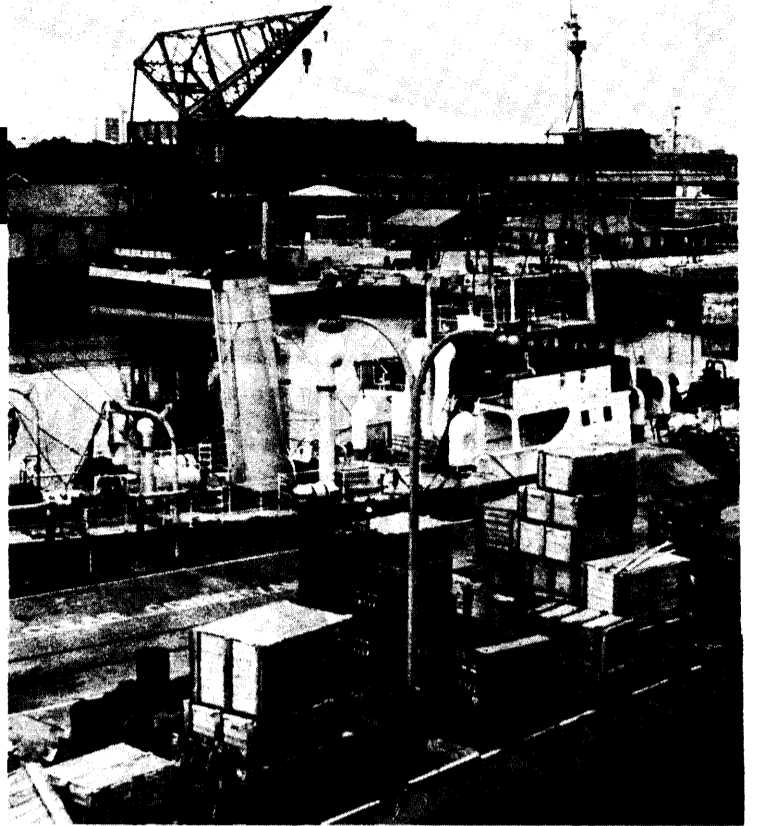
The government and the employers will seek to divide and rule here by preferential treatment as regards jobs—Southampton is an obvious target.

It is in this light that the action of Communist Party members from London docks, in insisting that the national stewards' demand for nationalization under workers' control be shelved, must be considered. Nationalization is the only way the jobs crisis in the ports can come anywhere near solution. Even if every container firm in the country caved in to the stewards, only about 500 jobs would be gained.

The CPers' actions here fit in exactly with the requirements of the reformist T&GWU and Labour leaders.

Since the Tory government came to power, the T&GWU has done nothing to press its official policy for ports nationalization because it knows this would require a fight to remove the Tories from office.

So last week, when the Labour Party published the basis of its future election manifesto, it was able simply to regurgitate its discredited old policy



of nationalizing only 'important' ports and functions. Confusion on this issue in practice amounts to a conspiracy to behead the dockers' struggle and confine it to militant gestures against the Tory

government. United action behind the demand for full nationalization without compensation and under workers' control by the next Labour government is the only way out of the legal jungle.

Trial planned for Yakir?

PYOTR YAKIR, the Soviet historian whose condemnation of Stalinism has struck fear into the hearts of the bureaucracy may have to stand trial.

Under arrest since June 21, although not a word about it has appeared in the Soviet press, he may be charged under article 70 of the Soviet criminal code which covers anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Formal charges will not be lodged until the investigation is completed.

A group of his colleagues have protested at his detention and compared the case with that of Angela Davis. In a letter dated July 1, they call on the public prosecutor to grant bail and offer themselves as guarantors.

In support of Yakir they say: 'The public activities of Pyotr Yakir have been based solely on the concept of the de-Stalinization of our society.'

'Yakir's anti-Stalinism is organically linked with his own past experiences, with his professional role as an historian and with his uncompromising stand in the face of social evil.

'Yakir's activities reflect his convictions and are totally disinterested.'

The signatories of the letter belong to the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights.

They go on: 'We affirm that neither in his words nor in his actions has he ever shown any hostility to Soviet society or our system of government.'

'On the contrary, Yakir's sole aim has been to help promote the democratization of our society.'

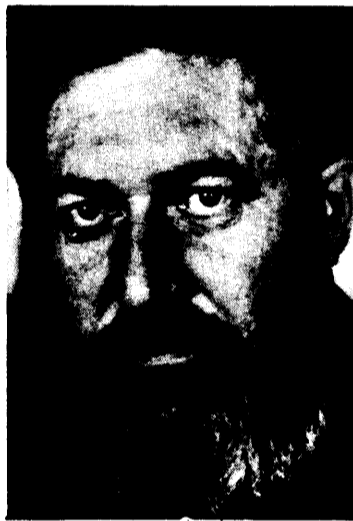
Pyotr Yakir was imprisoned at the age of 14 together with his mother after his father, the brilliant Red Army general Ionas Yakir, had been shot on Stalin's orders at the same time as other members of the general staff.

Pyotr grew up in labour camps and prisons and emerged with a burning hatred of the Stalinist bureaucracy. As a historian he made a close study of the crimes of Stalin. He called for the complete extirpation of Stalinism from Soviet life.

Constant persecution by the KGB (secret police) has been unable to silence Yakir. He has denounced all the political repressions carried out by the bureaucracy and spoken out strongly against the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

A public trial of Yakir would no doubt require first of all that his will be broken. It is probable that he is being subjected not only to constant interrogation but also to shock treatment with drugs.

Another Soviet oppositionist, Valeri Chalidze, an associate of Academician Andrei Sakharov who formed the 'Human Rights



Yakir

Committee', has been warned by the KGB to end his political activities.

Saturday's 'Pravda', the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, carried an editorial which called for tighter ideological discipline. Underlying it is the view that any kind of opposition is anti-Soviet activity and is promoted by western imperialists.

This is clearly intended to smear the Communist opposition which it fears most of all, by connecting it with the nationalist and religious opposition currents which are influenced by capitalist propaganda.

The British Communist Party's 'Morning Star', which reported the measures taken against Soviet biologist Zhores Medvedev to prevent him attending a scientific congress, must be asked to state its position on both cases. General secretary John Gollan and his associates fully supported the execution of Yakir's father: what do they propose to do to win the release of his son?

Bhutto invites Bhashani

PRESIDENT Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has invited the leader of the Bangla Desh National Awami Party, the 87-year-old Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani to visit Pakistan.

In a letter to the opposition leader he says: 'We want the best of relations with East Pakistan.'

Bhutto's People's Party has fully endorsed the Simla 'peace' agreement with Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister. It now has to be ratified by the Pakistan National Assembly.

Troops were called in to Karachi to suppress violent street clashes between rival linguistic factions at the weekend. At least three people are dead and six in hospital with bullet wounds.

The Urdu-speaking section of the city's population, which includes many refugees from India, oppose a bill to make Sindhi the Legion's only official language. Bhutto has appealed for an end to the strife.

China fears reduction in US force

CHINESE leaders are concerned about the weakening of American military strength in relation to that of the Soviet Union.

This is reported by two US Congressmen just back from a ten-day visit to China. Hale Boggs, a Democrat, said Peking officials were very interested in furthering the thaw begun during Nixon's visit.

Gerald Ford, a Republican, said he believed the Chinese did not want the US to withdraw from the Pacific or from any other part of the world. 'They believe our presence is important now and in the future,' he added. 'They believe that withdrawal would create instability.'

The Congressmen, who had had talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, reported by telephone to Nixon directly on their arrival.

Kissinger expects Hanoi compromise

PRESIDENT Nixon's chief foreign policy adviser, Dr Henry Kissinger, said at the weekend that the United States has some reason to believe North Vietnam is now ready to negotiate seriously to end the Vietnam war.

Speaking in San Clemente, California, Kissinger said the past few weeks had been a period of intense diplomatic activity in an effort to break the negotiating deadlock on Vietnam.

The time was now long overdue for serious negotiations and a systematic review of each side's position, he said.

By 'serious' negotiations the US means that the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front must show a willingness to accept a compromise settlement.

The US is returning to the Paris 'peace' talks from which it walked out more than two months ago on the assumption that after intensive softening-up from Moscow and Peking, the Hanoi leaders are ready to modify their demands.

Kissinger said the United States was returning to the negotiating table on the assumption serious negotiations were now possible and added:

'We have some reason to believe that they [the North Vietnamese] will approach these negotiations in something like the same spirit.'

He did not indicate whether the US government believed the Soviet Union and China were seeking to persuade Hanoi to accept a compromise settlement.

But he said it was 'conceivable' these two countries had informed the North Vietnamese of their discussions with the United States on how to end the war.

Kissinger's remarks are a cynical evasion: both bureaucracies have urgent reasons for forcing a rotten compromise on the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

Though there is yet no indication of what the North Vietnamese position will be when the talks resume this week, the treacherous shadow of Nixon's secret discussions with the Stalinist leaders hangs heavily over the negotiations.

Largest US grain sale to USSR

THE LARGEST ever deal for the sale of grain to the Soviet Union has been announced by President Nixon.

Nixon views the agreement as a big step forward in the improvement of commercial relations between the two countries. 'It builds on the accomplishments of the summit meeting in Moscow,' a White House spokesman said.

In the next three years \$750m worth of American grain will be supplied under the export credit programme of the US Agriculture Department.

The bureaucracy urgently needs grain because of the

agricultural crisis, aggravated by the damage to this year's winter wheat crop. For the US it provides a way of disposing of unwanted produce which would otherwise clog the market.

The deal will make its contribution to continued inflation in the US because it puts money into the hands of farmers and dealers without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods.

Briefly...

GERMAN POLICE captured two more of the Baader-Meinhof group in Offenbach on Saturday. Klaus Juenschke and Irmgard Moeller were picked up in the street. They carried loaded pistols but there was no shooting. ● See pp. 6 & 7 for special article on the group.

THE NEW Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka may be forced to call an early election owing to a factional split in the ruling party.

Elections are not due before 1975. Tanaka has gone ahead with drafting the policy of his government which will have to deal with the economic depression and the pressure for a yen revaluation.



Leeds clothing workers on strike in February 1970 for better pay and conditions

TWILIGHT WORLD OF RAG TRADE

If one industry has maintained its 19th century reputation it is clothing—the land of the sweatshops and wretched conditions.

The 370,000 workers in the main are employed in tiny, dilapidated establishments in the twilight areas of the cities.

It has always been the case that the firms would seek out the immigrant workers of the day to labour in their factories.

In the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries it was the Jewish immigrants from central Europe who maintained the industry in areas like the East End of London.

Today they have been largely replaced by Pakistani, Bengali and West Indian workers.

The clothing industry employs over three times as many women as men, 295,000 against just 79,000 male workers.

On top of this the workforce is poorly organized. The National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers can only boast a membership of 110,000. Between them the clothing unions represent under half of the total workforce.

All these conditions make the clothing industry still one of the most notorious as far as employment and conditions

are concerned.

There is no such thing as stability for many of the workers. Trade is liable to violent seasonal fluctuations which immediately lead to short-time or sackings.

In 1970, according to the 'New Earnings Survey', the national weekly wage for all males over 21 engaged in full-time manual work was estimated at £26.20 gross. For females the figure was £12.90.

The same survey quoted the average rates of pay for the clothing industry as being £18.20 for male workers and just £12 gross for women workers.

The meagre wage rates laid down by the various wages councils in the industry go largely unchallenged by the unions. Nor is there much fight put up against the various violations of working regulations.

Many workers are unaware of their rights to go to the factory inspectorate with complaints. So many factories get away with operating illegally.

In April 1971, a small survey was conducted in South-hall, Middlesex, to investigate complaints about low pay at a local foundation garment factory. The results have just been published.

The factory had 120 women workers—mostly Punjabis from India and East Africa.

Everyone was involved in brassiere-making on one or

other of three different types of machine—flat, zig-zag and special.

Much of the work comes from contract work, tendered out by well-known chain stores.

Of the 25 women interviewed, the highest paid earned £18 a week take-home pay; the lowest amount was a fantastic £5. The average pay worked out at £9.70 a week.

Most were on a piecework basis, but the rates were only agreed after the product had been turned out.

Wages in the factory were at that time governed by the wages council for the corset trade regulation k68. Since none of those interviewed included learners or workers under 18 years old, their earnings were governed by the agreement's statutory remuneration section, part 2 clause 2.

This stipulated the payment of a minimum of 27.08p per hour, or £11.10 gross a week, irrespective of being employed on a time rate or piecework basis.

Earnings of those in the factory for less than two years fell well below the statutory minimum, averaging about £8.45 take-home.

If the survey proves one thing, it is that the tailoring and clothing shops have not changed. They remain the workshops of cheap and sweated labour.

GRADUATE TO THE DOLE

A growth in graduate unemployment which will leave 13 per cent of this year's graduates without jobs is anticipated in figures published recently by the Department of Employment.

This means that 10,000 of those receiving degrees after their final exams will still not have found a job by Christmas. This does not include the fact that many of last year's graduates will be in the same boat. No one apparently knows the total of post-graduate unemployment, which a few years ago was negligible.

As the output of degree-holders rises year by year, firms which customarily employ graduates are making big cutbacks. This includes scientists and technicians as well as arts graduates. Openings in teaching and public employment are also shrinking.

The Department estimates that business will take 2 per cent fewer from the universities and polytechnics and public services 3 per cent less than last year. It estimates that 10,000 idle graduates represent a 'lost' investment of around £50m.

EXPECTATIONS

Appointments Officers in the universities are harassed by demands from students who fear the dole queue as a graduation present. They have been warning university teachers to 'lower their students' expectations of the kind of jobs they are likely to get. At one time a science graduate could walk into a good job with little difficulty and even arts graduates could fall back on teaching.

These days are over. Students who once expected to get into the administrative branch of the civil service are now happy to get into the executive branch.

Teacher-training colleges and university departments of education are swamped with applicants who would otherwise have gone into other occupations. Teaching posts are more anxiously sought after and filled more selectively.

PROSPECTS

In higher education every vacant post now attracts shoals of well-qualified applicants, often with post-graduate qualifications. At the same time, universities are expected to reduce staff recruitment by one-third while other sectors of higher education, including polytechnics, are not likely to increase their intake of graduates this year.

Job prospects for graduates have never been worse, certainly since the war and perhaps including the 1930s when far fewer people had university degrees.

Not only do many not have jobs at all, but a far larger number is forced to take jobs well below the pay and status that graduate holders are qualified for.

The existence of a mass of unemployed, dissatisfied but highly-educated people, has always been recognized as an explosive factor. An aspect of the proletarianization of the middle class, which is speeded up by the crisis of capitalism, it carries the danger that these strata will be a recruiting ground for fascist movements if they are not attracted by firm revolutionary leadership to the working-class movement.

BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
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ARGENTINE MINERS STAGE HUNGER MARCH

BY IAN YEATS

The small Andean mining town of Malargue in western Argentina is all but snowbound.

The sky is grey, the mountains stark. Last week with temperatures 15 degrees below freezing a straggling column formed up in the streets.

Normally the men would be at work in the Santa Cruz Manganese mine on which the town's 11,000 inhabitants are completely dependent. Last week it closed for good.

The black lines of marchers moved off across the snow. Behind them, in trucks were their wives and children, food and supplies.

In front of them was a 250-mile trek to the provincial capital of Mendoza to demand jobs and food.

After about 40 miles the column reached the town of San Rafael. Meetings were held. When they moved off 1,000 more jobless miners fell in behind.

Workers all along the route came forward with food and supplies for the 'hunger march', now nearly 2,000-strong.

Back in Malargue it was decided that a mass rally should be called to discuss the situation.

Three thousand people took to the streets. The local radio station was seized and renamed 'Voice of the People'.

As news about the rally was broadcast thousands more left their homes and gathered for a meeting claimed as the biggest in the region's history.

Workers stormed the town hall and the mayor promptly resigned. Other public buildings were also brought under occupation and roads in and

out of the town were blocked.

A people's government was set up and a General Strike call, obeyed down to the last man and boy, turned Malargue into a ghost town in the snow.

Back in Buenos Aires President General Alejandro Lanusse sifted through reports of persistent rioting in a dozen Argentine cities.

In Buenos Aires itself troops battled with student demonstrators struggling to reach the prison ship 'Granaderos'.

At La Plata, Cordoba, and almost every other major city in Argentina, martial law was clamped down after students and workers demonstrated in the streets and occupied college buildings and factories.

President General Lanusse decided the people's government and the free elections



Top right: Peron—running for Presidency. Above: General Lanusse—brought in military control

scheduled for Malargue had to be stopped and by mid-week the town too was under military control.

Meanwhile the hunger march arrived in Mendoza with



many of the miners and their families underfed and suffering from colds and a few cases of pneumonia.

There they are camped, awaiting the authorities' response.

Argentina has been torn by strikes and riots for a fortnight and this week the country's 300,000 teachers are planning a pay strike.

The Argentine economy is in steep crisis with mounting unemployment and mass poverty among workers and peasants.

As the time nears for the military dictatorship to hand over to civilian rule for the

first time since 1955 the Peronist CGT (General Labour Confederation) is deeply split.

There is a wide rift between the rank and file and the collaborationist leadership. So-called left Peronists have been in the vanguard of the recent wave of riots.

In restoring the 79-year-old ex-dictator's rights in Argentina—allowing him to run for either he, or someone acting the presidency in the forthcoming elections—the military regime may be hoping that in his name, will be able to restore 'order' to wide sections of the working class.

SCOT MEETS GREEKS

The latest information bulletin published by the Greek government records an intriguing visit paid to Athens by the former Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James McKay.

When we checked with councillors in Edinburgh last week little was known of the visit. McKay went there in April, a month before the local authority elections. Now he and his fellow Tories have been ousted and a Labour-Liberal coalition is in charge.

The Greek publicity machine is not oiled too well and Sir James appears in the article as 'Mr Mac High'.

During his stay he was presented with the Golden Medal of Honour of the city of Athens in an affectionate ceremony which was attended by the vice president of the military regime, Mr. S. Pattakos.

Unmoved by the fact that large numbers of political prisoners are being tortured in the nearby jails, McKay told his hosts: 'We believe that with our visit here we are opening a new way for the citizens of the two cities, as well as for the citizens of our countries.'

He said Edinburgh had been described as the 'Athens of the North' and that it was 'deeply indebted to Athens and the Greek civilization'.

KILLER KILLED

Oliviero Castaneda, one of Guatemala's most dreaded torturers and killers, was shot down as he sat with his family having a meal in a Guatemala City restaurant on Sunday June 25.

Castaneda was a personal friend of Guatemalan President General Carlos Arana Osorio and leader of the ruling party.

At the memorial meeting held in the Congress while his body lay in state nearby, the President declared cynically 'as always we repudiate violence in all its manifestations'.

General Osorio seized power at the head of the so-called National Liberation Movement in 1968. Since then the country has lived under a bloody repression which has cost thousands of lives. Castaneda boasted of his repression of the peasantry who occupied lands under the agrarian reforms of the Arbenz regime.

The opposition accuses him of participation in hundreds of tortures. He personally led the murder of labour and peasant leaders in 1968 whose bodies were thrown into the Pacific. He boasted of taking part in the 'pacification' of the Zacapa region which cost over 6,000 lives.

Knowing that he was on the death list of the urban guerrillas, Castaneda led an almost underground existence, rarely went about in public and was always accompanied by bodyguards. On June 25 he made a fatal mistake. Two men entered the restaurant where he was seated, fired two shots at close range and made off in a waiting car.

One butcher is dead, but the regime of butchers remains. Trade unionists, students and oppositionists of all kinds continue to 'disappear' or their bullet-ridden bodies are found by the roadside.

GET NEARER TO GOD, SAYS VICAR

BY TOM KEMP

The religious views of President Richard Nixon have come under scrutiny by a clergyman from Princeton University, the Rev Charles Henderson... and found wanting.

Nixon is wont to justify his most reactionary and sanguinary measures with an appeal to spiritual and moral values. To pull out of South Vietnam, he says, would be 'a renunciation of our morality'.

His views on drugs, sex, law and order are all clothed in an aura of moral and even religious self-righteousness.

All this, says Henderson, is inadequate. Nixon represents the old Protestant ethic of hard work (has he ever done any?), competitive individual effort and puritanism of the Billy Graham variety. But this 'is a religion of a fading majority'.

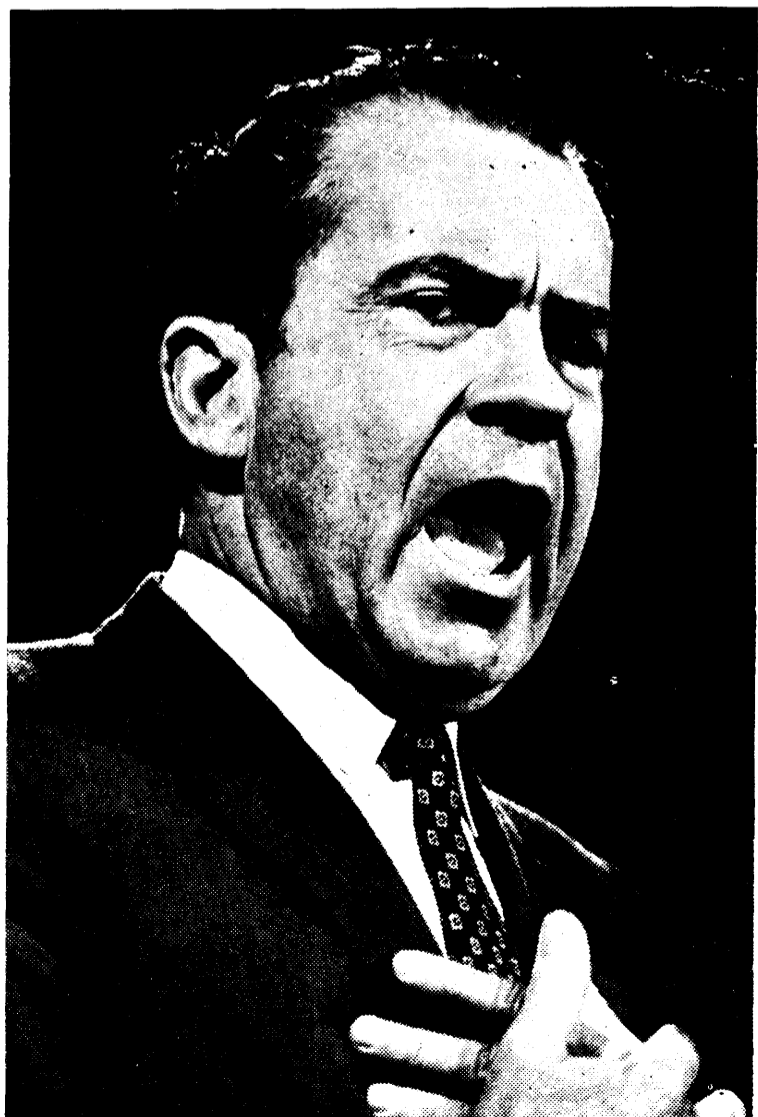
Henderson calls for some hotbed religion more closely attuned to the youth and able to have a wider appeal. He

says: 'The tragedy of Mr Nixon is not that of an evil man who has abandoned the public trust, but rather that of a moral man whose most cherished ideals are not commensurate with the realities of the time.'

Rather should we say that Nixon's sanctimonious hypocrisy represents one aspect of capitalism in decay while Henderson's call for 'a new constellation of values' based on a broader morality represents another.

The declining force of the Nixon ideology actually reveals the moral bankruptcy of the class system which he represents, dominated by a competitive struggle for the Almighty Dollar. This god is now being shaken to its foundations, both by the breakdown of the monetary system of which it was the centre and by the crisis at home.

The old landmarks by which the ruling class of America traced its course are being torn up. Henderson's attempt to stake out new ones reflects the desperate crisis which it confronts.



FROM THE FIRST COALITION TO THE SECOND 1964-1970

A special background series examining the class struggle in Ceylon from 1964 to the present day. Part one.

The coalition government which came to power in Ceylon in May 1970 was a crisis government from its very beginning.

The main reason for its election was the great betrayal of the massive working-class movement for 21 demands of basic, democratic rights six years previously in 1964.

This betrayal was carried out by the now reformist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Communist Party and trade union leaders.

1964 was a very decisive year for Ceylonese capitalism. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party government, which was in power at that time, was threatened to the very foundations by the workers' and peasants' upsurge.

No section of the ruling class had any confidence to take the working and oppressed masses in a face-to-face war. Without the direct support of the working-class leaders there was absolutely no room to maintain the capitalist power in Ceylon.

WORKERS POWER

This episode of the class struggle, where the two major capitalist parties in Ceylon, the SLFP and the United National Party were discredited beyond recovery, raised directly the question of workers' power in the island.

The ruling SLFP either had to make an alliance with the leaders of the working class or had to enter into a civil war with the masses without having any confidence about its outcome.

Commented Mrs Bandaranaike:

'We cannot go backwards. We must go forward. Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows, must be eliminated and the development of the country must proceed . . .

'Some people have various ideas on these subjects. Some feel that these troubles can be eliminated by the establishment of a dictatorship. Others say that workers should be made to work at the point of gun and bayonet. Still others maintain that a national government should be formed to solve this problem. I have considered these ideas separately and in the context of world events.

'My conclusion is that none of these solutions will help to get us where we want to go . . .

'Therefore, gentlemen, I decided to initiate talks with the leaders of the working class . . .'

This was a great historical challenge aimed at the leaders of the workers' movement.

Lloyd George had asked the same question of the British labour leaders in 1919: 'Gentlemen, are you ready to take over?'

But there was absolutely no hesitation on the part of the 'left' leaders to betray. They had prepared themselves for years. As Mrs Bandaranaike threatened them with the question of state power, Colvin R. De Silva, still at that time a leader of the revisionist United Secretariat in Ceylon,

used this challenge to intimidate and drive back the delegates of the 21 demands movement, stating that fight would be a political struggle for power for which they were not prepared and could not fight for.

So, as the class struggle nakedly posed the question of state power, the LSSP and the CP leaders joined hands with the SLFP and excused their behaviour by a cynical nationalization: that they entered the government to prevent the establishment of a military dictatorship.

This SLFP-LSSP government, enjoying the support of the CP, had one clear perspective: to disorient the 21 demands movement and to prepare the ground to put all the burdens of the maturing economic crisis on the masses.



Right: Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mrs Bandaranaike with Heath in London. Above: Dudley Senanayake of the UNP

Though the government lasted in power for only six months, in that short period it took the basic steps in that direction.

The abandonment of the 21 demands struggle by the LSSP and CP leaders, split the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations which was formed to carry out the fight and paved the way for a series of isolated strikes. These struggles were subjected to police terror and defeated. The strikes at the Velona garment factory and at the Ceylon Transport board entered into history as the first workers' struggles that openly clashed with the Samasamaja bureaucracy.

After betraying the 21 demands, Samasamaja and Stalinist leaders supported the government's brutal attack on the plantation workers—they backed the conspiratorial pact to deport 525,000 plantation workers to India, which was signed by Indo-Ceylon prime ministers. The plantation workers' union of the LSSP justified this decision:

'The unemployment problem on estates will be reduced and as a result estate employers will be free to provide better facilities to the workers . . .'

When the working class and the masses resisted these brutal attacks, the 'left' leaders, desperately attempting to contain the mass movement, antagonized the capitalist class as well. They attempted to



nationalize Lake House, the biggest bourgeois press in Ceylon, and to raise Buddhism to the status of state religion.

Correctly seeing these steps towards a 'strong government', workers opposed them. At the same time the capitalist class, rallying behind the UNP, opposed these measures on the ground that, they were the first steps towards abolishing private ownership in Ceylon.

While antagonizing the working class on the one hand, the government had also antagonized the capitalist class in its inability to deal firmly with the working class. So after six months it had prepared the ground for its own downfall.

The world bank refused the government loans and 'advised' the capitalist class to remove the government from office.

So, on December 3, 1964, with the aid of the right-wing SLFP-ers (i.e. the CP, de Silva

and company) the capitalist class, threw the coalition government out of office.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

It had 'achieved' one thing: it disoriented the 21 demands movement and opened the door for a right-wing UNP government which would attempt to deal firmly with the working class.

The betrayal in 1964 had paved the way directly for Dudley Senanayake's UNP government in 1965.

Imperialism was rapidly moving towards its severest economic crisis and the Ceylon capitalist class had to freeze wages and seize all welfare benefits in order to control the inflation. But Senanayake's government was weak and remained in power only due

to the treachery of the working-class leaders.

From the very beginning, the government had to enter into an alliance with the Federal Party—the major political organization among the Tamil-speaking minorities. To attack the working class directly, it had to keep Tamil minorities out of the general opposition to the government.

At the same time UNP won the support from the leadership of the CWC—the biggest plantation workers' union. Both these leaderships were able to support the UNP government only because of the coalition's racist attitude towards these sections.

Tomorrow the first article 'From the First Coalition to the Second 1964-1970' will be continued.

BEHIND THE BAADER-MEINHOF BRIGADE

BY TOM KEMP

The rounding up of the German urban guerrilla band which called itself the Red Army Faction—known as the Baader-Meinhof group after its main leaders—has provided sensational copy for the world's press.

The group was responsible for a spectacular series of bomb explosions in various parts of the Federal Republic during May, carried out in revenge for Nixon's bombing offensive in North Vietnam.

One shook the Springer press building in Hamburg. Others took place in other cities and were aimed at American army barracks and police stations. Three American soldiers were among those killed and injured.

After these exploits, the West German police, which had been hunting for Baader and his accomplices for months with increasing frenzy, was ordered to stop at nothing to bring in the group dead or alive.

Huge forces were mobilized to comb the country in a show of police strength unprecedented even under the Nazi regime. Meanwhile, in the press, a hate campaign was carried on, reflecting and encouraging the fears of the middle class.

Early in June Baader and some of his friends were tracked down to a hide-out in a Frankfurt garage. Police shot and wounded Baader and dragged them out, half naked, to waiting police vehicles. The action was photographed for the delectation of readers of Europe's scandal sheets.

Later in June police were given the tip-off by a contact at whose house Ulrike Meinhof was staying in Hanover. Another leading woman member, Gudrun Ensslin was picked up after an assistant in a boutique had seen a pistol inside her coat.

Their appetite whetted, and spurred on by the Springer press and other gutter papers which abound in West Germany, police pounced on most of the remaining members of the group, about 30 all told.

Then came a final bloody episode. Police enquires had, by an odd chain of circumstances, linked a young Scottish businessman Iain Macleod, living in Stuttgart, to the Baader-Meinhof group. Early one morning armed police stormed up to his flat and shot him in the back with a machine pistol while he was standing naked in his bedroom.

In the hysterical atmosphere generated by the crisis in West Germany a police officer had obviously been intent on shooting first and asking questions afterwards. Inquiries soon showed that Macleod had nothing to do with the Baader-Meinhof group but was living it up in the best style of the 'consumer society' which they professed to hate.

By an ironic twist of fate, through the gun of a trigger-happy cop, the Baader group had killed one of their enemies.

The fevered imagination of one West German journalist tried to make out that Macleod was an agent of British intelligence, a latter-day James Bond, though what interest he would have in playing the agent provocateur in such a situation is not clear.

But in all likelihood the group was riddled with police agents and provocateurs. The trials which will take place as the heavy machinery of the German courts get to work may throw some light on this.

Macleod's only connection with the affair appears to be that he had once occupied a flat later rented by a suspect connected with the group. A little police work, after his death, soon established this.

If nothing else, the Baader-Meinhof group's activities have shown the depth of hysteria to which Willy Brandt's Reich can sink. To deal with this group—a small fraction in terms of numbers of, say, the IRA in Ulster—over 150,000 heavily-armed police were mobilized with armoured cars and machine guns.

Hundreds of homes have been searched. Road blocks have been set up all over the country. Towns have been put under a virtual state of siege.

A massive apparatus for the preservation of internal security in West Germany obviously exists. Tried out against this tiny group of terrorists, in reality it is aimed against the working class. Workers are coming back onto the scene, as was shown by the powerful metalworkers' strike at the end of last year and the mass demonstrations on the streets when Brandt's government appeared to be threatened.

The origins of the Baader-Meinhof group lay in the student movement in West Germany which assumed vast proportions in 1968-1969 and then receded almost as quickly. Under petty-bourgeois leaders who saw the working class not as a revolutionary force but as passive beneficiaries of the consumer society, it was unable to link up with the awakening working class in the factories.

The turn to terrorism was only the most extreme expression of the demoralization which set in. The small band of dedicated terrorists with their guns and bombs and their 'exemplary' actions substituted themselves for the mass movement.

The Baader-Meinhofs resembled the Russian students and intellectuals who, in Tsarist Russia, hoped to further revolution by assassinating the Tsar or hated officials. Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought a long theoretical struggle against such trends. After all, Lenin's own brother had sacrificed his life in a terrorist attack and he recognized the courage of such people while explaining how they could never defeat reaction.

Members of the Baader-Meinhof group come from impeccable social backgrounds of the middle or upper middle class. Their revolt against the injustices, abuses and philis-



tinism of West German society is not accidental.

It has much in common with the hysterical reaction of the respectable German middle class. Its roots lie in the prolonged crisis of German society which opened with World War I and has gone through a whole experience of revolution, inflation, depression, war, fascism, defeat, fragile prosperity and now the fear of a new economic collapse.

The betrayals of Stalinism in the early 1930s, which opened the way for Hitler, and again after 1945, bear a heavy responsibility. They made possible the pulverization of the German working class by the Nazis. Then came the defeat and impoverishment, followed by a long period of the so-called 'economic miracle' in which the working class saw absolutely no political prospect and in which the old social-democratic bureaucracy was able to re-establish its grip.

In such a deep social crisis, manifestations such as individual terrorism, the revival of fascism and the rise of new cults of all sorts appealing to the middle class, and especi-

ally its most energetic layers in the student youth, would be expected.

In the late 1960s there was an opportunity to link it up with the working class. This required the assimilation of Marxism and a struggle to build a revolutionary party on the programme of the Fourth International.

The student leaders, such as Rudi Dutschke, deliberately turned their back on such a perspective. They wrote off the working class as a revolutionary force. They sought a short cut which satisfied more directly their individualism and impatience.

The result was that the student movement moved into futile confrontations with the police and remained entirely isolated from the working class.

Degenerating into a protest movement, it declined just when the working class was coming back onto the scene with demands of its own, asserting its own demands against German capitalism, now struck by the world economic crisis.

The turn of people like Andreas Baader and Ulrike

Meinhof to individual terrorism in its modern form of urban guerrilla activity was a product of this period.

In a deeper sense, however, it expresses the contradictions of German historical development—the impotence of the middle class, the betrayals of the working class, the impact of fascism and war, the division of the country after World War II.

Baader and Meinhof turned instinctively to destroy the bourgeois society which had produced them and to which they irrevocably belonged.

They have become scapegoats for the German middle class. More, they become the excuse for the building up of an enormous machine of repression under the Social Democrat, Willy Brandt, ready to do battle with the working class and for a red scare which can prepare the way for a new reactionary, Bonapartist state.

The lesson of the history of the Baader-Meinhof group is the need to build a revolutionary party based on the working class in the country which was the first to have a mass party based on Marxism.



Baader (left) with police spy, Peter Urbach (right) who betrayed him in 1970.

MEINHOF

Ulrike Meinhof (top left) was born in 1935 into a middle-class Social Democratic family which sheltered communists and other oppositionists under the Nazis. Her first political activity was in the 1950s in protests against the atom bomb. In 1958 she met Röhol, the publisher of a left-wing student magazine, 'Konkret'. He made her editor. She married him and for ten years they lived the life of radical intellectuals. The betrayals of Social Democracy (joining the Grand Coalition and supporting the so-called Emergency Powers Act) and then the shooting of the student Benno Ohnesorg by the Berlin police at a demonstration in 1967, finally drove her, towards the extra-parliamentary opposition. She left Röhol and her comfortable life. In line with the theories of Herbert Marcuse she turned towards the drop-outs of society as the bearers of the revolutionary flag. Further disillusionment finally took her toward violent attacks on bourgeois society. She joined Baader and Ensslin and became the group's 'brains'.

BAADER

Andreas Baader (top right) was born in 1943 into a middle-class home which, however, did not have the same intellectual tradition as those of Meinhof and Ensslin. After an undistinguished school career he went to Berlin in 1963. He lived a Bohemian life with two painters who gave him enough to live on. (He has never worked for more than three weeks in his life.) He got to know Gudrun Ensslin and they burnt down a Frankfurt department store. In court he said: 'We saw the dangers of being eaten up and digested by the system if we did not go into action ourselves.' After 14 months' prison they were let out and immediately became famous in the student underground. In November 1969 they disappeared from view after another court overturned the decision to free them. In April 1970 Baader was betrayed by police spy Peter Urbach. Six weeks later he was freed in a daring escape master-minded by Ulrike Meinhof. This was the beginning of the Baader-Meinhof group.

ENSSLIN

Gudrun Ensslin (centre) was born in 1940 into a strongly National Socialist family (now CDU). Her father is a pastor. She did well at school and university. In 1962 she joined forces with Bernwald Vesper, the son of a Nazi writer, to start a small publishing venture. It was not a success. In the 1965 elections they campaigned for the SPD, writing speeches for among others Karl Schiller (the present Economics Minister). The failure of the SPD at the election and its decision to enter the 'Grand Coalition' the following year was a shock for Ensslin. As she said later: 'We realized that the leaders of the SPD itself had become prisoners of the system.' The shooting of Benno Ohnesorg finally drove her towards extra-parliamentary activity. She began to read Marcuse and joined in the mass student demonstrations. In 1968 she helped Baader burn down a Frankfurt department store and from then on her life has been completely bound up with that of Andreas Baader and the group.

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5, 1920. They were sentenced to die in the electric chair April 9, 1927 and that sentence was carried out a few minutes after midnight on August 22, 1927. In the course of those seven years, one of the most glaring exposés of the nature of capitalist justice is revealed. Reprinted from the 'Bulletin' (April 3, 1972), organ of the Workers League of US. By Nancy Fields.

SACCO AND VANZETTI

Part 2. A period of sharp opposites

What was the history of the period? What were the specifics of the 'struggle of the two colossal forces in society' which forced the ruling class to create increasingly reactionary and dictatorial measures to beat back the offensive of the working class?

The period of 1914-1920 must be examined in its whole. It must be seen as a period of sharp opposites in absolute conflict with each other but, at the same time, in unity with each other under the capitalist system. Bourgeois historians have always ignored the opposites that exist in any given period and have given only a one-sided view of that period.

Thus, the period from 1904-1916 has been characterized as the Progressive Era and the 1920s seen as the 'Era of Normalcy', a time of extreme complacency and conservatism. By delineating only one opposite in each successive stage of history, these academicians cannot explain why, in the so-called Progressive Era, scores of reactionary laws were passed and the seeds of future repression were sown.

Neither can they explain how, in the so-called period of complacency, the working class was moving forward, engaged in fundamental battles and was mobilized throughout the world in the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

What were the opposites in 1914-1920? As always within capitalism, the absolute opposites were the movement of the ruling class.

Thus, the growth of the trade union movement, of militant syndicalism and of anarchism was occurring against the background of increasing unemployment, wages tied to productivity, and anti-union laws passed by the government.

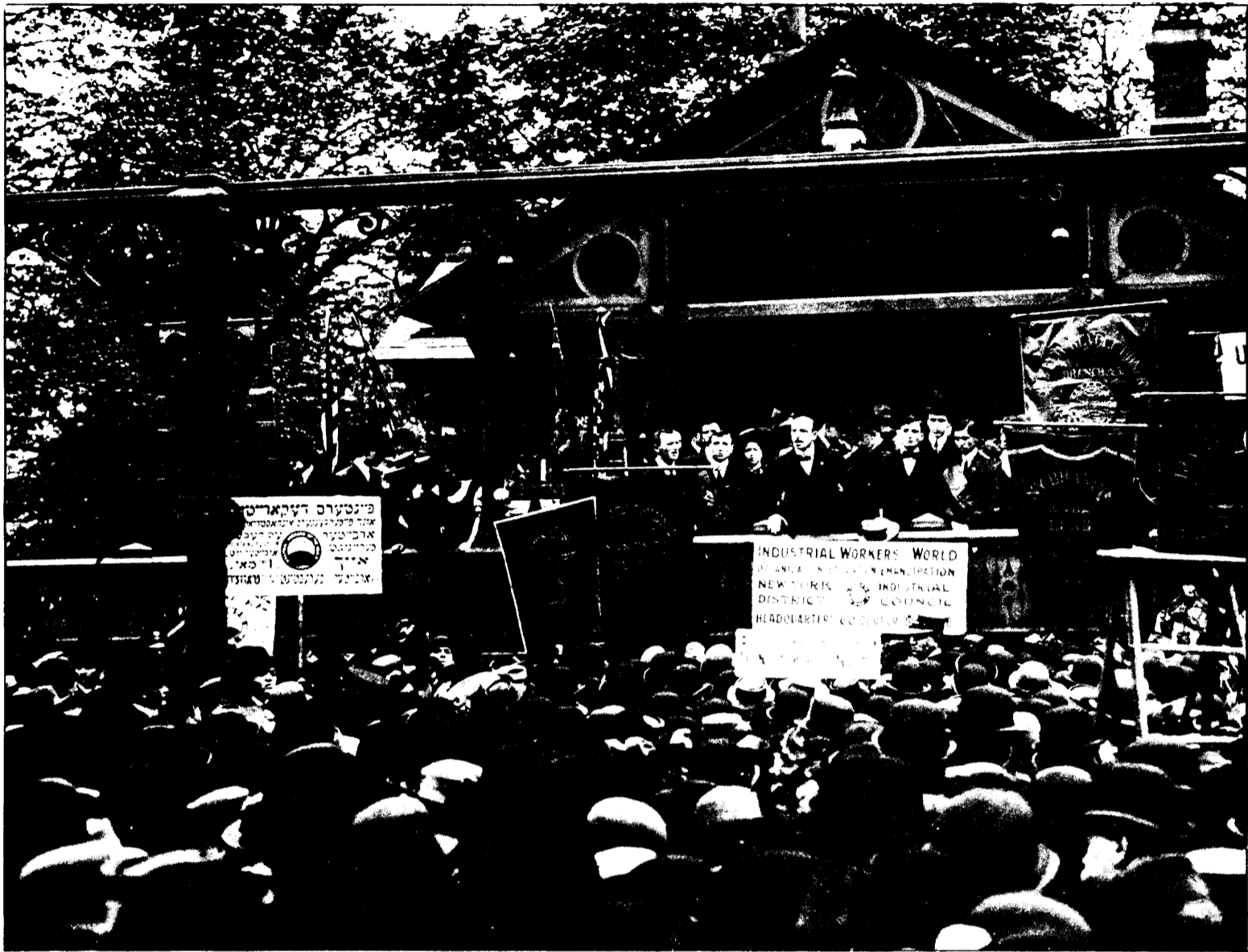
Technological advances in this period brought a marked increase of unemployment. Because of the increasing crisis within the capitalist system, employers introduced speed-up and productivity as a way to diminish the work force and increase their profits.

In addition, inflation was rampant throughout the period. In the single year, 1919-1920, the cost of living index rose from 178 to 206.

The economic crisis was manifest in the declining value of the dollar. Between 1914-1917, the purchasing power of the dollar fell from 136.6 to 107.4. By 1918, it had dropped to a new low of 92.5. Thus, between the outbreak of World War I and its end, the value of the dollar had dropped 37.6 per cent.

Whole areas of the country were being devastated by unemployment. In New England, almost the entire textile industry was wiped out by the employers' ruthless desire for greater profits. Because the working class was more organized in New England and had exhibited their potential strength in successful strikes, the textile owners decided to close down and re-establish their plants in the south.

At the same time that unemployment was increasing, the trade union movement was growing. The number of workers organized in the trade unions doubled in the four year period from 1913-1918. In the year 1918-1919, there



Top: a Wobblies meeting in New York. Above: Justice Taft—handed down countless decisions against unions

was a tremendous leap in union membership to four times what it had been in 1913.

The growth of union membership demonstrated the growing consciousness among the working class that it was only through the organized power of the trade unions that their rights could be won and then defended. With this consciousness came the understanding that the strike was the weapon which could bring victory.

Thus, between 1914-1918 the number of strikes tripled and the number of workers involved in these strikes increased to 300,000. The real leap in strike activity came between 1919-1920 when more than 4 million workers were involved. The militant, syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, led by Vincent St. John, became a real force in this period.

Reflecting the enormous fear of the ruling class in the face of the offensive of the working class, the government began to initiate a series of anti-union manoeuvres. When these failed, the government then resorted to its power as the state and passed vicious anti-strike laws.

In 1917 Woodrow Wilson,

that so-called progressive President, set up a tripartite board for the purpose of settling labour disputes during the war. This board, like its successor today, included representatives of 'the public,' labour, and the Secretary of War.

The treacherous role of the labour bureaucracy, in the person of Samuel Gompers, then President of the American Federation of Labour, paved the way for the government's anti-union action. In fact, Gompers must be held responsible for the later setbacks that besieged the labour movement in the 1920s.

It was Gompers who sat on the War Labour Conference Board—the Board of the employers—and pledged the organized labour would not engage in industrial disputes during the war. He thus retreated at the very moment when the real power of the labour movement could have been brought to bear. It had the advantage due to the scarcity of labour power available and should have used this to seek recognition and the extension of collective bargaining.

In order to facilitate their ultimate objective (which was to break the power of the trade unions), the Board offered up some concessions to labour. Of course, these concessions were accepted hook, line and sinker by the bureaucracy. Thus, when the Board made the eight-hour day a law, the bureaucrats applauded loudly and congratulated themselves for taking the moderate position because obviously, it proved to be correct.

However, when that law was never applied, the complete fraud of the concessions was revealed. In fact, the then Secretary of War, Baker, urged Wilson not to press the eight-hour day in steel, because as

he stated: 'That would be a revolutionary change and the unwillingness of the workers' employers to yield the point might provoke strikes.'

Unlike the bureaucrats, however, the rank-and-file workers refused to be driven back. In fact, as has been shown, strike activity increased tremendously in this period.

The creation of two more boards in one month indicated the government's panic in the face of the resolute determination of the working class to win what was rightfully theirs.

Thus, a War Labour Policies Board was established with that liberal Felix Frankfurter at its head. Two weeks later, the the National War Labour Board (NWLB) came into being, with former President Taft and labour lawyer Frank P. Walsh as co-chairmen. No specific guidelines were established as to the nature of the Board's power but rather, it was given almost unlimited authority to mediate, conciliate or arbitrate as it wished.

At the same time that the National War Labour Board was created, the legislature passed a series of vicious anti-union laws. The most reactionary of them was the one attached to the powers of the NWLB. This gave the President the power to seize any plant which was being struck if the NWLB thought the parties involved were being recalcitrant.

Wilson used this power to take over Western Union in August of 1918 as well as a Bridgeport small arms factory when its workers refused to accept a War Labour Board decision.

In 1919, Wilson called an Industrial Conference at the high point of the United Steelworkers of America's strike which involved 350,000 workers. The Conference was designed to provide measures

to stop the offensive of workers.

As usual, the labour bureaucrats joined hands with the employers and the 'public' to aid in this task. The employers controlled the conference and refused to offer any concessions to the public. They insisted on retaining absolute control of the employment process and refused to acknowledge the right to independent collective bargaining. The real meaning of Gompers' 'peaceful co-existence' policy of class collaboration during the war was revealed.

At the same time, the Supreme Court, which the bourgeoisie likes to represent as being above the class struggle, was handing down a series of decisions against labour.

These decisions consistently ruled in favour of the employers and against the trade unions. For example in *Duplex v. Deering*, Chief Justice Taft's opinion forbade the International Association of Machinists to seek the support of workers in related trades in its struggle against the employer. Furthermore, the court struck down even the most minimal legislation which had been passed in an attempt to stop some of the more barbarous methods of child labour.

In addition, laws were passed making syndicalism a crime and the state vigorously used these laws to break the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). In 1918, many of its leaders were tried under the Sedition Act. In 1917 one of the founders of the IWW and a militant leader of the Western Federation of Miners, Frank Little, was hung. Also in 1917, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, leaders in the IWW, received life sentences on framed up charges.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

READY FOR BUSINESS WITH THE BOSSES



Bulgaria would like to buy more from capitalist countries including whole factories, a visiting delegation of West German businessmen was told.

The chairman of the Bulgarian chamber of commerce proposed the setting up of joint enterprises which could produce for export to other countries. Co-operation in mechanical engineering would be especially welcomed he said.

The Bulgarian bureaucracy, the closest of all to the Kremlin, is thus prepared to go into business with the bosses of German heavy industry. It is ready to see Bulgarian workers exploited by the capitalists and Bulgarian products appear on the world market which have resulted from friendly co-operation with capitalist firms.

So far, of course, this is only talk, but the developments in Yugoslavia point the way and there can be no doubt about the seriousness with which such proposals are put forward.



Above: Antonin Novotny one-time Czech CP boss

APPLAUSE APPLAUSE

'After the Eighth Party Congress the life of the working class has become more beautiful, richer and fuller because the goal and road of the main task is being achieved step by step in everyday life.'



Erich Honecker

The trade union bureaucrats of East Germany paid tribute, in this poetic language, to the Socialist Unity Party and its leader Erich Honecker at their recent congress.

If life is so beautiful for the hard-working East Germans, one wonders why such elaborate precautions are taken to see that they do not leave their earthly paradise for the fleshpots of the Federal Republic.

Among those present at the Congress was Lawrence Daly, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and James Milne, assistant general secretary of the Scottish TUC.

'SPINELESS' MEN OF THE CZECH LEADERSHIP

The Czechoslovak Communist Party is more divorced from the people than at any other time and has placed in office thousands of 'spineless careerists'.

These are the current views not of some oppositionist group, but of none other than one-time Stalinist boss Antonin Novotny himself. Once a servile supporter of the Kremlin, he was thrown out ignominiously in 1967.

Even Novotny could not stomach the intervention of the Red Army in August 1968. Now, according to the opposition journal 'Narodni

Listy', quoted by 'The Times', he has launched a bitter attack on the present policies in a letter to the Central Committee.

By comparison with Husak's regime, that of the Novotny years appears relatively enlightened. There was much greater freedom for discussion and creative work than there is today.

A Stalinist hack and a political has-been, it is nonetheless significant that Novotny, sensing the wrath to come, should try to warn the Czech bureaucracy and at the same time establish his distance from the present ruling clique.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

MAESTRO

Advertising men are a special category of citizen. If you get within ear's length of them you tend to get a load of radical nonsense about the perils of their profession and their hopes for a better world in which commodities are freed for the exploitation of the market, etc., etc.

This week the earnest radicalism of these gentlemen was given a very direct test. The guest of honour at the annual conference of the Advertising Association was none other than Tory leader Edward Heath.

What sort of a reception did he get from the hordes in polka-dot shirts, leather jackets and wet-look boots?

First of all let us record the opening remarks of the AA president, Mr John W. Hobson.

Hobson was effusive in his welcome for the Tory leader. He said:

'The urgent call today for British industry is "Action stations", and one might add the old naval command, "Prepare to repel boarders".

'At this moment of history for our industry and our whole country, we are proud to have, to open our conference, the man who more than any other has made that history. The man who has rejected the short-term soft options in favour of the long-term opportunities for a trading nation like Britain in becoming an integral part of a vastly expanded market. The man who, by sheer personal determination—in all admiration, a splendid single-mindedness—has forced us, some of us kicking and screaming, out of our cosy, enervating, 19th century reveries, into the invigorating compulsions of modern world realities. My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Prime Minister.'

Not much criticism there! What about the vast crowd of ad men? Any dissent? Not a bit of it. They sprang to their feet and clapped to a man as the Tory maestro grinned his way to the platform.

Heath returned to his theme about the plight of the 'consumer'. He set all the middle-class consciences to rest when he told them:

'We are beginning to hear the voice of the consumer loud and clear. There are times when it says awkward

things, things we don't want to hear. I read that you deplore the intellectual and moral disapproval which you sometimes arouse in stimulating demand for goods and services.

'I sympathize with you wholeheartedly in the sadness one feels when one's highest motives are misunderstood.'

Heath, of course, is another 'misunderstood' man. Or that's what he would like us all to believe. Only in the land of advertising gimmicks and phantasmagoria could such a speech be believed, let alone cheered.

ALL TOGETHER NOW

Beaverbrook may be dead and buried, but his spirit goes marching on in the 'Daily Express'. The right-wing Tory newspaper has just launched an 'All together now' campaign.

The idea is that shop stewards should get together with management because 'that's the only way to get rich'. The campaign was launched last Tuesday—the day Victor Feather of the TUC went to see Tory leader Edward Heath at No. 10 Downing Street.

The idea is somewhere next to corporatism.

The centre page article explains what the 'Express' wants: 'Twenty-odd years ago battered Germany lifted herself up by her bootstraps. By applying three simple principles: no political experiments; self-help; and making sure that in every firm everyone knew what was going on.

'That is why the D-mark has risen in value by 25 per cent over the last ten years. Why cannot we do the same here? The "Daily Express" will tell the story of some of the firms who are succeeding in doing this. This newspaper will try to bring the politicians into line.'

The feature ends with an appeal to shop stewards to send letters to the Editor explaining how their particular firm is 'working all together'. The 'Express's' insidious and grubby little publicity stunt is bound to raise a laugh on the docks and in engineering plants up and down the country. In fact, everywhere where more than two workers are gathered together!

BOOKS



- LEON TROTSKY : Germany 1931/1932 Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;
- Where Is Britain Going ? Paperback 37p
- Revolution Betrayed Paperback 62p—cloth £1.05
- Problems of the Chinese Revolution Paperback £1.12—cloth £1.87;
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Part of ITT's international network—a switchboard factory in Madrid, Spain

INTRODUCING THE MAN FROM ITT

BY CHARLES PARKINS

The big American combine, International Telephone and Telegraph, has made quite a name for itself in recent months.

Firstly there was the revelation of ITT involvement in American under-cover intrigues aimed against the Allende government in Chile. Then there were the exposures of the company's activities in US presidential elections.

ITT appears to employ some highly-suitable managerial staff to match the reputation it is acquiring. At least, if Herr Kruger, of the company's West German subsidiary, Standard Electric A.G., is anything to go by.

OPERATION BERNHARD

Back in 1945, a Scotland Yard detective, Chief Inspector Rudkin, assisted by Detective Sergeant Chutburn, was put in charge of a case known as 'Operation Bernhard'.

Their task was to locate and bring to trial a man who was probably the biggest forger in history; SS Major Bernhard Kruger, who ran a Nazi special operation involving the compulsion of skilled concentration camp inmates to forge British banknotes, to the value of £134m.

Part of the story is told in General Reitlinger's book 'The Final Solution'.

On January 26, 1944, a party of Jewish draughtsmen, engravers and printers, survivors of the Dutch and German deportations, left for Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, where they were kept in a secret section, directed by Major Bernhard Kruger, the head of Amt VI F4a of the main Security Office of the SS. This department had been counterfeiting British currency notes since 1940, but it was only when the Sachsenhausen Workshop got into its stride

that the British Government was confronted with the problems of a truly superb issue of five-pound notes...

'In April 1945, "Einsatz Bernhard" was transferred to an underground factory in Austria... Kruger escaped to Switzerland with a large accumulated private fortune. He has not been found.'

A Major McNally of the US Army headed American investigations into the case of 'Operation Bernhard'. He takes up the story in 'Readers Digest' in July 1952:

'It was April 1945 before Operation Bernhard was ready to set up its presses in Gallery 16 behind Redl Zipf in Austria. By that time American troops were already closing in on the redoubt.

'Late one day Major Kruger—in a fast Alfa Romeo convertible and accompanied by a striking blonde—roared into the concentration camp at the mouth of the Redl Zipf cave. Every trace of Operation Bernhard was to be obliterated. All records were to be destroyed, fake currency and unprinted banknote paper burned, plates and dies sunk in the deepest part of Lake Toplitz. All 140 members of Operation Bernhard were to be taken to Ebensee Concentration Camp and killed.

'The major, composed and polite as always, apologized for not being able to supervise the details himself. He had, he said, urgent business elsewhere... The car streaked away in the direction of Switzerland. Kruger has never been heard of since, despite the concentrated efforts of half a dozen police forces to find him.'

In fact the Nazis never had time to execute the 140 prisoners, as ordered by Kruger. Nevertheless, SS Major Kruger, apart from his forging activities, is known to have been responsible for the murder of at least four prisoners assigned to work on his project.

For a few years after the war, Kruger apparently could not be found. But in 1961 he was unearthed—not by one of the 'half a dozen police forces' that were supposed to have been searching for him, but by a journalist, Julius Mader, who specializes in this sort of case. He found former SS Major Bernhard Kruger, not hiding in the South American interior or anywhere uncomfortable like that, but living peacefully under his own name in Stuttgart, West Germany.

Mader urged the West German authorities to look into the case, and they undertook to do so. But the investigations dragged on, without making much progress, as such cases tend to do when entrusted to the hands of the West German police; and after a while, were dropped altogether

RESPECTABLE CAREER

Herr Major Kruger has meanwhile continued his respectable career, and enjoyed promotion to a respectable and presumably well-paid managerial post in ITT's Standard Electric subsidiary.

He takes his place alongside the many pillars of 'respectable' society in West Germany, from judges to businessmen, whose careers go to show that crime, if on a big enough scale, can certainly pay!

Perhaps, with the tricks that capitalist governments are currently attempting with banknotes, former Major Kruger may be asked to exercise his talents again to meet the increased demand for paper money.

After all, issuing worthless banknotes has been shown to have been a major occupation since the war, except that in peacetime, instead of the 'enemy's' notes being forged, countries have been issuing their notes with nothing to back them.

LETTER

Dear Editor,
Having been at the building workers' rally in Hyde Park last week, I think that not only must we expose who is in the leadership of this farce, but also where it is going to lead us.

We take first the Communist Party-led Building Workers' Charter. Nowhere on this charter is there a call to kick the Tories out—it is purposely kept to trade union demands.

These demands for more money etc., will be wiped out by the devaluation of the pound. The CP and reformist leaders refuse to lead a political struggle to explain this.

Speaking at the rally they blamed the working class for its defeats and with cries of 'the building industry is not organized' and 'more solidarity is needed', they escaped the fight for all-out action to

remove the Tories.

The working class has been organized for the past 200 years. What is lacking is a political lead from these leaders.

As far as I'm concerned, for the working class and its trade unions to survive, it must take on the Tories in a General Strike. That is why I support the Socialist Labour League's call for Councils of Action, because with a leadership of Stalinists and reformists we are going to be led to a defeat.

The councils would, in a Tory-provoked General Strike, be able to amputate these leaders from the movement.

That is why I think a political fight to get the Tories out and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is necessary.

**Building worker,
Cubitts' site,
Upper Thames Street.**



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YOUNG SOCIALISTS' REGIONAL RIGHT-TO-WORK CAMPAIGN

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE LANCASHIRE Right-to-Work marchers got a rousing working-class welcome right the way through Liverpool on Saturday at the close of their seven-day campaign in the North West.

At a public meeting in the city centre, march leader and YS secretary John Simmance declared the campaign one of the most successful ever organized by the Young Socialists.

He pointed out that not one of the 22 unemployed youth who set out from Manchester last Saturday had dropped out.

'These youth, some of them new to politics, have fought all the way. They represent something in the British working class that defies defeat—this is the element that will build the British revolutionary party.'

The final and triumphant leg of the journey began at Kirkby new town with a meeting in the shopping centre at 9.30 a.m.

The marchers set off for Liverpool and in the big working-class suburb of Walton they were met by a 150-strong delegation, including dockers, building site workers, engineers and unemployed youth from Liverpool.

As they made their way through the crowded Walton high street four youth joined the march and stayed for the meeting.

The biggest support came from the Everton area. Shoppers there cheered and clapped as the column—the Right-to-Work banner at the front—passed by Great Orme Street market.

Collectors counted at least a dozen donations of 50p from the workers of the Everton district.

Later, news of more financial support—on top of the £121 already collected—was given to a packed meeting at Hackings Hey Hall.

Shop stewards from the British Aircraft Corporation, Preston division, sent £10; the GEM supermarket workers, Preston, collected £2.75; Butex engineering shop stewards, Leyland, gave £3; BTR shop stewards £4 and Mr Maguire, Preston area official of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, gave a personal donation of £5. At Ford's, Halewood, the transmission branch of the AUEW gave £4 and £8.05½ was collected in the steering section for a meal for the marchers.

A message and one other donation caused spontaneous applause among the audience.

This was from the Liverpool No. 21 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

It read: 'We feel sure that if you continue to campaign for

JULY FUND

NOW £320.02

DONATIONS over this weekend have brought our Fund up to £320.02. We now have less than two weeks before our Summer Camp begins to try and raise our target of £1,750. It is a great challenge, but we are sure, from your support each month and last month in particular, that you, our readers, will do everything you possibly can.

All over the country feeling is growing against the treachery of this union leadership. Instead of talks with Heath, they should be mobilizing trade unionists everywhere to force this Tory government to resign.

Only Workers Press exposes the cowardly position of these leaders. Help us therefore this month in every way you can to raise our July Fund. Put everything you can into this fight. Collect extra amounts. Post all your donations immediately to:

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

A rousing welcome from Merseyside working class



the overthrow of the present Tory government and its replacement with a Labour government pledged to implement socialism, then you will succeed. We urge you not to compromise on the political policies underlying the march.'

Speakers all paid tribute to the courage and determination of the marchers.

Alan Stanley, shop steward at Vauxhall Motors, Ellesmere Port, said: 'We live in a time when the capitalist system is breaking up on an international scale.

'This means there are bound to be massive attacks on the working class. At the same time the TUC leaders, right and so called left, spend their time drinking with Heath and promising to get together with him to hold back wages.

'In this situation the marchers

raised the key demand of forcing this government out with a General Strike. This is the only way forward on any issue—that is why the working class is indebted to these young campaigners,' he said.

Eddie Smith, building worker on strike from the Bass Charrington site—who carried the site banner on the Liverpool march—said the youth had set an example to all workers:

'They stand out in sharp contrast, young as they are, to the trade union leaders. They stand for principle and honesty to the working class. Though small in numbers, a force with this political stand is a mighty force indeed because they represent the true history of the working class.

'Let us join with these marchers—forward to the revolutionary party in Britain.'

Final speaker John Simmance recalled the support the marchers had received from workers along the route—in the towns of Oldham, Bolton, Bury, Wigan, St Helens and Kirkby.

The youth had come to the YS because it was the only political movement that had consistently fought the Tories and against the betrayals of the Labour Party leaders.

'We must now build on the experience of this march. Above all we must recognize that it is Marxist theory that gives the YS its strength and determination. Not theory as empty words, but the pages of struggle and principle that are the history of the Trotskyist movement.

'Now, in this tremendous industrial area in the North West, we must go out and build the revolutionary party and a mass youth movement. Help-

ing to do this is the best tribute workers can pay to these lads,' he said.

He told the meeting that almost all the marchers had agreed to go to the summer camp.

'This is a decisive step. At this camp the ground for the revolutionary movement will be laid down. The Tory government—as any conscious worker is aware—is preparing the most severe repression of the working class. We must train the general staff to meet this challenge with the weapon of Marxist theory and the party.

'Trades unionists cannot afford to miss this camp,' he said. A collection at the meeting raised a further £24.35.

The marchers ended their campaign with a discotheque in Liverpool.

Fighting policies attract solid support

THE demonstration which greeted the marchers was one of the most spirited and colourful held by the YS in Liverpool. Delegation leaders told Workers Press why they chose to identify themselves with the campaign.

EDDIE SMITH, Bass Charrington site striker, Runcorn, Cheshire:

'It is vital this Tory government is brought down. The YS and the Socialist Labour League are undoubtedly the only organizations that stand out clearly for this policy. In my own union the Stalinists in the Communist Party are lining up with the right wing, who are a discredited force, and preventing political questions being raised—they also go against national strike action. Workers will ignore the politics of the march at their peril.'

MARGARET CAMPBELL, young Winsford housewife, with two baby girls:

'I want a decent home, school and environment for my children to grow up in. This is impossible under the Tories—it's impossible under the capitalist system. That is why I support

the revolutionary aims of this march.'

DAVE CAMPBELL, her husband:

'My factory in Winsford has been paying 5p per man as a levy for the march since the national marches earlier this year. This is because the Right-to-Work—in an area like Winsford of high unemployment—is a continual talking point in the plant. We

have found the YS the only organization to have the correct political demands to fight for this basic right.'

RICHARD ASHTON (20), dockerman at the Gladstone container dock, Liverpool.

'I go with the march and the YS because what they are fighting is part of the dockers' fight against the Tory system to bring it down.'

LESLIE MAKEVITT, Metal Box, Winsford.

'I think the march was fantastic. It appealed to a working class which is ready to fight, which is aggressive and eager to smash the Tories and the state. This is not like the 1930s—with a key fight for a revolutionary leadership we could banish Toryism for ever. The march was a most important advance in that fight.'

Western region march in Bristol

WESTERN Region Young Socialists demonstrated 100-strong through Bristol last Saturday as part of the YS regional Right-to-Work campaign.

Shoppers smiled and cheered their support for the slogan: 'We demand the Right to Work, Kick the Tories Out!' and 'Recall the TUC, Tories Out!', as the column marched around the precinct of Bristol's shopping centre on its way to a meeting at the Corn Exchange.

YS members and trade unionists from Bristol, Reading, Swindon, Oxford, Portsmouth, Southampton and Exeter took

part in the demonstration.

Speaking at the meeting which followed, London region YS secretary Sarah Hannigan said: 'In a few weeks' time, over 500,000 youth will leave school without a job.

'Growing unemployment among youth is a reflection of the crisis of the whole capitalist system... We believe that the solution to this crisis is inseparable from the struggle against the Tory government.'

Alan Thornett, deputy senior steward at Morris Motors, Oxford, speaking in a personal

capacity, warned of the dangers to the working class in the Tory government's present policy of inflation.

'Inflation,' he said, 'is now being used by the Tory government to undermine wages and conditions in the working class. August 15, 1971, turned inflation into its opposite—it turned it into the creator of unemployment.

'... Only in terms of massively increased unemployment can the Tory government solve its crisis. Now we will surely hear all the time the phrase "The National Interest"—this slogan will now become the

policy of the bourgeoisie.'

And he added: 'When the dockers stopped the use of the Industrial Relations Act on the docks it was reflected in every factory throughout the country... It had an enormous impact on class relationships.'

In the discussion which followed, one trade unionist raised the question of a week-long march and said that his trades council would be prepared to support it and he was sure many others would too.

The successful day was brought to a close by a lively discotheque.

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