

What we think

Rhodesia can split the Tories

BY ARRESTING ex-premier Garfield Todd and his daughter Judy and shooting and tear-gassing African workers the white gorillas of Salisbury have clearly revealed their panic, fear and disunity in the face of the unanimous African opposition to the Smith-Home conspiracy.

Todd — premier of Rhodesia from 1953 to 1970 was arrested at his 30,000-acre farm because he planned to speak out against the notorious Rhodesian settlement at a public rally at the Royal Albert Hall this weekend.

He originally backed the settlement but changed his position when his African supporters would not do so. His turnabout even astounded the white racist opposition.

But being an ex-missionary and a capitalist farmer he is keenly aware of the necessity of political stability as an indispensable precondition for the extended investment of capital and the efficient exploitation of African labour in Rhodesia.

His opposition to UDI and the settlement is, predictably, shared by some big businessmen in Rhodesia.

As early as November 1968, the chairman of the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation, Mr Newsom, and the chairman of the Rhodesian Board of S Africa, E. Campbell, were writing warning letters to the 'Rhodesian Herald'.

The alternative to accepting Wilson's terms, offered on the 'Fearless', was 'faster economic deterioration and a continuation of sanctions which could ruin the country's tobacco, chrome, asbestos and ferro-alloy industries and ensure that the promising nickel industry is stillborn'.

They concluded that only a 'massive injection of external capital' could revitalize the Rhodesian economy. But this was impossible as long as the Africans' rights were ignored.

The conflict in the ruling class was brought out into the open when Lord Alport visited Rhodesia in July 1967.

Brig Andrew Donlop (Minister of Transport) warned him not to formulate his opinions from 'those... big businessmen whose vast profits, as a result of independence, have been temporarily reduced and who gladly see their country's future sold for a mess of pottage'.

This conflict has been further exacerbated by the uprising of the African workers and farmers and the virtual collapse of the Pearce Commission.

The Salisbury conflict will not end there, but will erupt in the Tory Party as well. Together with the miners' strike, the Ulster events and Common Market entry, the Rhodesian crisis could be the catalyst which will precipitate a major crisis in the Tory Party and create the conditions for the resignation of the hated Heath regime.

The Tories have never been weaker than they are now. It is only the treachery of the union leaders and the hypocritical manoeuvring of the Parliamentary Labour leaders which prevent the Tories from resigning.

Wilson, despite his opposition to the Rhodesian settlement, is as opposed to African freedom as his Tory counterparts.

Let nobody forget his immortal statement in parliament in July 1967: 'As you know, in Salisbury in October 1965, and repeatedly in the House and outside, I have made it clear that immediate or even early majority rule is out of the question'.

Recognizing the treachery, the SLL in 1965 demanded that the Labour government arm the Africans and stop the dialogue with Smith.

By refusing to do this Wilson showed clearly where his real sympathies lay. Today we urge all workers and trade unionists to draw the conclusions of seven years of compromise and treachery by building the alternative leadership to Wilson and to force the Tories to resign.

Talks, scabbing, police Organized efforts to break strike

BY ALEX MITCHELL

AN ORGANIZED campaign is being mounted to break the 12-day-old national miners' strike.

Waged on two fronts, the campaign is aimed at weakening the miners' determination and dividing their ranks.

Firstly, there were the 'talks about talks' held at the Charing Cross Hotel in London yesterday under the auspices of the TUC's Victor Feather.

What is this desperate gesture by Feather all about? A week ago Feather refused to organize solidarity support for the miners among the transport unions.

Now he intervenes to get talks going between right-wing miners' leader, Joe Gormley and the front men for the Tory government from the National Coal Board.

This tactic is not new. Postmen will remember how Feather stepped into their bitter strike against the Tories and arranged 'talks' between Jackson and Ryland. It was at these meetings that the seeds of the betrayal were sown and the postmen ended up with the notorious Hardman enquiry.

Grateful

And just as Jackson 'thanked' Feather for his assistance in January, 1971, today, one year later, Gormley is overwhelmingly grateful for the chance to sit down with Ezra (whom Gormley calls 'Derek').

There can be no basis whatsoever for the Charing Cross Hotel talks. Otherwise, what would the strike be all about?

The meeting can only provide the opportunity for the Tory government, the Coal Board chiefs and the TUC to increase their pressure on the miners' leaders to sell out.

Already miners' MP Eric Varley has shown the lengths to which the NUM leadership is prepared to go to have the strike called off.

At the close of the parliamentary debate on the strike, he told the House on Tuesday: 'If the Secretary for Employment decided tonight to announce that he will invite the miners' leaders to go to see him, they will go to see him.'

'I have the authority of the National Union of Mine-workers to say that to him.'

Carr's reply showed the ruthless manner in which the Tories are prosecuting the fight against the miners and the whole working class.

Punchline

'My door is open, it is wide open, to either the union or the board whenever they want to come in. This is the fact.'

But after this 'dove' statement, Carr delivered this devastating punchline: 'The government is not seeking a showdown with the miners. We are not wishing to drive the miners into submission or humiliation.'

It was spoken with all the rich irony which only Tory spokesmen can command.

The debate, as we said in yesterday's Workers Press,

● PAGE FOUR COL 2

Car stewards back miners and national pay claim

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN BIRMINGHAM

SHOP STEWARDS representing 200,000 car workers yesterday demanded that union chiefs halt their retreat on pay and disputes procedure.

The British-Leyland combine stewards' executive insisted that the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions reinstate its national pay claim — backing it with industrial action if again refused by the employers.

Union leaders came in for fierce criticism both for withdrawing the claim in

favour of plant bargaining, and for their approaches to British-Leyland for a separate peace on the procedure front.

A recommendation of full moral and financial support for the striking miners was also carried; weekly collections in many of the group's factories are expected to result.

On pay, the meeting unanimously deplored the decisions of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the CSEU to

withdraw their claim for basic rate increases of up to £6 following the employers' £1.50 offer.

Committee secretary Eddie McGarry said after the meeting that the feeling was that the gap in earnings between different plants would be increased by local bargaining.

Factories where trade union organization was strongest would be encouraged to 'better themselves at the expense of the others'.

The committee attacked CSEU leaders' individual talks with Leyland following their decision to tear up the 50-year-old York procedure agreement.

These had been started without reference to the combine's shop stewards, the committee said.

It demanded an urgent meeting with union leaders Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon on the subject.

The meeting re-affirmed its opposition to Measured-Day Work.

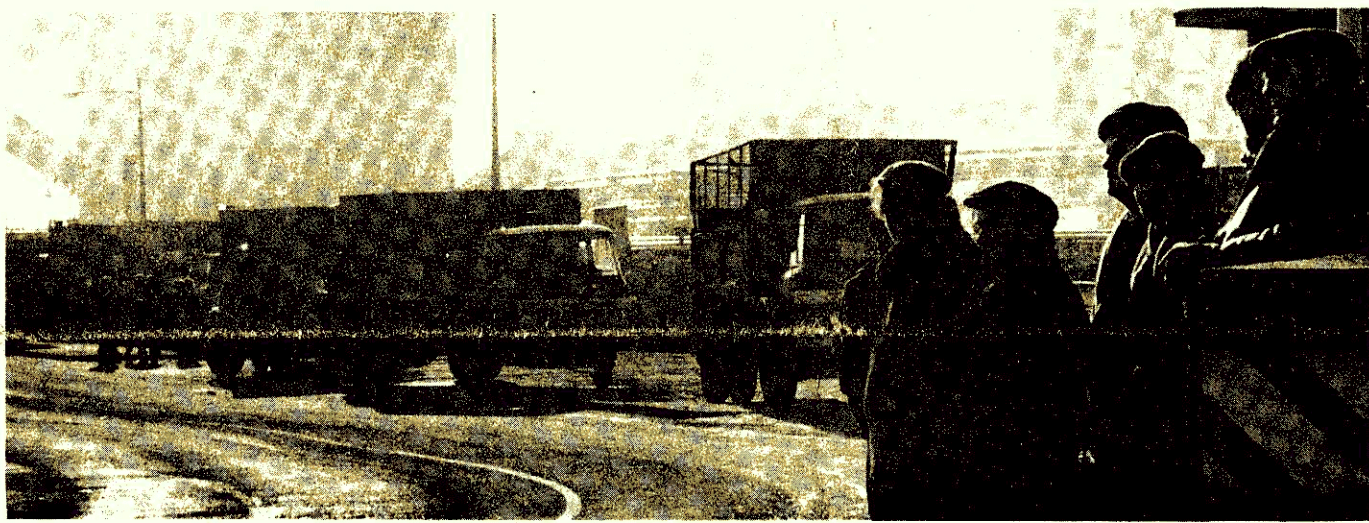
January £1,250 Appeal Fund £479.65 needed in 12 days

OUR FUND continues to leap ahead. At the moment you have raised the grand total of £770.35 and there are still 12 days left to the end of January.

As the dangers begin to mount for the miners, the role of Workers Press becomes more vital than ever. A firm leadership must be built to unite trade unionists everywhere behind the

miners. This fight can only be won by forcing the Tory government out of office.

Put all your support behind the Workers Press. Keep up this magnificent campaign for January's Fund and let's push ahead as never before. Post all donations immediately to: Workers Press Fund 186a Clapham High Street London, SW4 7UG.



Lorry drivers freeze Welsh coke supplies

FROM IAN YEATS IN S WALES

A THOUSAND S Wales lorry drivers threw their weight behind the miners yesterday after pickets stopped coke bound for Ebbw Vale steelworks leaving a British Steel Corporation dump at Margam Abbey, Port Talbot.



BILL WILLIAMS T&GWU steward

Pickets at Margam, S Wales (above), have managed to stop coal lorries supplying steel plants. Below a section of the picket.



All Merseyside to join dockers' strike

LIVERPOOL Trades Council has decided to hold its one-day general stoppage on the same day as the national dockers strike — Wednesday, January 26.

There will be three central issues in the strike:

- Support for the miners' strike.
- Support for the dockers who are facing big redundancies, particularly in the Port of London.
- Support for the occupation of the Fisher-Bendix

Vickers' jobs cut at Crayford

REDUNDANCIES at Vickers' armament factory at Crayford, Essex, will be announced by the end of the month. This is disclosed in a company circular sent around the

factory this week. The letter also discloses that a smaller production plant may be considered when the Crayford works is closed down.

W Drayton deliveries checked

PICKETS on duty at the NCB coal depot at W Drayton, Middlesex, yesterday told Workers Press it was union policy to allow scab lorry drivers to take away 'domestic' coal.

Coventry mine lodge vice-chairman Sam Harrison, leading the W Drayton pickets, said details of about 20 lorries continually taking coal out of the depot were being checked by NUM headquarters.

This is to ensure, he said, that the coal is going to people who need it — families with young children and pensioners.

On the possibility of a mass picket to close the depot, Harrison said: 'The more men we get here, the more police we'll have. We're stretched now so we don't want too many men down here.'

Pickets estimated about 2,000 tons have been removed from W Drayton by coal merchants' lorries since the weekend.

● PAGE FOUR COL 1

Jobless areas back YS campaign

MOUNTING support for the Young Socialists 'Right-to-Work' campaign has come in from Tyne-side one of the highest unemployment areas in the country.

South Shields Trades Council has given its unanimous support and pledged full financial and organizational support as well as all the facilities needed for the march.

The Council has sent an appeal to all the labour and trade union organizations in the area to give support and organize a welcome for the marchers.

At Reyrolles Parsons in Hebburn, workers in the turning shop have unanimously supported the campaign and have introduced a 10p levy to help financially.

They will also campaign at today's shop stewards' meeting for the rest of the factory to do likewise.

Hebburn No 2 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers are sending financial support and are asking the Tyne district committee to give support.

The Sunderland Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association section of the AUEW has unanimously supported the march and pledged financial assistance. It has also forwarded the resolution to the Sunderland Trades Council and DATA's NE district committee.

Sunderland has the highest youth unemployment in the country. AUEW No 1 branch in South Shields has passed a resolution of support for the 'Right-to-Work' campaign, and has called on the local trades council and Tyne AUEW district committee to give the march full support both financially and to join delegations to welcome the marchers.

The Newcastle East ETU has also pledged its support.

In Middlesex, the Hounslow Trades Council has passed a resolution of support for the campaign and has voted to send a donation.

Forty night-shift workers at Power Brakes, Portsmouth, have voted to levy themselves 5p a week each until the end of the 'Right-to-Work' marches in support of the campaign.

The factory has just been put onto a four-day week because of falling demand for commercial vehicle brake bodies.

Students too are raising support and finance. In N London the College of Further Education has raised £10.

The London Film School has voted its full support and is organizing a fundraising event this week.

RHODESIA

Todd arrests embarrass Pearce inquiry

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

FORMER Rhodesian premier Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith were in prison yesterday after being snatched from their family ranch on Tuesday night.

Their arrest was part of a wave of repression across the country, in which the Smith regime sent troops and police against strikers in the African township of Monomapatá near Gwelo.

One young African died and several were injured as police and troops moved into the townships to suppress demonstrations against the Tories' settlement with the Smith regime.

African workers in Gwelo began a General Strike on Sunday as the British commission headed by Lord Pearce prepared to visit the city.

The strike forced the commission to cancel its trip.

At an open-air meeting in Umtali, 150 miles S of Salisbury, two members of the commission were told in no uncertain terms that the deal was not on.

They spent more than an hour explaining the terms to 500 Africans, who voted unanimously to reject them. The crowd roared 'No, No', when the commissioners put the terms.

The revolutionary upsurge against Smith and his white supremacist minority is proving a serious embarrassment for the Pearce commission, sent out to Rhodesia to rubber-stamp the deal with Smith under the guise of an impartial probe into its acceptability.

They have urgently requested Smith to explain why the Todds were arrested.

They expressed 'deep concern' that the Rhodesian government had felt it necessary to make the arrests as the commission had a duty to satisfy itself that normal political activities were being permitted.

The military suppression of peaceful demonstrations presumably counts as 'normal political activity' since Lord Pearce and his colleagues have not seen fit to protest about this.

To add to the Smith dictatorship's difficulties, his co-thinkers in S Africa are themselves facing a mass movement by the African working class.

The strike of Ovambos in Namibia (SW Africa) is still in progress despite talks yesterday between the S African government and the stooge Ovamboland council.

1,000,000

UNEMPLOYMENT figures released today are expected to show that there are now more than a million people without jobs. Last month the figure was 966,802. On the basis of average increases for this time of the year, today's total could be about 1.2 million.

EEC anxiety over \$ crisis

BY JOHN SPENCER

RAYMOND BARRE, deputy head of the Common Market Commission, has warned it would be dangerous to assume the December 18 international deal on currency realignment will establish monetary equilibrium.

Three points must be tackled immediately, he says, if another crisis is to be averted.

● The need for some form of dollar convertibility to ensure the normal functioning of the International Monetary Fund.

● The question of the American payments deficit. This was unlikely to be eliminated by the currency realignments and was likely to re-emerge in the next few months.

● PAGE FOUR COL 7

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Right-to work campaign begins

We will be marching from GLASGOW FEBRUARY 5 to LIVERPOOL FEBRUARY 19 to SWANSEA FEBRUARY 19 To a mass rally at EMPIRE PALL, WEMBLEY on MARCH 12 WANTED URGENTLY

- Loan of vehicles—road-worthy vans, cars (reasonable hire will be considered)
 - Accommodation
 - Cooking equipment
 - Tinned food
 - Finance
 - Brass/jazz bands
- Please tick box where applicable.

NAME
ADDRESS
PHONE NUMBER

Please complete above form and post to: Clive Norris, national secretary Right-to-Work campaign 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Or phone 01-422 7029.

What we think

Rhodesia can split the Tories

BY ARRESTING ex-premier Garfield Todd and his daughter Judy and shooting and tear-gassing African workers the white gorillas of Salisbury have clearly revealed their panic, fear and disunity in the face of the unanimous African opposition to the Smith-Home conspiracy.

Todd—premier of Rhodesia from 1953 to 1958—was arrested at his 30,000-acre farm because he planned to speak out against the notorious Rhodesian settlement at a public rally at the Royal Albert Hall this weekend.

He originally backed the settlement but changed his position when his African supporters would not do so. His turnout even astounded the white racist opposition.

But being an ex-missionary and a capitalist farmer he is keenly aware of the necessity of political stability as an indispensable condition for the extended investment of capital and the efficient exploitation of African labour in Rhodesia.

His opposition to UDI and the settlement is, predictably, shared by some big businessmen in Rhodesia.

As early as November 1968, the chairman of the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation, Mr Newsom, and the chairman of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank of S Africa, E. Campbell, were writing warning letters to the 'Rhodesian Herald'.

The alternative to accepting Wilson's terms, offered on the 'Fearless', was 'faster economic deterioration' and a continuation of sanctions which could 'ruin the country's tobacco, chrome, asbestos and ferro-nickel industries and ensure that the promising nickel industry is stillborn'.

They concluded that only a 'massive injection of external capital' could revitalize the Rhodesian economy. But this was impossible as long as the Africans' rights were ignored.

The conflict in the ruling class was brought out into the open when Lord Alport visited Rhodesia in July 1967.

Brig Andrew Donlop (Minister of Transport) warned him not to formulate his opinions from those... big businessmen whose vast profits, as a result of independence, have been temporarily reduced and who gladly see their country's future sold for a mess of pottage.

This conflict has been further exacerbated by the uprising of the African workers and farmers and the virtual collapse of the Pearce Commission.

The Salisbury conflict will not end there, but will erupt in the Tory Party as well. Together with the miners' strike, the UDI events and Common Market entry, the Rhodesian crisis could be the catalyst which will precipitate a major crisis in the Tory Party and create the conditions for the resignation of the hated Heath regime.

The Tories have never been weaker than they are now. It is only the treachery of the union leaders and the hypocritical manoeuvring of the Parliamentary Labour leaders which prevent the Tories from resigning.

Wilson, despite his opposition to the Rhodesian settlement, is as opposed to African freedom as his Tory counterparts.

Let nobody forget his immortal statement in parliament in July 1967: 'As you know, in Salisbury in October 1965, and repeatedly in the House and outside, I have made it clear that immediate or even early majority rule is out of the question.'

Recognizing this treachery, the SLI in 1965 demanded that the Labour government arm the Africans and stop the dialogue with Smith. By refusing to do this Wilson showed clearly where his real sympathies lay.

Today we urge all workers and trade unionists to draw the conclusions of seven years of compromise and treachery by building the alternative leadership to Wilson and to force the Tories to resign.

Talks, scabbing, police Organized efforts to break strike

BY ALEX MITCHELL

AN ORGANIZED campaign is being mounted to break the 12-day-old national miners' strike.

Waged on two fronts, the campaign is aimed at weakening the miners' determination and dividing their ranks.

Firstly, there were the talks about talks held at the Charing Cross Hotel in London yesterday under the auspices of the TUC's Victor Feather.

What is this desperate gesture by Feather all about? A week ago Feather refused to organize solidarity support for the miners among the transport unions.

Now he intervenes to get talks going between right-wing miners' leader Joe Gormley and the front men for the Tory government from the National Coal Board.

This tactic is not new. Postmen will remember how Feather stepped into their bitter strike against the Tories and arranged talks between Jackson and Ryland. It was at these meetings that the seeds of the betrayal were sown and the postmen ended up with the notorious Hardman enquiry.

Grateful

And just as Jackson 'thanked' Feather for his assistance in January, 1971, today, one year later, Gormley is overwhelmingly grateful for the chance to sit down with Ezra (whom Gormley calls 'Derek').

There can be no basis whatsoever for the Charing Cross Hotel talks. Otherwise, what would the strike be all about?

The meeting can only provide the opportunity for the Tory government, the Coal Board chiefs and the TUC to increase their pressure on the miners' leaders to sell out.

Already miners' MP Eric Varley has shown the lengths to which the NUM leadership is prepared to go to have a strike called off.

At the close of the parliamentary debate on the strike, he told the House on Tuesday: 'If the Secretary for Employment decided tonight to announce that he will invite the miners' leaders to go to see him, they will go to see him.'

'I have the authority of the National Union of Mine-workers to say that to him.' Carr's reply showed the ruthless manner in which the Tories are prosecuting the fight against the miners and the whole working class.

Punchline

'My door is open, is wide open, to either the union or the board whenever they want to come in. This is the fact.'

But after this 'dove' statement, Carr delivered this devastating punchline: 'The government is not seeking a showdown with the miners. We are not wishing to drive the miners into submission or humiliation.'

It was spoken with all the rich irony which only Tory spokesmen can command.

The debate, as we said in yesterday's Workers Press,

● PAGE FOUR COL. 2

Car stewards back miners and national pay claim

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN BIRMINGHAM

SHOP STEWARDS representing 200,000 car workers yesterday demanded that union chiefs halt their retreat on pay and disputes procedure.

The British-Leyland combine stewards' executive insisted that the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions reinstate its national pay claim—backing it with industrial action if again refused by the employers.

Union leaders came in for fierce criticism both for withdrawing the claim in

favour of plant bargaining, and for their approaches to British-Leyland for a separate peace on the procedure front.

A recommendation of full moral and financial support for the striking miners was also carried; weekly collections in many of the group's factories are expected to result.

On pay, the meeting unanimously deplored the decisions of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the CSEU to

withdraw their claim for basic rate increases of up to £6 following the employers' £1.50 offer.

Committee secretary Eddie McGarry said after the meeting that the feeling was that the gap in earnings between different plants would be increased by local bargaining.

Factories where trade union organization was strongest would be encouraged to 'better themselves at the expense of the others'.

The committee attacked CSEU leaders' individual talks with Leyland following their decision to tear up the 50-year-old York procedure agreement.

These had been started without reference to the combine's shop stewards, the committee said.

It demanded an urgent meeting with union leaders Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon on the subject.

The meeting re-affirmed its opposition to Measured-Day Work.

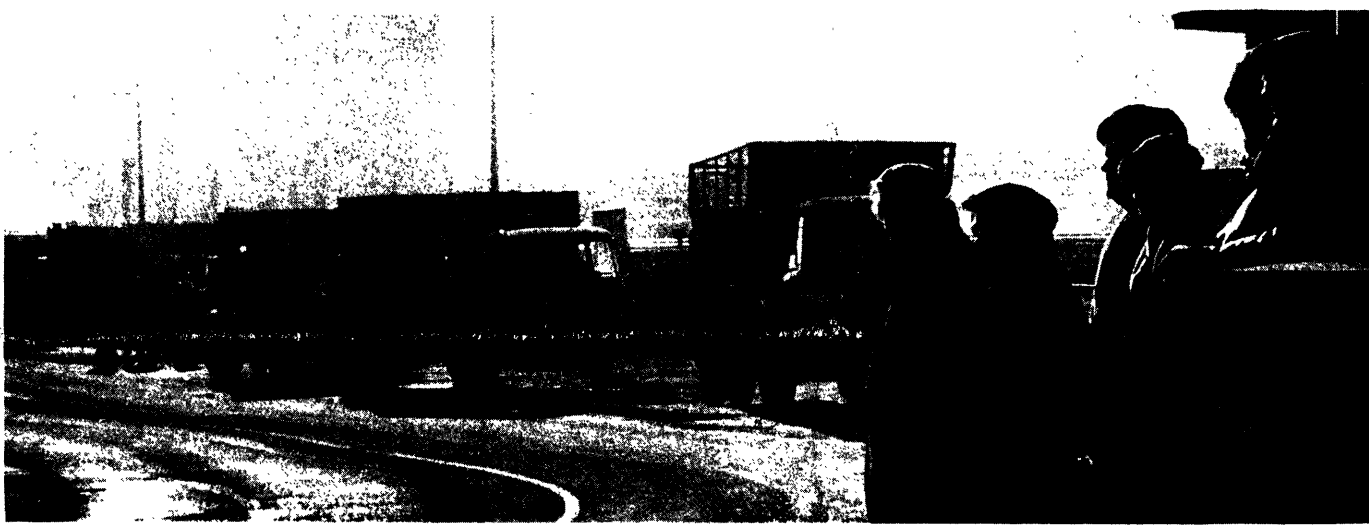
January £1.250 Appeal Fund £479.65 needed in 12 days

OUR FUND continues to leap ahead. At the moment you have raised the grand total of £770.35 and there are still 12 days left to the end of January.

As the dangers begin to mount for the miners, the role of Workers Press becomes more vital than ever. A firm leadership must be built to unite trade unionists everywhere behind the

miners. This fight can only be won by forcing this Tory government out of office.

Put all your support behind the Workers Press. Keep up this magnificent campaign for January's Fund and let's push ahead as never before. Post all donations immediately to: Workers Press Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.



BILL WILLIAMS T&GWU steward

Lorry drivers freeze Welsh coke supplies

FROM IAN YEATS IN S WALES

A THOUSAND S Wales lorry drivers threw their weight behind the miners yesterday after pickets stopped coke bound for Ebbw Vale steelworks leaving a British Steel Corporation dump at Margam Abbey, Port Talbot.



Pickets at Margam, S Wales (above), have managed to stop coal lorries supplying steel plants. Below a section of the picket.

All Merseyside to join dockers' strike

LIVERPOOL Trades Council has decided to hold its one-day general stoppage on the same day as the national docks strike—Wednesday, January 26.

There will be three central issues in the strike:

- Support for the miners' strike.
- Support for the dockers who are facing big redundancies, particularly in the Port of London.
- Support for the occupation of the Fisher-Bendix

Vickers' jobs cut at Crayford

REDUNDANCIES at Vickers' armament factory at Crayford, Essex, will be announced by the end of the month. This is disclosed in a company circular sent around the

factory this week. The letter also discloses that a smaller production plant may be considered when the Crayford works is closed down.

W Drayton deliveries checked

PICKETS on duty at the NCB coal depot at W Drayton, Middlesex, yesterday told Workers Press it was union policy to allow scab lorry drivers to take away 'domestic' coal.

Coventry mine lodge vice-chairman Sam Harrison, leading the W Drayton pickets, said details of about 20 lorries continually taking coal out of the depot were being checked by NUM headquarters. This is to ensure, he said, that the coal is going to people who need it—families with young children and pensioners.

On the possibility of a mass picket to close the depot, Harrison said: 'The more men we get here, the more police we'll have. We're stretched now so we don't want too many men down here.' Pickets estimated about 2,000 tons have been removed from W Drayton by coal merchants' lorries since the weekend.

● PAGE FOUR Col 1

Jobless areas back YS campaign

MOUNTING support for the Young Socialists 'Right-to-Work' campaign has come in from Tyne-side one of the highest unemployment areas in the country.

South Shields Trades Council has given its unanimous support and pledged full financial and organizational support as well as all the facilities needed for the march.

The Council has sent an appeal to all the labour and trade union organizations in the area to give support and organize a welcome for the marchers.

At Reyrolles Parsons in Hebburn, workers in the turning shop have unanimously supported the campaign and have introduced a 10p levy to help financially.

They will also campaign at today's shop stewards' meeting for the rest of the factory to do likewise.

Hebburn No 2 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers are sending financial support and are asking the Tyne district committee to give support.

The Sunderland Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association section of the AUEW has unanimously supported the march and pledged financial assistance. It has also forwarded the resolution to the Sunderland Trades Council and DATA's NE district committee.

Sunderland has the highest youth unemployment in the country.

AUEW No 1 branch in South Shields has passed a resolution of support for the 'Right-to-Work' campaign, and has called on the local trades council and Tyne AUEW district committee to give the march full support both financially and to join delegations to welcome the marchers.

The Newcastle East ETU has also pledged its support. In Middlesbrough, the Houslow Trades Council has passed a resolution of support for the campaign and has voted to send a donation.

Forty night-shift workers at Power Brakes, Portsmouth, have voted to levy themselves 5p a week each until the end of the 'Right-to-Work' marches in support of the campaign.

The factory has just been put onto a four-day week because of falling demand for commercial vehicle brake bodies.

Students too are raising support and finance. In N London the College of Further Education has raised £10.

The London Film School has voted its full support and is organizing a fund-raising event this week.

RHODESIA

Todd arrests embarrass Pearce inquiry

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

FORMER Rhodesian premier Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith were in prison yesterday after being snatched from their family ranch on Tuesday night.

Their arrest was part of a wave of repression across the country, in which the Smith regime sent troops and police against strikers in the African township of Monomapatia near Gwelo.

One young African died and several were injured as police and troops moved in to the townships to suppress demonstrations against the Tories' settlement with the Smith regime.

African workers in Gwelo began a General Strike on Sunday as the British commission headed by Lord Pearce prepared to visit the city.

The strike forced the commission to cancel its trip.

At an open-air meeting in Umtali, 150 miles S of Salisbury, two members of the commission were told in no uncertain terms that the deal was not on.

They spent more than an hour explaining the terms to 500 Africans, who voted unanimously to reject them. The crowd roared 'No, No', when the commissioners put the terms.

The revolutionary upsurge against Smith and his white supremacist minority is proving a serious embarrassment for the Pearce commission, sent out to Rhodesia to rubber-stamp the deal with Smith under the guise of an impartial probe into its acceptability.

They have urgently requested Smith to explain why the Todds were arrested.

They expressed 'deep concern' that the Rhodesian government had felt it necessary to make the arrests as the commission had a duty to satisfy itself that normal political activities were being permitted.

The military suppression of peaceful demonstrations presumably counts as 'normal political activity' since Lord Pearce and his colleagues have not seen fit to protest about this.

To add to the Smith dictatorship's difficulties, his co-thinkers in S Africa are themselves facing a mass movement by the African working class.

The strike of Ovambos in Namibia (S Africa) is still in progress despite talks yesterday between the S African government and the stooge Ovamboland council.

1,000,000

UNEMPLOYMENT figures released today are expected to show that there are now more than a million people without jobs. Last month the figure was 966,802. On the basis of average increases for this time of the year, today's total could be about 1.2 million.

EEC anxiety over \$ crisis

BY JOHN SPENCER

RAYMOND BARRE, deputy head of the Common Market Commission, has warned it would be dangerous to assume the December 18 international deal on currency realignment will establish monetary equilibrium.

Three points must be tackled immediately, he says, if another crisis is to be averted.

● The need for some form of dollar convertibility to ensure the normal functioning of the International Monetary Fund.

● The question of the American payments deficit. This was unlikely to be eliminated by the currency realignments and was likely to re-emerge in the next few months.

● PAGE FOUR COL. 7

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Right-to work campaign begins

We will be marching from GLASGOW FEBRUARY 5 — LIVERPOOL FEBRUARY 19 SWANSEA FEBRUARY 19 To a mass rally at EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY on MARCH 12

WANTED URGENTLY

Loan of vehicles—road-worthy vans, cars (reasonable hire will be considered)

Accommodation

Cooking equipment

Tinned food

Finance

Brass/jazz bands

Please tick box where applicable.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE NUMBER

Please complete above form and post to:

Clive Norris, national secretary

Right-to-Work campaign

186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Or phone 01-422 7029.

Secret documents of the War Cabinet

Tories saw the real danger was Trotskyism

by Tom Kemp

BEFORE deciding to prosecute the leaders of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party for their part in organizing the Tyne apprentices' strike in 1944, Home Secretary Herbert Morrison presented to the War Cabinet a six-page printed document about the movement.

This forms part of the Cabinet papers which are open to public inspection at the Public Records Office.

It is clear that the memorandum was based upon inside information—a police plant in the organization—as well as a study of its literature.

Entitled 'The Trotskyist Movement in Britain, it was marked SECRET and dated April 13, 1944. Appendix A gives biographical details about the then leaders of the movement—James Ritchie ('lock') Haston*, Mildred Lee, Edward Grant, Roy Tease, Harold Atkinson, Heaton Lee and Ann Keen. Appendix B gives the Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The document begins with a paragraph which says that Trotskyism is based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin. As Britain was that time in alliance with Stalin, there is no wonder that it opposes 'Trotsky's doctrinaire views and Stalin's realism'.

The British ruling class and its Labour hangers-on always found Stalin 'realistic'. After all, he murdered Trotskyists, while they sent them to jail.

The document goes on to say: 'The Trotskyists do not regard the form of society which now exists in Russia as socialism—they believe that true socialism can be achieved only by more or less simultaneous revolution over the greater part of the globe; and they are bitterly hostile to the Stalinist regime because it has not only "betrayed the revolution" in Russia itself but, by using the national Communist parties as the instruments of its "reactionary" policy abroad, has retarded the development of the working class towards world revolution.'

The Trotskyists hope to attain their ends, it continues, 'by campaigning alongside the workers on the issues which most closely concern them, such as wages, employment and social conditions'.

*Haston, a renegade from the Trotskyist movement is now Educational Director of the EEPTU.



Lord Morrison, photographed in 1960.

It was precisely this that 'blood, sweat, toil and tears' Churchill and his henchmen were most afraid of.

It defined the Trotskyist position as being hostility to 'fascism'—which it puts like that in inverted commas—the War Cabinet was not fighting 'fascism', simply its imperialist rivals.

'The USSR, although degenerate, is still a workers state', it says, 'and must be helped in its resistance to fascism; but the Trotskyist believes that capitalist governments cannot by their nature effectively oppose fascism, and that he can therefore only help the USSR if he first overthrows his own government.'

Financing

In the next section there follows a brief history of the Trotskyist movement in Britain from its formation in 1929; an account of its leaders; its organization and membership and publications.

In dealing with the financing of the movement it says: 'There are no indications that Trotskyist organizations receive money from abroad. The members are expected to contribute liberally and are apparently prepared to do so.'

If the government had been able to find any trace of foreign financial support it would have hastened to say so. That it did

not is a rebuttal of Communist Party allegations that the Trotskyists were in the pay of Hitler.

A discreditable pamphlet was being circulated by the Communist Party at this time called 'Clear Out Hitler's Agents'. This accused the Trotskyists of being supporters of the Nazis. Again, the government, which would have been only too happy to find some connection, is obliged to say exactly the contrary.

Leadership

The policy and methods of the Trotskyists, the War Cabinet was told, appear to be directed 'rather to stir up class feeling among the workers than to have any direct effect on the war'.

The real problem, as far as the Churchill government was concerned, was this:

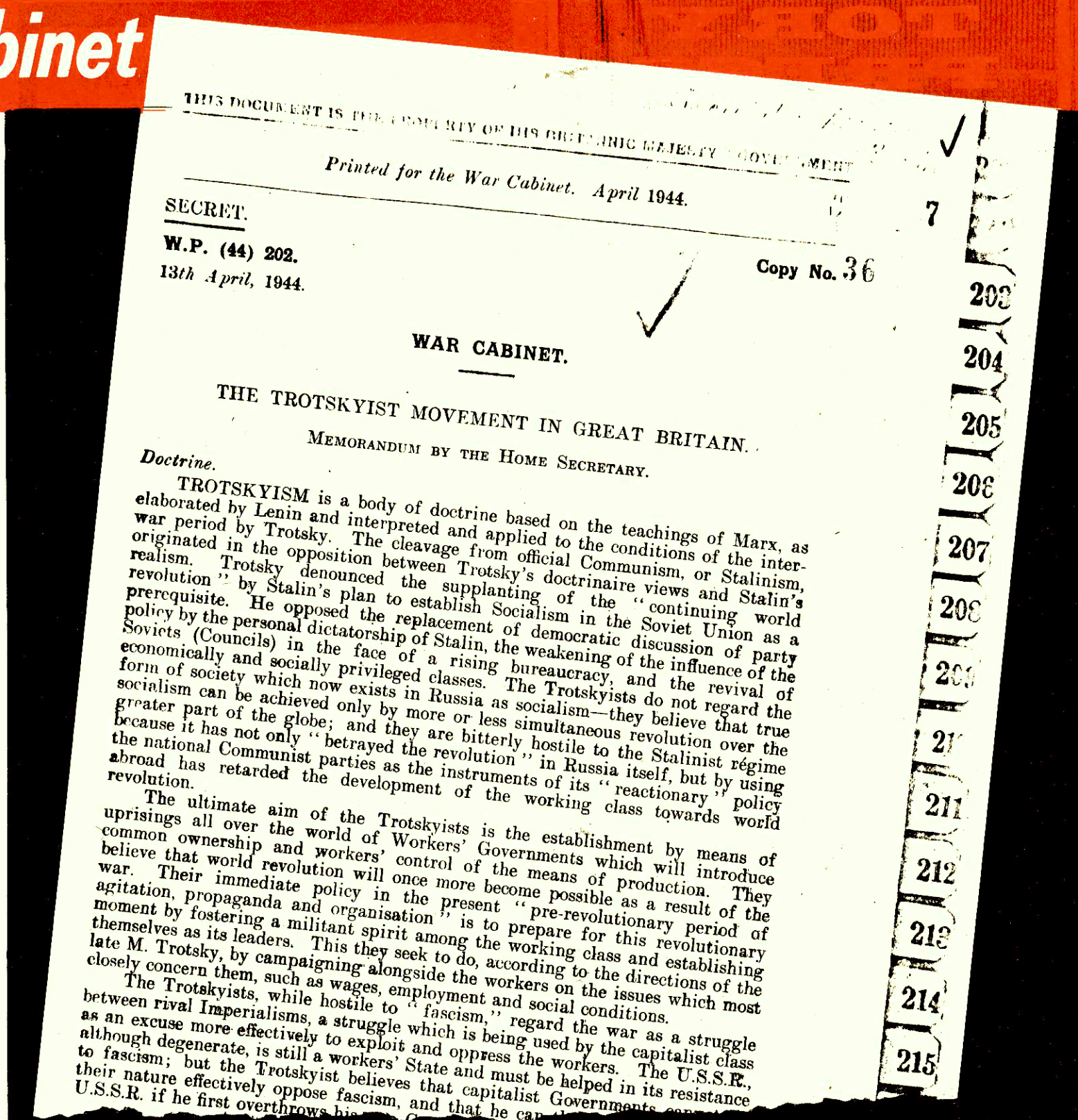
'The main object of Trotskyist policy is to stimulate and focus discontent and to obtain the leadership of the group of militants thus formed. The party seeks not only to take the place vacated by the Communist Party as the leader of the normally discontented elements, but to attract to itself the larger body of workers who, while not yet ready to take up a militantly anti-government attitude, are suspicious of their employers, doubtful of the sincerity of the government's promises of post-war reform and tiring of the industrial truce and the leaders who seek to enforce it.'

One is inclined to say 'well said!' to the anonymous author. The War Cabinet hardly needed to be informed that the Communist Party had vacated its place as a leader of working-class militancy. It was told, however, that the CPGB had been 'annoyed' when the Trotskyists formed the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Miners

About the only reassuring aspect of the whole business from the point of view of the guilty men in Whitehall, who above all feared the anger of the working class at the end of the war, was that the Trotskyists were small in number and had few resources.

This the writer of the Memorandum had from inside knowledge. He was thus able to give the ages, brief biographies and even the medical histories of the main RCP leaders. He was particularly worried about the possibility of growing influence among



A section of the War Cabinet documents on Trotskyism.

(Facsimiles of Crown-copyright records in the Public Records Office appear by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationary Office)

the miners—the ruling class had always feared the miners.

'The Party's policy at that time was "Labour to Power".'

'It desires the establishment of a Labour government because it believes that any post-war government must fail to fulfil the workers' expectations, and that the failure of a Labour government will produce a disillusion strong enough to throw the working class into the arms of the extremists.'

The Memorandum concludes by saying:

'The Trotskyists are attracting workers whose discontent and desire to hit out at the employer

and the government can find no other outlet. They have achieved a small and localized but recognizable influence; and they are confident that the appeal of their militant programme will become stronger as the strain and friction inseparable from prolonged industrial effort increases. They have a closely-knit core of energetic leaders and a membership which makes up in enthusiasm what it lacks in numbers.'

Danger

Although there is a forecast at the end that they will only rise to the position of 'sparring partners of the Communists' unless they can exploit their

temporary advantages much more rapidly than at present, the main lesson is that the Trotskyists were a big danger, at least potentially.

Antidote

The Memorandum also notes that the Communist Party 'would very much like to see the Trotskyists and their small paper suppressed'.

It would be interesting to have the comments of the Communist Party today on this document and its characterization of the Trotskyist movement.

Morrison's department, which had almost suppressed the CP in

1941 and had closed down the 'Daily Worker', obviously sees King St as a harmless ally in the war, a factor in industrial peace (i.e. class-collaboration) and an antidote to the real danger—Trotskyism.

It must have been in thinking of the revolutionary possibilities after the war that the War Cabinet decided to strike a blow at the movement as soon as possible.

Although there is no record of what was actually said in the discussion on the Memorandum, we do know that within two or three months four Trotskyist leaders it mentioned had been sentenced to a year in jail.

Jobless youth in the USA

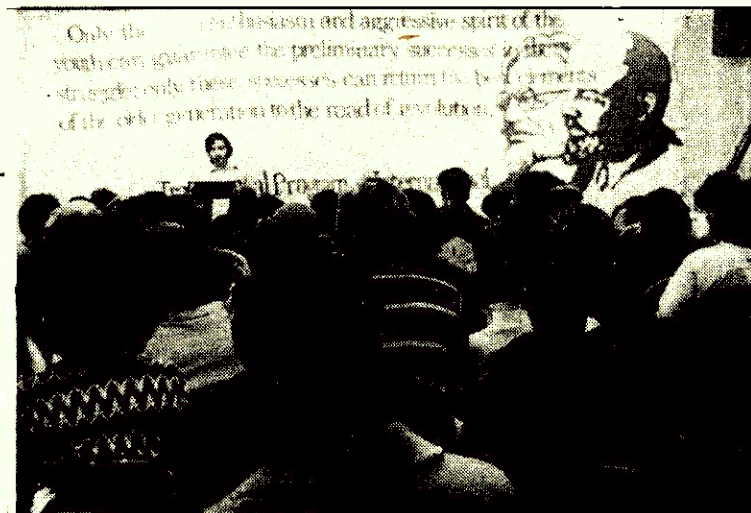
OFFICIAL US government unemployment figures show increases of 0.2 per cent to 6.1 per cent, in December 1971, almost 5½ million people without jobs.

However, an unofficial estimate after an independent survey by the United Auto Workers' Union showed a figure almost double that.

Their estimate was 8,805,000 or 10.2 per cent out of work. Youth are particularly hard hit by unemployment.

As early as July 1971, official figures estimated that 16.2 per cent of youth were without jobs.

This percentage was even higher among black and Mexican youth, of whom 35 per cent were estimated to be out of work!



Arming with theory for the fight

AMERICAN Young Socialists have announced a massive youth demonstration in March to fight against attacks on young people and to pose a real alternative for the youth.

Following its launching on December 8 last year by the American Trotskyist organization, the Workers League, the American Young Socialists held its first steering committee meeting last week in New York.

Building

Over 100 youth from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Connecticut, Newark and Baltimore attended and discussed the programme and planned for the building of the YS in the next period.

Opening the meeting, Gil Gonzalez of the E New York YS reported on the present

crisis and the necessity to construct the YS organization.

'The working class and the youth are now faced with a fight for survival', he said. 'The capitalists are prepared to destroy millions of lives to save their system. . . Youth are hit the hardest. Capitalism offers no future for us but unemployment, poverty and war. If we fight back we are met with the power of the police and the state.'

Demonstration

'The nationalists and revisionists say we should fight for reforms, but we are fighting for our lives. This is why we must build the revolutionary youth movement, the Young Socialists, which is based on Marxist theory to arm us for our fight', he continued.

He proposed that the YS demonstration against unemployment and budget cuts be held on March 29 at Foley Square, New York.

Gil also proposed that in the 1972 election campaign the YS must take sides and support the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and vice-President, Linda Jensen and Andrew Pulley. They would support them, he said, as a socialist alternative to both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, but they would campaign for them on the basis of their own programme.

A lively discussion followed on the crisis, nationalism, the SWP campaign and the building of the Young Socialist clubs.



Top and above: Scenes from the US Young Socialists Steering Committee meeting.

INTERNATIONAL
youth NEWS

The 'long hair' question

THE GOVERNMENT of Singapore in a campaign against long hair and hippy culture has threatened to ban students from examinations if they refuse to have their hair cut.

As part of the new 'get-tough' policy, the Minister of State for Education, Dr Lee Chiew Meng, has now warned final-year students at the Ngee Ann technical college against untidiness.

He said some students had

been sporting shabby clothes on the campus and warned those who did not lop their locks were likely to be barred from taking examinations.

The Education Ministry has also threatened 'firm action' will be taken against long-haired students in secondary schools.

Immigration officials have already 'induced' some visitors to have their hair cut before allowing them entry. Even after gaining entry, only after contacting their respective High Commissions or Embassies, irate visitors have been given permission to stay only for a day or two unless they have agreed to visit the barber.

And Singaporeans returning from abroad sporting long hair must surrender their passports which are only returned when they reappear with cut hair.

But ever alive to their class allegiance, the Home Affairs Ministry has said there would be 'flexibility' in its implementation of the policy.

State guests and other 'respectable-looking visitors' who keep their long hair clean would be exempted.

A Ministry spokesman announced:

'We are not against long hair as such. But we are against long hair which is symptomatic of drug-taking and hippyism.'

Subscribe!

workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£17.12 for 12 months (312 issues)
£8.56 for 6 months (156 issues)
£4.29 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:
£1.32 for 3 months (24 issues)
£5.28 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:
Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY

Or
Full subscription (six days) for months.

Name

Address

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4.

Name

Address

Fourth International OUT NOW

The International Committee and the struggle for power

BOLIVIA:

Revolution and counter-revolution

LUKACS:

a political itinerary

Marxist theory and class consciousness

REVIEW

Stalinism, Liberalism and British History

25p

Secret documents of the War Cabinet

Tories saw the real danger was Trotskyism

by Tom Kemp

BEFORE deciding to prosecute the leaders of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party for their part in organizing the Tyne apprentices' strike in 1944, Home Secretary Herbert Morrison presented to the War Cabinet a six-page printed document about the movement.

This forms part of the Cabinet papers which are open to public inspection at the Public Records Office.

It is clear that the memorandum was based upon inside information — a police plant in the organization — as well as a study of its literature.

Entitled 'The Trotskyist Movement in Britain, it was marked SECRET and dated April 13, 1944. Appendix A gives biographical details about the then leaders of the movement—James Ritchie ('Locke' Easton), Alfred Lee, Edward Grant, Roy Tearse, Harold Atkinson, Heaton Lee and Ann Keen. Appendix B gives the Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The document begins with a paragraph which says that Trotskyism is based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin. As Britain was that time in alliance with Stalin, there is no wonder that it opposes 'Trotsky's doctrinaire views and Stalin's realism'.

The British ruling class and its Labour hangers-on always found Stalin 'realistic'. After all, he murdered Trotskyists, while they sent them to jail.

The document goes on to say: 'The Trotskyists do not regard the form of society which now exists in Russia as socialism—they believe that true socialism can be achieved only by more or less simultaneous revolution over the greater part of the globe; and they are bitterly hostile to the Stalinist regime because it has not only "betrayed the revolution" in Russia itself but, by using the national Communist parties as the instruments of its "reactionary" policy abroad, has retarded the development of the working class towards world revolution.'

The Trotskyists hope to attain their ends, it continues, 'by campaigning alongside the workers on the issues which most closely concern them, such as wages, employment and social conditions.'

* Easton, a renegade from the Trotskyist movement is now Educational Director of the EEPTU.



Lord Morrison, photographed in 1960.

It was precisely this that 'blood, sweat, toil and tears' Churchill and his henchmen were most afraid of.

It defined the Trotskyist position as being hostility to 'fascism'—which it puts like that in inverted commas—the War Cabinet was not fighting 'fascism', simply its imperialist rivals.

'The USSR, although degenerate, is still a workers state', it says, 'and must be helped in its resistance to fascism; but the Trotskyist believes that capitalist governments cannot by their nature effectively oppose fascism, and that he can therefore only help the USSR if he first overthrows his own government.'

Financing

In the next section there follows a brief history of the Trotskyist movement in Britain from its formation in 1929; an account of its leaders; its organization and membership and publications.

In dealing with the financing of the movement it says 'There are no indications that Trotskyist organizations receive money from abroad. The members are expected to contribute liberally and are apparently prepared to do so.'

If the government had been able to find any trace of foreign financial support it would have hastened to say so. That it did

not is a rebuttal of Communist Party allegations that the Trotskyists were in the pay of Hitler.

A discredited pamphlet was being circulated by the Communist Party at this time called 'Clear Out Hitler's Agents'. This accused the Trotskyists of being supporters of the Nazis. Again, the government, which would have been only too happy to find some connection, is obliged to say exactly the contrary.

Leadership

The policy and methods of the Trotskyists, the War Cabinet was told, appear to be directed 'rather to stir up class feeling among the workers than to have any direct effect on the war'.

The real problem, as far as the Churchill government was concerned, was this:

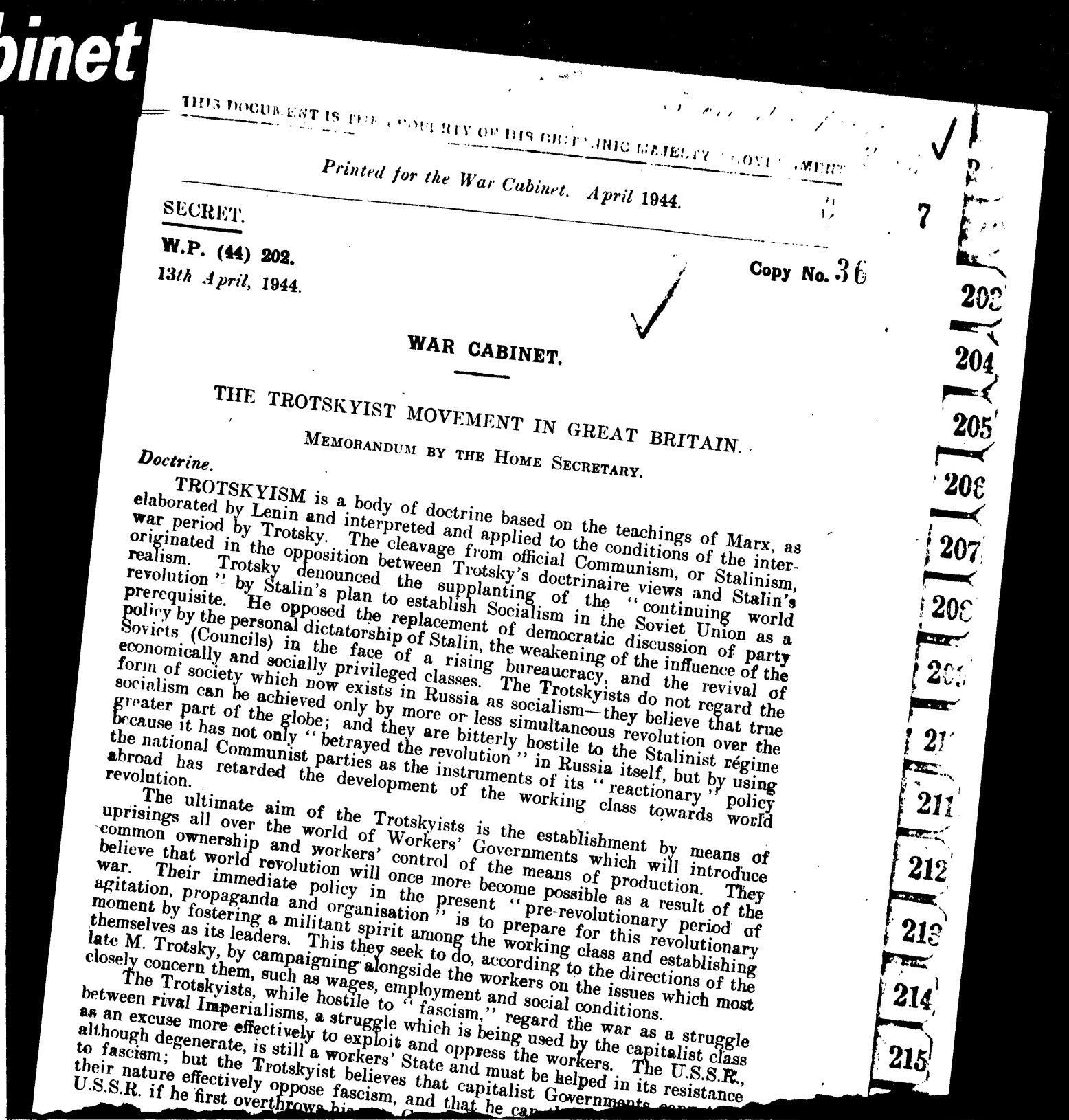
'The main object of Trotskyist policy is to stimulate and focus discontent and to obtain the leadership of the group of militants thus formed. The party seeks not only to take the place vacated by the Communist Party as the leader of the normally discontented elements, but to attract to itself the larger body of workers who, while not yet ready to take up a militantly anti-government attitude, are suspicious of their employers, doubtful of the sincerity of the government's promises of post-war reform and tiring of the industrial truce and the leaders who seek to enforce it.'

One is inclined to say 'well said!' to the anonymous author. The War Cabinet hardly needed to be informed that the Communist Party had vacated its place as a leader of working-class militancy. It was told, however, that the CPGB had been 'annoyed' when the Trotskyists formed the 'Revolutionary Communist Party'.

Miners

About the only reassuring aspect of the whole business from the point of view of the guilty men in Whitehall, who above all feared the anger of the working class at the end of the war, was that the Trotskyists were small in number and had few resources.

This writer of the Memorandum had from inside knowledge. He was thus able to give the ages, brief biographies and even the medical histories of the main CP leaders. He was particularly worried about the possibility of growing influence among



A section of the War Cabinet documents on Trotskyism.

(Facsimiles of Crown-copyright records in the Public Records Office appear by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)

the miners—the ruling class had always feared the miners. The Party's policy at that time was 'Labour to Power'.

'It desires the establishment of a Labour government because it believes that any post-war government must fail to fulfil the workers' expectations, and that the failure of a Labour government will produce a disillusion strong enough to throw the working class into the arms of the extremists.'

The Memorandum concludes by saying:

'The Trotskyists are attracting workers whose discontent and desire to hit out at the employer

and the government can find no other outlet. They have achieved a small and localized but recognizable influence; and they are confident that the appeal of their militant programme will become stronger as the strain and friction inseparable from prolonged industrial effort increases. They have a closely-knit core of energetic leaders and a membership which makes up in enthusiasm what it lacks in numbers.'

Danger

Although there is a forecast at the end that they will only rise to the position of sparing partners of the Communists unless they can exploit their

temporary advantages much more rapidly than at present, the main lesson is that the Trotskyists were a big danger, at least potentially.

Antidote

The Memorandum also notes that the Communist Party 'would very much like to see the Trotskyists and their small paper suppressed'.

It would be interesting to have the comments of the Communist Party today on this document and its characterization of the Trotskyist movement.

Morrison's department, which had almost suppressed the CP in

1941 and had closed down the 'Daily Worker', obviously sees King St as a harmless ally in the war, a factor in industrial peace (i.e. class-collaboration) and an antidote to the real danger — Trotskyism.

It must have been in thinking of the revolutionary possibilities after the war that the War Cabinet decided to strike a blow at the movement as soon as possible.

Although there is no record of what was actually said in the discussion on the Memorandum, we do know that within two or three months four Trotskyist leaders it mentioned had been sentenced to a year in jail.

Jobless youth in the USA

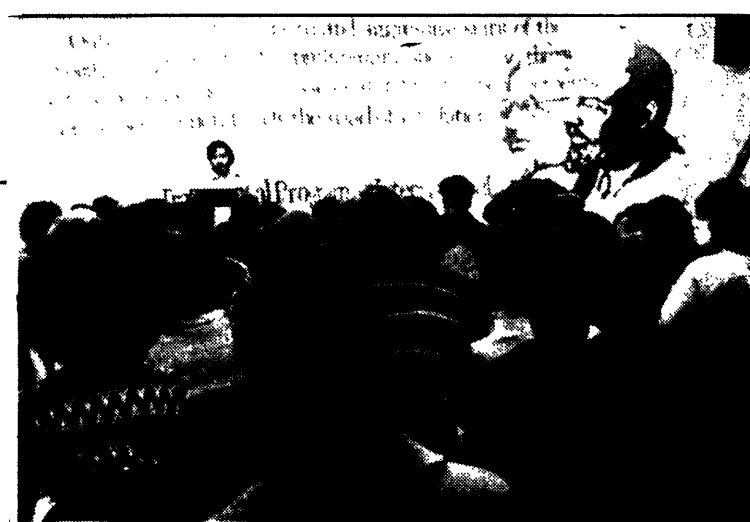
OFFICIAL US government unemployment figures show increases of 0.2 per cent to 6.1 per cent, in December 1971, almost 51 million people without jobs.

However, an unofficial estimate after an independent survey by the United Auto Workers' Union showed a figure almost double that.

Their estimate was 8,805,000 or 10.2 per cent out of work. Youth are particularly hard hit by unemployment.

As early as July 1971, official figures estimated that 16.2 per cent of youth were without jobs.

This percentage was even higher among black and Mexican youth, of whom 35 per cent were estimated to be out of work!



Arming with theory for the fight

AMERICAN Young Socialists have announced a massive youth demonstration in March to fight against attacks on young people and to pose a real alternative for the youth.

Following its launching on December 8 last year by the American Trotskyist organization, the Workers League, the American Young Socialists held its first steering committee meeting last week in New York.

Building

Over 100 youth from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Connecticut, Newark and Baltimore attended and discussed the programme and planned for the building of the YS in the next period.

Opening the meeting, Gil Gonzalez of the E New York YS reported on the present

crisis and the necessity to construct the YS organization.

'The working class and the youth are now faced with a fight for survival', he said. 'The capitalists are prepared to destroy millions of lives to save their system. Youth are hit the hardest. Capitalism offers no future for us but unemployment, poverty and war. If we fight back we are met with the power of the police and the state.'

Demonstration

'The nationalists and revisionists say we should fight for reforms, but we are fighting for our lives. This is why we must build the revolutionary youth movement, the Young Socialists, which is based on Marxist theory to arm us for our fight', he continued.

He proposed that the YS demonstration against unemployment and budget cuts be held on March 29 at Foley Square, New York.

Gil also proposed that in the 1972 election campaign the YS must take sides and support the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and vice-President, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. They would support them, he said, as a socialist alternative to both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, but they would campaign for them on the basis of their own programme.

A lively discussion followed on the crisis, nationalism, the SWP campaign and the building of the Young Socialist clubs.



Top and above: Scenes from the US Young Socialists Steering Committee meeting.



The 'long hair' question

THE GOVERNMENT of Singapore in a campaign against long hair and hippy culture has threatened to ban students from examinations if they refuse to have their hair cut.

As part of the new 'get-tough' policy, the Minister of State for Education, Dr Lee Chiew Meng, has now warned final-year students at the Ngee Ann technical college against untidiness.

He said some students had

been sporting shabby clothes on the campus and warned those who did not top their locks were likely to be barred from taking examinations.

The Education Ministry has also threatened 'firm action' will be taken against long-haired students in secondary schools.

Immigration officials have already 'induced' some visitors to have their hair cut before allowing them entry. Even after gaining entry, only after contacting their respective High Commissions or Embassies, irate visitors have been given permission to stay only for a day or two unless they have agreed to visit the barber.

And Singaporeans returning from abroad sporting long hair must surrender their passports which are only returned when they reappear with cut hair.

But ever alive to their class allegiance, the Home Affairs Ministry has said there would be 'flexibility' in its implementation of the policy.

State guests and other 'respectable-looking visitors' who keep their long hair clean would be exempted.

A Ministry spokesman announced:

'We are not against long hair as such. But we are against long hair which is symptomatic of drug-taking and hippyism'.

Subscribe!
workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£17.12 for 12 months (312 issues)
£8.56 for 6 months (156 issues)
£4.29 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:
£1.32 for 3 months (24 issues)
£5.28 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:
Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY

Or
Full subscription (six days) for months.

Name

Address

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4.

Name

Address

Fourth International OUT NOW

ON

● Bolivia ● Lukacs

● The struggle for power

25p

TORY PRESS COLUMN

French Press becomes front page news

Jonathan Fenby, Reuter's correspondent in Paris, looks at the finance-crippled French press.

IN 1913, France had 500 daily newspapers. Today it has less than 100.

Between 1939 and 1971, France's total newspaper circulation rose by only 9 per cent, while the French population increased by 25 per cent.

In terms of newspapers read per 1,000 inhabitants, France ranks 18th in the world and seventh in Europe with a total daily readership of 12 million compared to some 20 million in W. Germany and 24 million in Britain.

Figures like these, combined with steeply rising production costs and stiff television competition for advertising, have highlighted a press crisis in France and made newspapers themselves front-page news at the start of 1972.

President Pompidou and his government have joined newspaper owners and editors in recognizing publicly the gravity of the crisis. The government gave the press a £1.16m boost in the form of an official subsidy for paper producers which will make newspaper cheaper.

Grant

Welcome as it is, the government grant immediately stirred controversy among newspapers. Some—like the independent 'Le Monde' and Catholic 'La Croix'—call for the subsidy to apply only to pages used for editorial material and not to advertising pages.

The subsidy is five times larger than the sum originally envisaged by the government. But even £1.16m will not go very far in solving the basic difficulties of the French press.

The crisis centres on the Paris press, where 'Le Monde' is believed to be the only paper not losing money.

In the provinces, the big regional newspapers are generally more healthy and have bolstered their positions in recent years through circulation and advertising arrangements which assure them of virtual monopolies in their areas.

Compared with some other European countries, French papers do not have large circulations and the problem of some papers is simply that they do not sell enough copies.

But even papers like 'France Soir', which claims France's largest daily sale, are facing hard times.

Stocks

As well as recent cost increases, these newspapers suffer from a French tradition of printing far more copies than are sold.

Distribution is done mainly through street news stands which have to be stocked up for the maximum possible sale. So some papers print 30 per cent more copies than they sell—with a corresponding impact on their overall costs.

At the same time, the government is blocking a 40 per cent price increase from the present general level of 50 centimes (4p) per copy. Newspapers estimate that, after deduction of distribution costs, they actually receive only about 30 centimes (2.6p) a copy.

READERS LETTERS WELCOME

The Editor, Workers Press, 184 Clapham High St, London, SW4



BY JOHN CRAWFORD

ON JANUARY 1, 1947, many a mining town saw the miners' lodge marching to the pithead, union banners flying and bands playing. This was Vesting Day, when Britain's coal mines were taken out of the hands of the owners and, as a notice proclaims at every pit, held by the National Coal Board 'on behalf of the Nation'.

The euphoria reached a bizarre peak when right-wing miners' leader Sam Watson proclaimed: 'No longer are we working for colliery owners. No longer are profits being paid to absentee owners. No longer is it "They and Them"—it is "We and Us".'

Generations of miners had seen nationalization of the industry as the only answer to the exploitation and humiliation they suffered at the hands of capitalism.

Profits

They had worked under the most dangerous and strenuous conditions, knowing that the coal companies were coining fat profits out of their sweat and blood. The miners had borne the heaviest blows of the depression days, their trade union already broken in the betrayal of 1926. Massive unemployment enabled the coal-owners to drive down wages and enforce desperately inadequate safety and health precautions.

For the miners, therefore, the Labour government of 1945 and its nationalization measure were the promise of a new world. It soon became clear, however, that this promise was a fiction.

Winding up the debate on the Nationalization Bill in 1946, Herbert Morrison declared: 'I would say to the miner that now the new job begins... emancipate yourselves from the understandable inhibitions created by the past. Emancipate yourselves from the mentality thrust upon you by a crude capitalism. This is vital, this is essential, if this socialized industry is to take with it miners and management to become co-operators and partners in a great and worthy adventure for the common good.'

British capitalism, eager to revive its war-shattered fortunes in the post-war boom, was almost entirely dependent on coal at that time. The coal-owners had allowed their industry to become technically the most backward in the world. Some form of state backing and re-organization was inevitable.

Keeping afloat

But the Attlee government had also the job of keeping the working class under control, a working class deeply stirred by the international wave of revolutionary struggle.

So coal nationalization, like every other reform introduced

What nationalization of coal really meant



Clement Attlee: his government had a job keeping the working class under control.

by the Labour government, was undertaken as part of the task of keeping capitalism afloat. The National Coal Board, which was supposed to run the industry 'on behalf of the Nation' (whatever that may be), became the biggest employer in the profit system.

Bitterness

The men selected by Minister for Fuel and Power, Mr Manny Shinwell (now Lord Shinwell), to serve on the national and regional boards—at several thousands of pounds a year—clearly reflected this relationship. Particularly at the lower levels, management remained largely in the hands of representatives of the old owners, together with a sprinkling of trade union bureaucrats.

In some areas, miners noted



Left: This notice appeared outside Britain's mines on January 1, 1947. Above: Working at the coal face in the 1940s.

over for them still counted as part of the massive burden of debt placed on the miners' backs. Particularly for some of the older mines, nationalization was a wonderful way of getting rid of a heap of junk at a juicy price.

But even heavier financial burdens had to be borne by the colliers.

In 1947, a quarter of the coal produced was still being cut with hand-picks and about the same proportion conveyed in tubs hauled by hand or by ponies. Only a tiny percentage was power-loaded. About 700,000 miners worked with 77,000 electric motors.

The NCB had to undertake a massive investment programme. But investment had to be financed by borrowing, and the miners had to foot the bill for repayments and interest.

Interest charges and compensation were not the only way capital continued to suck the miners' blood after 1947. Even more important was the provision of coal at low prices. Without this assured supply, the boom would have by-passed British capitalism completely.

A closely-guarded secret was the differential price-structure, which made it possible to make the domestic consumer subsidize private industrial customers.

Pay-off

For the first ten years of nationalization, the cry was 'production at any cost'. Miners moved up from being one of the worst-paid groups of workers—their wages had been held down during the war at their 1939 levels—to being among the best. But this was only a fraction of what the employing class would have had to pay them if miners had not been held back by the union leaders.

With the Stalinists of the British Communist Party well to the fore, Labour and trade union leaders were loud in their exhortations to the miners to 'make nationalization work'. Absenteism was condemned as a dreadful crime; more production was demanded constantly.

And then, in 1957, came the pay-off. The opening up of Middle East oil had already provided a keen economic rival for coal. With the 1957 recession, the climate in the industry changed rapidly.

Within a matter of weeks, the big drive to recruit miners gave way to plans for pit closures. In the profitable Midlands coalfield,

management was rubbing its hands as redundant car-workers applied for jobs in the pits.

Once again, pit villages became ghost-towns, as men had to leave the older coalfields to look for jobs. In the next 15 years, the total number of miners dropped from 700,000 to under 300,000.

For the NCB was able to take advantage of the recession and the conciliatory policy of the union chiefs to speed up the turn to power-loading methods at cut-price rates. In the past 15 years, output per manshift has gone up from 25 cwt to 45 cwt, while the miners have fallen steadily down the table of earnings.

But even heavier financial burdens had to be borne by the colliers. In 1947, a quarter of the coal produced was still being cut with hand-picks and about the same proportion conveyed in tubs hauled by hand or by ponies. Only a tiny percentage was power-loaded. About 700,000 miners worked with 77,000 electric motors.

The NCB had to undertake a massive investment programme. But investment had to be financed by borrowing, and the miners had to foot the bill for repayments and interest.

Interest charges and compensation were not the only way capital continued to suck the miners' blood after 1947. Even more important was the provision of coal at low prices. Without this assured supply, the boom would have by-passed British capitalism completely.

A closely-guarded secret was the differential price-structure, which made it possible to make the domestic consumer subsidize private industrial customers.

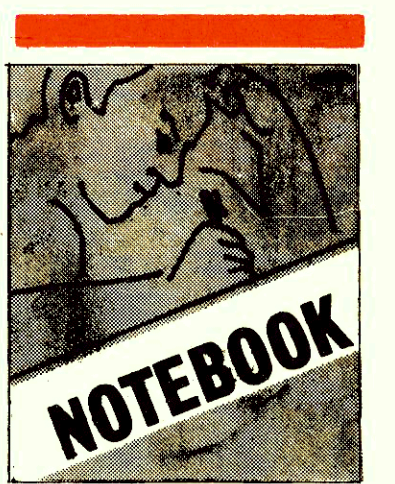
Will Paynter former CP member and former NUM secretary: managed to prevent any fight against pit closures.

The role of Will Paynter, who succeeded fellow-Stalinist Arthur Horner as NUM secretary just as the decline in the industry began, was vital here. With the meagre cover of a few gestures of protest, the NUM leaders managed to prevent any fight against pit closures being mounted.

Lessons

Today, the boom which ended for miners in 1957 has finished for every section of workers. The Tories take on the miners in open battle, as part of their attack on the entire trade union movement.

In building a revolutionary party to mobilize the working class and force the Tory government to resign, the bitter lessons of coal nationalization must be learnt. The great expectations of 1947 will be fulfilled only on the basis of workers' control at every level of the nationalized industry.



Your briefcase is showing

ONE OF the key figures in the Malta base talks is probably being given more than customary attention by the security men. NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns accompanied British Defence Secretary Lord Carrington in the hush-hush talks with the Mintoif government.

But the North Atlantic defence chief has had his security reputation rather dented recently. Luns was apparently rather careless with his private papers during his 15 years at his previous duty as Dutch Foreign Minister.

A government spokesman said the Dutch Cabinet regretted that unidentified persons were able to peruse Dr Luns' private archives, which were 'scattered about' in the Foreign Ministry in The Hague.

According to unconfirmed reports, Dr Luns left behind 21 crates of private documents.

Press reports allege that the documents included correspondence with the royal family and foreign politicians—all allegedly done without the Cabinet's knowledge.

Alarmed that such delicate matters should be revealed to the *hoi polloi*, one Amsterdam newspaper said sternly that the private papers 'obviously provided hours of amusement to certain active persons whose curiosity was stronger than their good manners and respect for great [!] statesmanship'.

Luns' predecessor in the NATO leadership could also be accused of a similar carelessness in his private affairs.

Paul-Henri Spaak, also ex-premier of Belgium, once lent his prestige to back the now-defunct Real Estate Fund of America, which is being sued by investors for \$10m in losses.

The company's first president was British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling, whose lawyers have asked a New York court to drop his name as a defendant in the case.

Accounting for the festivities

WE HEAR officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union are to be given rapid tuition courses in French so they can talk to their opposite numbers in the country's union federations.

Suggestions that the courses imply preparations to accept British entry into the Common Market at the end of this month are denied by the union, though not very enthusiastically.

However, the T&GWU's 50th anniversary celebrations this week showed that there is one field its leaders could do with a bit of tuition in: maths.

For no one, it appeared, had any idea what the function was costing the union.

The most precise estimate newshounds could extract from Norman Willis, the man in charge of press relations at the



Jack Jones

T&GWU's London headquarters, was 'not all that much'.

And then there was Jones. You'd think the general secretary would know. But the furthest he would chance his arrows was 'not very much from the central funds'.

Why so coy? you might ask. Well, perhaps it's because the day's celebrations in the Royal Festival Hall, London, will have at the union back at least £40,000.

The breakdown is something like this: hire of hall, £1,200; free lunch for 3,000, £6,000; coffee for the same number, £100; loss of earnings, £30,000; and transport at say £2 average per head, £6,000.

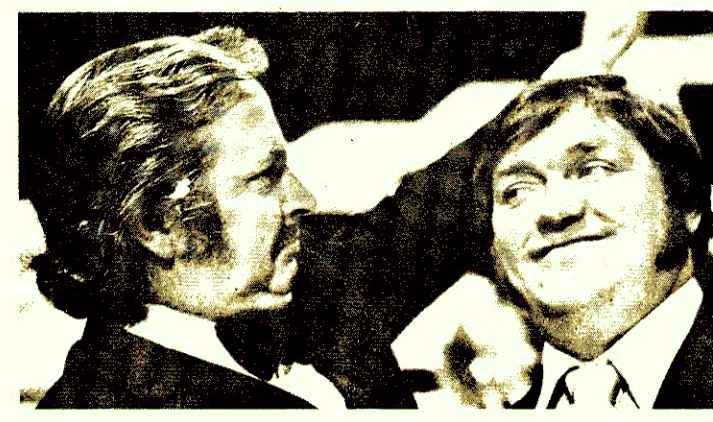
'A lot of the cost,' claims Jones, 'has been met by shop stewards' committees.'

But he did admit to stumping up the hire of the hall and most of the food costs from central funds—still leaving them some £8,000 out of pocket.

Which is a lot for a couple of snatches of Welsh male-voice choir, a dash of folk group, a couple of short films and a potted history of the union which said the 1926 General Strike was 'perhaps not a victory'... and then passed blithely on.

TODAY'S PROGRAMMES

- BBC 1**
- 9.38 For Schools. 12.55 Tressan. 1.30 The Herbs. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 Schools. 3.45 Conflict at Work. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Dr Dolittle. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.
 - 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
 - 6.50 TOM AND JERRY.
 - 7.00 OWEN MD. 'Comings and Goings', part 2.
 - 7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.
 - 8.00 THE BRIGHTON BELLE.
 - 8.30 HOLIDAY 72. Holiday Problems.
 - 9.00 NEWS, Weather.
 - 9.20 PLAY FOR TODAY. 'Stocker's Copper', by Tom Clarke. Strike-breaking policeman billeted in the home of a striker.
 - 10.45 24 HOURS.
 - 11.25 PEOPLE LTD.
- BBC 2**
- 11.00 Play School. 6.35 Rosla and After.
 - 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
 - 7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
 - 8.00 EUROPA. Britain—a country in search of a Continent.
 - 8.30 THE SHADOW OF THE TOWER. Part 3: 'The Schooling of Apes'. The rebels are forced to find a fourth claimant to the throne.
 - 9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK: Vera Lynn.
 - 10.00 NEWS, Weather.
 - 10.05 WORLD CINEMA: 'The Mind of the Child'. The adult world from the child's point of view.
 - 11.35 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.



ITV 9.00: Sez Les.

- All Regions as BBC-1 except:
- Wales: 2.30-2.50 For schools. 6.00-6.50 Wales today. 6.50-7.15 Heddiw. 7.15-7.25 Tom and Jerry. 8.00-8.30 Week in week out. 11.52 Weather.
 - Scotland: 2.30-2.50 For schools. 6.00-6.50 Reporting Scotland.
- ITV**
- 3.23 Yesterdays. 3.50 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea Break. 3.40 Marcus Welby. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Atom Ant. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.
 - 6.00 TODAY.
 - 6.30 CROSSROADS.
 - 7.00 FILM: 'HIGH SOCIETY'. Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Grace Kelly, Musical.
 - 9.00 SEZ LES. With The Bachelors, Kenneth Connor.
 - 9.30 THIS WEEK.
 - 10.00 NEWS, Weather.
 - 10.30 CINEMA.
 - 11.00 THE SAINT. 'The House on Dragon's Rock'.
 - 11.55 SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

REGIONAL ITV

- SOUTHERN:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Joe 90. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Junkin. 7.15 Film: 'Light up the Sky'. 9.00 London. 11.00 South news. 11.10 British museum. 11.40 Weather.
- ANGLIA:** 3.40 Newsroom. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Rupert Bear. 4.23 Tea break. 4.55 Bush boy. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Dick 'an Dyke. 7.30 Film: 'The Crimson Kimono'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Branded. 11.30 Living and growing. 12.00 End of the day.
- ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Stars. 3.45 Women today. 4.40 Family affair. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'Scarlet Angel'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Marcus Welby.
- ULSTER:** 10.20 Schools. 4.00 Yoga. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 ITV reports. 6.15 Tommy. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Dr Simon Locke. 7.30 Film: 'The World's Collide'. 9.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about. 11.20 British museum.
- YORKSHIRE:** 11.00 Schools. 2.33 Face the press. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 Matinee. 3.35 Calendar news. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Lone ranger. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.30 Sm family. 7.00 The Family Man. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorkshire personality of the year. 11.15 Cinema. 11.30 Drive-in. 12.10 Weather.
- GRAMPIAN:** 11.00 Schools. 3.38 News headlines. 3.40 Dick Van Dyke. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Grampian news, weather. 6.10 Lesley Blair. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Ada'. 9.00 London. 11.00 British museum. 11.30 GOLF. 12.00 Evening prayers.
- SCOTTISH:** 11.00 Schools. 3.30 Once upon a time. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. early. 4.35 Fireball XL 5. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline:
- Thursday. 6.15 Cartoon. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 Film: 'Fantasia Voyage'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sen-90. 5.20 London. 6.00 Kennedy. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Cinema.
- GRANADA:** 10.58 Schools. 3.40 Another world. 4.05 News. Here's Lucy. 4.35 Once upon a time. 4.50 Arthur. 5.15 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Newsday. Police file. 6.25 Feyton Place. 6.55 Film: 'Kim'. 9.00 London. 11.05 Scotland Yard casebook. 11.30 British museum.
- HARLECH:** 10.20 Schools. 3.50 Holidays abroad. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Huckleberry Finn. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.10 Film: 'Pirates of Tortuga'. 9.00 London. 10.30 My brother's keeper. 11.05 Marcus Welby MD. 12.05 Weather. ITV West as above except: 6.18. 6.35 Sport West.
- ITV Wales as above except:** 5.20 Dibyn-Dobyn. 6.01-6.18 Y Dydd. **ITV Cymru/Wales as ITV Wales.**
- CHANNEL:** 10.20 Schools. 1.40 School. 3.55 States of Jersey lottery. 4.05 Origami. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Nanny. 4.50 Joe 90. 5.20 London. 6.00 Channel news, weather. 6.10 What's on where. 6.15 Farming news. 6.20 Sport roundup. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Apache Uprising'. 8.30 This is your life. 9.00 London. 11.02 Live in France. 11.16 British museum. 11.45 News, weather.
- WESTWARD:** As Channel except: 3.35 Gun Honeybus. 4.18 Westward news headlines. 6.00 Westward diary. 10.30 Format. 11.15 News. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.50 Weather.
- TYNE TEES:** 11.00 Schools. 2.32 News. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 British museum. 3.35 Newsroom. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'Warriors Three'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sporttime. 11.10 Police call. 11.15 Cinema. 11.40 Drive-in. 12.05 News. 12.20 Social responsibilities.

TORY PRESS COLUMN

French Press becomes front page news

Jonathan Fenby, Reuter's correspondent in Paris, looks at the finance-crippled French press.

IN 1913, France had 500 daily newspapers. Today it has less than 100.

Between 1939 and 1971, France's total newspaper circulation rose by only 9 per cent, while the French population increased by 25 per cent.

In terms of newspapers read per 1,000 inhabitants, France ranks 18th in the world and seventh in Europe with a total daily readership of 12 million compared to some 20 million in West Germany and 24 million in Britain.

Figures like these, combined with steeply rising production costs and stiff television competition for advertising, have highlighted a press crisis in France and made newspapers themselves front-page news at the start of 1972.

President Pompidou and his government have joined newspaper owners and editors in recognizing publicly the gravity of the crisis. The government gave the press a £116m boost in the form of an official subsidy for paper producers which will make newspaper cheaper.

Grant

Welcome as it is, the government grant immediately stirred controversy among newspapers. Some—like the independent 'Le Monde' and Catholic 'La Croix'—call for the subsidy to apply only to pages used for editorial material and not to advertising pages.

The subsidy is five times larger than the sum originally envisaged by the government. But even £116m will not go very far in solving the basic difficulties of the French press.

The crisis centres on the Paris press, where 'Le Monde' is believed to be the only paper not losing money.

In the provinces, the big regional newspapers are generally more healthy and have bolstered their positions in recent years through circulation and advertising arrangements which assure them of virtual monopolies in their areas.

Compared with some other European countries, French papers do not have large circulations and the problem of some papers is simply that they do not sell enough copies.

But even papers like 'France Soir', which claims France's largest daily sale, are facing hard times.

Stocks

As well as recent cost increases, these newspapers suffer from a French tradition of printing far more copies than are sold.

Distribution is done mainly through street news stands which have to be stocked up for the maximum possible sale. So some papers print 30 per cent more copies than they sell—with a corresponding impact on their overall costs.

At the same time, the government is blocking a 40 per cent price increase from the present general level of 50 centimes (4p) per copy. Newspapers estimate that, after deduction of distribution costs, they actually receive only about 30 centimes (2.6p) a copy.



THIS COLLIERY IS NOW MANAGED BY THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE

JANUARY 1, 1947



Left: This notice appeared outside Britain's mines on January 1, 1947. Above: Working at the coal face in the 1940s.

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

What nationalization of coal really meant

ON JANUARY 1, 1947, many a mining town saw the miners' lodge marching to the pithead, union banners flying and bands playing. This was Vesting Day, when Britain's coal mines were taken out of the hands of the owners and, as a notice proclaims at every pit, held by the National Coal Board 'on behalf of the Nation'.

The euphoria reached a bizarre peak when 'right-wing miners' leader Sam Watson proclaimed: 'No longer are we working for colliery owners. No longer are profits being paid to absentee owners. No longer is it "They and Them"—it is "We and Us".'

Generations of miners had seen nationalization of the industry as the only answer to the exploitation and humiliation they suffered at the hands of capitalism.

Profits

They had worked under the most dangerous and strenuous conditions, knowing that the coal companies were coining fat profits out of their sweat and blood. The miners had borne the heaviest blows of the depression days, their trade union already broken in the betrayal of 1926. Massive unemployment enabled the coal-owners to drive down wages and enforce desperately inadequate safety and health precautions.

For the miners, therefore, the Labour government of 1945 and its nationalization measure were the promise of a new world. It soon became clear, however, that this promise was a fiction.

Winding up the debate on the Nationalization Bill in 1946, Herbert Morrison declared: 'I would say to the miner that now the new job begins... emancipate yourselves from the understandable inhibitions created by the past. Emancipate yourselves from the mentality thrust upon you by a crude capitalism. This is vital, this is essential, if this socialized industry is to take with it miners and management to become co-operators and partners in a great and worthy adventure for the common good.'

British capitalism, eager to revive its war-shattered fortunes in the post-war boom, was almost entirely dependent on coal at that time. The coal-owners had allowed their industry to become technically the most backward in the world. Some form of state backing and re-organization was inevitable.

Keeping afloat

But the Attlee government had also the job of keeping the working class under control, a working class deeply stirred by the international wave of revolutionary struggle.

So coal nationalization, like every other reform introduced



Clement Attlee: his government had a job keeping the working class under control.

by the Labour government, was undertaken as part of the task of keeping capitalism afloat. The National Coal Board, which was supposed to run the industry 'on behalf of the Nation' (whatever that may be), became the biggest employer in the profit system.

Bitterness

The men selected by Minister for Fuel and Power, Mr Manny Shinwell (now Lord Shinwell), to serve on the national and regional boards—at several thousands of pounds a year—clearly reflected this relationship. Particularly at the lower levels, management remained largely in the hands of representatives of the old owners, together with a sprinkling of trade union bureaucrats.

In some areas, miners noted

with bitterness, the company office and its occupants remained almost unchanged apart from the name on the door.

Global

Later nationalization measures specified the amounts of compensation offered. But in the mines it was done differently. A three-man tribunal held lengthy discussions with the Mining Association—the old employers' organization—and agreed with them a global figure for all the assets taken over. This total, somewhat fixed at £164.6m, was then divided up between the different districts and finally the separate companies got their cut.

By the time the job was finished, in 1956, 120 of the 958 collieries paid for had been shut down. But the money handed

over for them still counted as part of the massive burden of debt placed on the miners' backs. Particularly for some of the older mines, nationalization was a wonderful way of getting rid of a heap of junk at a juicy price.

But even heavier financial burdens had to be borne by the colliers.

In 1947, a quarter of the coal produced was still being cut with hand-picks and about the same proportion conveyed in tubs hauled by hand or by ponies. Only a tiny percentage was power-loaded. About 700,000 miners worked with 77,000 electric motors.

The NCB had to undertake a massive investment programme. But investment had to be financed by borrowing, and the miners had to foot the bill for repayments and interest.

Interest charges and compensation were not the only way capitalists continued to suck the miners' blood after 1947. Even more important was the provision of coal at low prices. Without this assured supply, the boom would have by-passed British capitalism completely.

A closely-guarded secret was the differential price-structure, which made it possible to make the domestic consumer subsidize private industrial customers.

Pay-off

For the first ten years of nationalization, the cry was 'production at any cost'. Miners moved up from being one of the worst-paid groups of workers—their wages had been held down during the war at their 1939 levels—to being among the best. But this was only a fraction of what the employing class would have had to pay them if miners had not been held back by the union leaders.

With the Stalinists of the British Communist Party well to the fore, Labour and trade union leaders were loud in their exhortations to the miners to 'make nationalization work'. Absenteeism was condemned as a dreadful crime; more production was demanded constantly.

And then, in 1957, came the pay-off. The opening up of Middle East oil had already provided a keen economic rival for coal. With the 1957 recession, the climate in the industry changed rapidly.

Within a matter of weeks, the big drive to recruit miners gave way to plans for pit closures. In the profitable Midlands coalfield,

management was rubbing its hands as redundant car-workers applied for jobs in the pits.

Once again, pit villages became ghost-towns, as men had to leave the older coalfields to look for jobs. In the next 15 years, the total number of miners dropped from 700,000 to under 300,000.

For the NCB was able to take advantage of the recession and the conciliatory policy of the union chiefs to speed up the turn to power-loading methods at cut-price rates. In the past 15 years, output per manshift has gone up from 25 cwt to 45 cwt, while the miners have fallen steadily down the table of earnings.



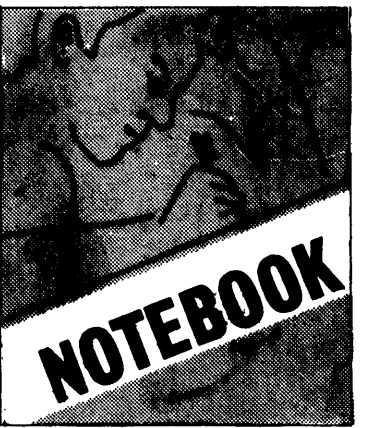
Will Paynter former CP member and former NUM secretary: managed to prevent any fight against pit closures.

The role of Will Paynter, who succeeded fellow-Stalinist Arthur Horner as NUM secretary just as the decline in the industry began, was vital here. With the meagre cover of a few gestures of protest, the NUM leaders managed to prevent any fight against pit closures being mounted.

Lessons

Today, the boom which ended for miners in 1957 has finished for every section of workers. The Tories take on the miners in open battle, as part of their attack on the entire trade union movement.

In building a revolutionary party to mobilize the working class and force the Tory government to resign, the bitter lessons of coal nationalization must be learnt. The great expectation of 1947 will be fulfilled only on the basis of workers' control at every level of the nationalized industry.



Your briefcase is showing

ONE OF the key figures in the Malta base talks is probably being given more than customary attention by the security men. NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns accompanied British Defence Secretary Lord Carrington in the hush-hush talks with the Mintoff government.

But the North Atlantic defence chief has had his security reputation rather dented recently. Luns was apparently rather careless with his private papers during his 15 years at his previous duty as Dutch Foreign Minister.

A government spokesman said the Dutch Cabinet regretted that unidentified persons were able to peruse Dr Luns' private archives, which were 'scattered about' in the Foreign Ministry in The Hague.

According to unconfirmed reports, Dr Luns left behind 21 crates of private documents.

Press reports allege that the documents included correspondence with the royal family and foreign politicians—all allegedly done without the Cabinet's knowledge.

Alarmed that such delicate matters should be revealed to the *hoi polloi*, one Amsterdam newspaper said sternly that the private papers 'obviously' provided hours of amusement to certain active persons whose curiosity was stronger than their good manners and respect for great [!] statesmanship.

Luns' predecessor in the NATO leadership could also be accused of a similar carelessness in his private affairs.

Paul-Henri Spaak, also ex-premier of Belgium, once lent his prestige to back the now-defunct Real Estate Fund of America, which is being sued by investors for \$10m in losses.

The company's first president was British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling, whose lawyers have asked a New York court to drop his name as a defendant in the case.

Accounting for the festivities

WE HEAR officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union are to be given rapid tuition courses in French so they can talk to their opposite numbers in the country's union federations.

Suggestions that the courses imply preparations to accept British entry into the Common Market at the end of this month are denied by the union, though not very enthusiastically.

However the T&GWU's 50th anniversary celebrations this week showed that there is one field its leaders could do with a bit of tuition in: maths.

For no one, it appeared, had any idea what the function was costing the union.

The most precise estimate newshounds could extract from Norman Willis, the man in charge of press relations at the



Jack Jones

T&GWU's London headquarters, was 'not all that much'.

And then there was Jones. You'd think the general secretary would know. But the furthest he would chance his arm was 'not very much from the central funds'.

Why so coy? you might ask. Well, perhaps it's because the day's celebrations in the Royal Festival Hall, London, will have set the union back at least £40,000.

'A lot of the cost,' claims Jones, 'has been met by shop stewards' committees.'

But he did admit to stumping up the hire of the hall and most of the food costs from central funds—still leaving them some £8,000 out of pocket.

Which is a lot for a couple of snatches of Welsh male-voice choir, a dash of folk group, a couple of short films and a potted history of the union which said the 1926 General Strike was 'perhaps not a victory'... and then passed blithely on.

TODAY'S PROGRAMMES

- BBC 1**
 9.38 For Schools. 12.55 Tresarn. 1.30 The Herbs. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 Schools. 3.45 Conflict at Work. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Dr Dolittle. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.
 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
 6.50 TOM AND JERRY.
 7.00 OWEN MD. 'Coming and Going', part 2.
 7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.
 8.00 THE BRIGHTON BELLE.
 8.30 HOLIDAY 72. Holiday Problems.
 9.00 NEWS, Weather.
 9.20 PLAY FOR TODAY. 'Stocker's Copper', by Tom Clarke. Strike-breaking policeman billeted in the home of a striker.
 10.45 24 HOURS.
 11.25 PEOPLE LTD.
- BBC 2**
 11.00 Play School. 6.35 Rosta and After.
 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
 7.30 EUROPA, Weather.
 8.00 EUROPA. Britain—a country in search of a Continent.
 8.30 THE SHADOW OF THE TOWER. Part 3: 'The Schooling of Apes'. The rebels are forced to find a fourth claimant to the throne.
 9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK: Vera Lynn.
 10.00 NEWS, Weather.
 10.05 WORLD CINEMA: 'The Mind of the Child'. The adult world from the child's point of view.
 11.35 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.



ITV 9.00: Sez Les.

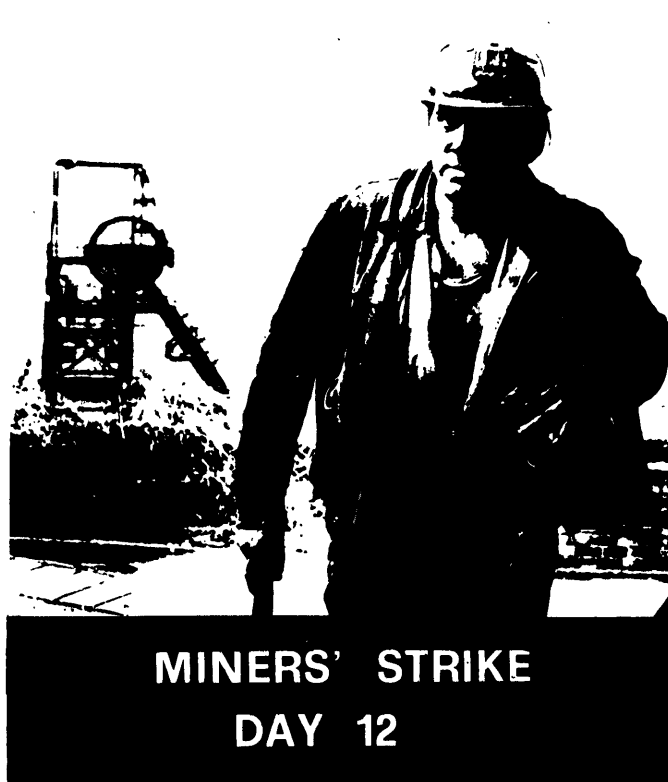
- All Regions as BBC1 except:
 Wales: 2.30-2.50 For schools. 6.00-6.50 Wales today. 6.50-7.15 Hed-diw. 7.15-7.25 Tom and Jerry. 8.00-8.30 Week in week out. 11.52 Weather.
 Scotland: 2.30-2.50 For schools. 6.00-6.50 Reporting Scotland.
- ITV**
 3.23 Yesterdays. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea Break. 3.40 Marcus Welby. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Atom Ant. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.
- 6.35 CROSSROADS.**
 7.00 FILM: 'HIGH SOCIETY'. Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Grace Kelly. Musical.
 9.00 SEZ LES. With The Bachelors, Kenneth Connor.
 9.30 THIS WEEK.
 10.00 NEWS, Weather.
 10.30 CINEMA.
 11.00 THE SAINT. 'The House on Dragon's Rock'.
 11.55 SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

REGIONAL ITV

- SOUTHERN:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Joe 90. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Lunch. 7.15 Film: 'Light up the Sky'. 9.00 London. 11.00 South news. 11.10 British museum. 11.40 Weather.
- ANGLIA:** 3.40 Newsroom. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Rupert Bear. 4.25 Tea break. 4.55 Bush boy. 5.00 London. 5.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Dick Van Dyke. 7.30 Film: 'The Crimson Kinono'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Branded. 11.30 Living and growing. 12.00 End of the day.
- ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Family affair. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'Scarlet Angel'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Marcus Welby.
- ULSTER:** 10.20 Schools. 4.00 Yoga. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 Tommy. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Dr Simon Locke. 7.30 Film: 'When Worlds Collide'. 9.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about. 11.20 British museum.
- YORKSHIRE:** 11.00 Schools. 2.33 Fear the press. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 Matinee. 3.35 Calendar news. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Lone ranger. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'The Fast Man'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorkport personality of the year. 11.15 Cinema. 11.45 Drive-in. 12.10 Weather.
- GRAMPIAN:** 11.00 Schools. 3.38 News headlines. 3.40 Dick Van Dyke. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Gramplan news, weather. 6.10 British museum. 6.30 Calendar. Film: 'Ada'. 9.00 London. 11.00 British museum. 11.30 Golf. 12.00 Evening prayers.
- SCOTTISH:** 11.00 Schools. 3.30 Once upon a time. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Delteline. early. 4.55 Football XI. 5. 5.20 London. 6.00 Delteline.
- Thursday, 6.15 Cartoon. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 Film: 'Fantastic Voyage'. 9.00 London. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Cinema.
- GRANADA:** 10.55 Schools. 3.40 Another world. 4.05 News. Here's Lucy. 4.35 Once upon a time. 4.50 Arthur. 4.15 Matinee. 5.30 Puffin. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.25 Peyton Place. 6.55 Film: 'Kim'. 9.00 London. 11.05 Scotland Yard casebook. 11.30 British museum.
- HARLECH:** 10.20 Schools. 3.50 Holidays abroad. 4.15 Tinkertanment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Huckleberry Finn. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.10 Film: 'Pirates of Tortuga'. 9.00 London. 10.30 My brother's keeper. 11.00 Marcus Welby MD. 12.05 Weather. 6.10 What's on where. 6.15 Earning news. 6.20 Sport roundup. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Apache Uprising'. 8.30 This is your life. 9.00 London. 11.02 Life in France. 11.16 British museum. 11.45 News, weather.
- WESTWARD:** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeyburn. 4.18 Westward news headlines. 6.00 Westward diary. 10.30 Format. 11.13 News. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.50 Weather.
- TYNE TEES:** 11.00 Schools. 2.32 Face the press. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 British museum. 3.35 Newsroom. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'Sergeants Three'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sporttime. 11.10 Police call. 11.15 Cinema. 11.40 Drive in. 11.55 News. 12.20 Social responsibilities.



PICKETS DELAYING COAL LORRIES AT THE FERRYBRIDGE POWER STATION YORKSHIRE



MINERS' STRIKE DAY 12

YORKSHIRE

Local leaders afraid to fight Tories—miners

DONCASTER miners are angry that their panel leadership has failed to carry out even simple organizational tasks and has in fact run away from the strike since it began.

At Edlington, for example, there has not even been a branch meeting since the Saturday before the strike began. No picketing has been organized and the men seem deliberately left in some confusion about the situation.

'It appears that our leadership is doing nothing about it at all, Edlington underground worker Stanley Mee told Workers Press.

'We'd like to know what they're going to do about organizing the strike. The only way we've been able to keep in touch is by watching the TV or reading the papers.

'We'll have to fight for a meeting soon. It would also be a good idea to have a mass meeting and demonstration of all Doncaster miners,' said Stanley.

Bentley miners were also unsure if there had been a branch meeting. 'I just do not know', one young miner told us.

At Brodsworth, Doncaster's biggest pit and traditionally the most militant, there was a poor turnout for last Sunday's branch meeting.

Several miners complained they did not even know about it.

Usually someone comes round with a loudspeaker or a bell, informing miners of the meeting.

'But I never heard the bell or wasn't told about the meeting,' a Brodsworth miner told us.

'It seems that the Doncaster panel, which has Communist Party members like Jock Kane on it, deliberately won't give leadership.

'For example, the ASLEF secretary in Doncaster has appealed for miners to come forward and solicit his union's help in stopping movement of coal. But to my knowledge no one has approached him at all.'

'The panel know it's a fight against the Tory government and they are incapable of organizing such a fight. The

rank and file will have to take the lead as they have done in N Yorkshire in Castleford,' he told us.

Yorkshire's 70,000 miners are learning quickly that not one of the official leaders is prepared to fight. In Barnsley, Arthur Scargill thinks there'll be a compromise.

In Castleford, area agent Jack Smart moved in the trades council to block a motion from the Wheldale delegate calling for ASLEF's support after the ASLEF delegate had asked for it!

A whole week passed and no picketing was organized, except by the rank and file. But as shown at Castleford in N Yorkshire, miners are demanding their leaders either fight or clear the road for those who will provide a clear political lead for miners.

Plessey men strong as ever Cash appeal in branches for sit-in

From STEPHEN JOHNS IN SCOTLAND

A BRANCH by branch cash appeal throughout the engineering union is to be launched to keep the Plessey occupation at Alexandria, Dumbar-tonshire, going.

The spirit of the Alexandria workers, now in their 19th week of sit-in, remains unbroken. In fact attendance at the gate-house behind the huge iron gates of the Argyle works has increased since the New Year.

The men have rebuffed unofficial approaches by local management to allow one small employer into the site.

'We stick to our point—that the company must pro-

vide permanent jobs for all the men before the occupation ends', shop steward Jack Green told me.

The men are suspicious of one inquiry for space in the Argyle site from an ex-employee of the company—a man who Plessey helped to establish his small firm.

Hugh Scanlon the big left-winger. He was going to fight. But look what he's done — abandoned the national engineering claim and left the boys to fight it out in the localities. Divide and rule. It must gladden the Tories' hearts.'

The men around nod in agreement. After 19 weeks without official support from the engineering executive (though Scanlon and his team have parted them on the head) the full-time union bureaucrat is not the most popular figure.

Stretch

Some of the workers are in a desperate financial position. The ones made redundant in June have lost their earnings-related benefits.

Jack Green has to make £18.45 stretch the week to feed and clothe his wife and five children.

Robert Gallagher—£8.80 from the Labour Exchange and £5 national assistance—has just had a £40 electricity bill.

How is he going to pay it? 'Simple. I cannot pay it', says Robert.

As the men stick this fight out, their anger at the incidence of the trade union and TUC leaders grows.

John Free, a veteran of the sit-in who has turned down an offer of a £12 a week part-time job because 'it would be unfair to men with no money, commented:

'Yes we heard about

Front line

The Plessey workers and the Fisher-Bendix men at Kirby, Liverpool, are in the front line of battle.

Yet the union leaders, who weep and wail about the Tory offensive have done nothing to help them win.

As the attack on the right to work grows, they manoeuvre desperately to avoid a confrontation with the government.

At Plessey some of these lessons are beginning to sink home. Workers have re-decorated the gates with new slogans.

'1972, conditions—1932', reads one. '1972, aim—Tories out', proclaims another.

Coke supplies

FROM PAGE ONE

Tory government,' Steve Haigh, Glasshoughton apprentice told Workers Press.

Another picket said: 'It's a stab in the back, treacherous. I can't find words to express my thoughts.'

'Jones' statement is bad. It makes you wonder about what he is doing. The same goes for Victor Feather of the TUC,' George Sharp, an Ollerton miner, said.

'What he should be doing is calling all his men out.'

We also spoke to Wheldale strike committee member Denis Frank soon after the end of one of his regular meetings.

'Jack Jones' position is forced to be a stab in the back for socialism.

'In my opinion if we're out the power men should be out with us.'

Why did Jack Jones, usually thought of as 'left', fail to support the miners?

'I think he has been pressurized by the government and bent under the strain,' said Denis.

'If he'd an ounce of policy and principle he'd call meetings of his own members to get them out in support of us.'

PICKETS from Clipstone and

Thoresby collieries (Notts) were joined by angry wives yesterday as they attempted for the third day running to stop COSA members from working at the National Coal Board's No. 3 area headquarters in Edwinstowe.

A Leeds branch of the Association of Scientific,

Organized efforts

FROM PAGE ONE

showed the utter bankruptcy of the Labour Party as the Tories maintain their offensive on all fronts.

The second part of the campaign to defeat the strike is occurring on the docks and at the power stations.

After a Workers Press survey of the regional areas it is clear that there is organized strike-breaking in action. And the 'scabs' are getting the support of the police.

The clearest example of the dangerous situation which is developing occurred at Dover on Tuesday.

A lorry driver brandished an iron bar as he manoeuvred his vehicle through the picket

Technical and Managerial Staffs has passed a resolution condemning the TUC finances and general purposes committee for failing to give all-out support to the miners' strike.

The resolution passed by branch 507 calls on the TUC to organize industrial action in support of the strike.

The resolution will now come before the ASTMS district committee and the Leeds Trades Council.

lines. But three miners were arrested!

And at the major NCB coal depot at W Drayton, Midlands, lorries are continuing to move freely under the paternal eyes of the police.

The dangers to the miners are therefore clear: the treacherous 'talks about talks', strike-breaking, scabbing and police intimidation.

As the strike lengthens this campaign will intensify with hostility to the miners.

To defeat these campaigns, the miners need the active support of ALL the trade unions in a united campaign against the main enemy—the Tory government.

SEE LATE NEWS

Strike could get nasty once the money runs out



MOIRA AND ARTHUR TACHELL: TRYING TO GET EVERYBODY OUT

Wyndham and Western is one of S Wales most modern and prosperous pits. The 1,250 miners live in a cluster of isolated mountain villages around the valley. IAN YEATS spent a day

talking to the pit lodge secretary, the chairman of the local social club and the ex-chairman of the Ogmere and Garw authority.

S WALES

WYNDHAM and Western colliery is almost a show pit. Fully mechanized, the mine made £4m last year and is expected to notch up £1m in 1972.

Lodge chairman, 50-year-old Arthur Tatchell, told me the men had bent over backwards to make the pit pay.

He spent most of his 25 years as an NUM official arguing for modernization, clamping down on absenteeism and even accepting redundancies if it meant more pits could be saved.

'People wonder what's happened to me' he said. 'Before I was trying to get everybody in. Now I'm trying to get everybody out.'

It's a disgrace for us as men to go home with such small, niggardly wages. It makes us ashamed to see wives and daughters earning more than the men.

Mr Tatchell said: 'I thought when the strike started that men who weren't used to committee work would want to stay in the house or lie in bed. But I could fill four buses with pickets every day. As soon as I ask for pickets the voting is unanimous.'

'We're out at six every morning picketing at the power stations and the docks. We'll be down there again tomorrow. We're working harder now than when we're in the pit.'

'I've always tried to keep politics out of my work, but I can't do it any longer. We're up against the government with this claim and we'll go on until they give in.'

Offering us an extra 10p was an insult and Ezra [NCB chairman] made the biggest mistake of his life when he said he'd withdraw the original offer. Even the pacifists were for the strike then.'

Mr Tatchell said it was not just a simple question of the miners' pay claim. What was

at stake was the government's whole policy of unemployment, high prices and low wages.

'If the strike goes on, the Labour Party and the TUC must definitely call for a General Strike. But if there's an election and Labour gets in, it will have to be very different from last time.'

'The miners weren't helped at all by their own party. We played our part and they took us for granted. And Labour was the first to put on prescription charges.'

'If Nye Bevan knew that he'd turn in his grave. It's got to end. All of us are getting a little bitter.'

'I don't think much of the TUC or the Labour Party. We're doing it now. What we need is a new revolutionary socialist party.'

'If there's a General Strike and a socialist government is elected, there will have to be workers' control in the mines. We don't want a lot of faceless officials telling us what to do. The men can do the job.'

'If workers control the mines, it will mean the workman himself sits in judgement.'

'In 1947 we thought nationalization the finest thing that ever happened and no man wants to go back to private enterprise.'

Adapted

'But I'm disillusioned that we've not got a fair wage. We've increased our output by 50 per cent and adapted ourselves to productivity deals, but we're still in the same boat as ten years ago.'

Mrs Moira Tatchell summed up the miners' position: 'We've just got to have a rise. I've got to go out to work now at the Offex factory because if I had to live on my husband's wage, we'd have nothing. The miners are not going to give and the wives are with them.'

TOMORROW: Fred Woods, chairman of Lewistown Athletic Club.

The lads in control would do better than NCB

KENT MINERS and their wives received scant comfort from the parliamentary 'great debate' on the pit strike.

But after lobbying MPs on Tuesday they made it forcefully clear that the next Labour government will not be allowed to continue with closures and low wages.

Eddie Sullivan, a Snowdon collier working on the shovel, said to the approval of his mates:

'If the Labour government tries to treat us in the same old way they'll get the same response as the Tories are getting. The lads in control would do much better than the NCB.'

Snowdon stableworker Jim Bryan said bitterly: 'This is my first visit to the House of Commons and I think the policies of most

of the MPs are as ancient as this building.

'We've met two miners' MPs. We wanted to get the assurance that the Labour Party is behind us.

'But I feel they're hedging. I've been in to see colliery managers and I know when they're hedging.'

Jim scathingly expressed the commonest reaction to the Labour MPs' offer of £1 for the miners' fund:

'They can chuck their £1,' he said. 'Give the same rise they had—38 per cent!'

Mrs Maureen Carter (30), whose husband Ivor has been a Snowdon collier for seven years, thought MPs were surprised to see so many miners' wives on the lobby.

But, she said: 'Coming here today hasn't really done anything.' Mrs Carter challenged

MPs: 'Would you go down the pit for 50 years for a £1.50 pension. Once a man's been down that long he's finished.'

One retired miner still fit enough to be on the lobby after half a century in the pits was 70-year-old John Kyle.

A life-long Labour Party member, Mr Kyle is scarred and stricken with pneumoconiosis.

He told Workers Press: 'When the pits were nationalized the top people in the industry were Tories.'

'The Labour Party should have organized a school to educate the young lads to take the top jobs to keep these out.'

'That's where the mistake was made. But I don't think the Labour Party has even begun thinking about workers' control.'

LATENEWS

NEWS DESK 01-720 2000
CIRCULATION 01-622 7029

MINERS' ATUA MEETINGS

CASTLEFORD: Friday January 21, 7.30 p.m. Sagar St Rooms.

AYLESHAM: Monday January 24, 7.30 p.m. The Greyhound.

DEAL: Tuesday January 25, 1 p.m. The Yew Tree, Mill Hill.

LEEDS: Tuesday January 25, 7.30 p.m. Quarry Hill Flats Community Centre.

WEATHER

FROST will be widespread at first, with some fog patches. In Scotland and N Ireland most of the day will be bright with some wintry showers in the W. England and Wales will become cloudy during the day, with rain or sleet spreading N, especially in the S and E. Temperatures generally not far from normal.

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Showers or longer periods of rain in the N and W. Mainly dry in the S and E. Temperatures near normal, but frost inland at night.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

workers press

READERS' MEETINGS

<p>Meet Editorial Board speakers. Discuss your ideas for the expanded paper</p> <p>SOUTHAMPTON Thursday January 20 7.30 p.m.</p>	<p>Conference Room Civic Centre Southampton</p> <p>S LONDON Wednesday January 26 8 p.m.</p> <p>Lower Hall Brixton Town Hall Brixton SW2</p>
--	---

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

<p>Make the Tory government resign!</p> <p>Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions</p> <p>CROYDON: Thursday January 20, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd, E Croydon. Support the miners.</p> <p>KIRKBY: Thursday January 20, 8 p.m. St Chad's Hall. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>MANCHESTER: Thursday January 20, 8 p.m. Room 3, Social Centre, Brownley Rd, Wythenshawe.</p> <p>WILLESDEN: Monday January 24, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour hall, High Rd, Willesden, NW10. 'Rents and housing.'</p> <p>LIVERPOOL: Monday January 24, 8 p.m. Museum Lecture Hall, William Brown Street. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>E LONDON: Tuesday January 25, 8 p.m. All Hallows Hall, Devons Rd, Poplar. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>DAGENHAM: Wednesday January 26, 8 p.m. Room 11, East Ham Town Hall, East Ham. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p>	<p>LUTON: Thursday January 27, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd, Luton. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>N LONDON: (Please note change of date.) Thursday January 27, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. 'Support the miners.'</p> <p>SE LONDON: Thursday January 27, 8 p.m. Room 2, Deptford Engineers' Club, opp New Cross St. 'The Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>SLOUGH: Thursday January 27, 8 p.m. 'The Merry-makers', Langley. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>LANCASTER: Monday January 31, 7.30 p.m. Yorkshire House, Parliament St (nr bus stn). 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p> <p>SW LONDON: Tuesday February 1, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'The General Strike.'</p> <p>W LONDON: Tuesday February 1, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert' Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, King's Cross. 'Right-to-Work campaign.'</p>
--	---

Socialist Labour League

Special courses of lectures

In line with decision of ATUA November 6 conference to build revolutionary party

Lecture Room 1
Digbeth Hall, Digbeth
BIRMINGHAM, 8 p.m.

TUESDAY JANUARY 25
Economics and Politics

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 1
Historical Materialism today

Mid-Hall
Woodside Hall, St George's Cross
GLASGOW, 3 p.m.

SUNDAY JANUARY 23
Essential Marxism

SUNDAY JANUARY 30
Economics and Politics

given by
G. HEALY (SLI national secretary)

EEC anxiety over \$ crisis

FROM PAGE ONE

The speculative movement of capital, a problem he says must be tackled on a global scale if further monetary disruptions were to be avoided.

These points only emphasize the impossibility of agreement among the capitalist powers to 'solve' the present crisis.

Dollar convertibility ended on August 15, when President Nixon stopped selling gold to foreign central banks.

America's gold stock now covers only about a quarter of the total dollar holdings of foreign central banks. This situation will not be radically altered if the price of gold is raised as proposed by \$3 to \$38 an ounce.

The end of convertibility is already interfering with the IMF which can no longer accept dollar payments as an alternative to gold.

The Fund itself was the main international regulating body established to police the 1944 Bretton Woods system.

The recent currency realignments will certainly not eliminate America's balance of payments deficit. To do this Washington must bankrupt Europe and Japan.

Currently they are demanding that Europe break down its tariff walls and open its markets to US goods.

With Common Market industry already feeling the cold wind of recession, the W European employers are in no mood to make further concessions.

The next step could well be an even larger devaluation of the dollar, aimed at undercutting America's competitors.

Barre's third proposal, for 'global' action to tackle movements of speculative capital, is equally Utopian.

What he terms 'speculation' is only the operation of one of the basic tendencies of capitalism, in which each capitalist seeks the most profitable outlet for his funds.

'Various national economies, despite a plethora of exchange controls and barriers, are entirely at the mercy of these men.'

Many youth in Magilligan

ALL BUT a couple of internees at the newly-opened Magilligan internment camp are teenagers—and some are as young as 16.

The N Ireland Civil Rights Association has issued details of the camp which they say can accommodate up to 240 people.

Huts are smaller than those in Long Kesh and have 20 single bunks in each.

Heating consists of one pot boiler stove in the centre of each hut and the light switches are outside the hut. There is only one entrance. Each hut has a toilet at the field end.

The only other facilities in each cage are washrooms and toilets. Like Long Kesh, the camp is watched over by four gun towers with searchlights.