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BY JOHN SPENCER

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And as the Tory plans mature these figures will grow.

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Not only do they exclude many thousands of workers, especially women, who do not for one reason or another register for dole, but they also take no account of the growing numbers of workers refused unemployment pay.

The figures conceal a much higher number of unemployed, which may already be close to the million mark.

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New investment in industry is virtually at a standstill as stock market price-falls take their toll.

Above all, the Tories are pursuing a conscious strategy to build up a reserve army of unemployed as a preparation to halt wage rises, worsen working conditions and wield the big stick over the unions.

Unemployment is the other side of the employers' strategy for introducing anti-union laws. It is intimately bound up with the ruling-class counter-offensive on wages.

It is the inevitable result of mergers, takeovers and the growth of monopoly and a direct threat to all the gains workers have won over the last 30 years.

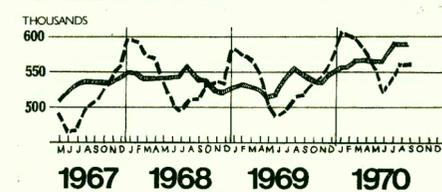
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Salute heroic Arab guerrillas

BY ROBERT BLACK

FROM THE inferno of blazing buildings, corpse strewn streets and devastated refugee camps in and around Amman, comes the terse, stirring message of the Palestinian guerrillas:

'We fight on until victory or death!'

Knifed in the back by the Kremlin's pressure on Syria to withdraw, menaced by the most massive concentration of US fire power the Middle East has ever witnessed, and subjected to the indescribable barbarities of Hussein's Bedouins, the Arab Revolution refuses to be cowed. In the Royalist capital it-

self, guerrillas still hold key quarters, though much has been reduced to rubble by the incessant pounding of Hussein's tanks and heavy guns.

They have poured in over 120,000 shells in the last week. When, during the last war, the Nazis butchered countless Jews in the death camps of the Third Reich, the imperialist allies feigned horror.

APPROVING

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This is the meaning and purpose of the Rogers 'peace plan'.

The Iraqi regime, which so loudly denounced the deal, and which until a few days ago declared it would not allow the guerrillas to be crushed by Arab reaction, has reportedly offered Hussein the help of the 12,000 Iraqi troops stationed in North Jordan.

According to the Cairo daily 'Al-Ahram', Hussein revealed this plan when he told Royalist army leaders that Iraqi troops had been asked to help in 'repelling the invasion by Syrian tanks'.

The Meir-Dayan regime is also giving military as well as political support to Hussein, dropping food and other supplies to his hard-pressed troops in the North.

PRESERVED

And just as desperate to strangle the Arab Revolution, the Kremlin yesterday again made clear to western government leaders that it favoured the preservation of the Hussein regime's authority in Jordan, which alone can guarantee the maintenance of the cease fire between the Arab states and Israel.

The Soviet news agency 'Tass' reassured imperialist leaders that 'the necessary steps are being taken to end the conflict, without the need for any outside intervention from Nixon, who was advised by the Kremlin to show 'caution' in the present situation.

'Tass' also said the Soviet government was in permanent contact with President Nasser of Egypt, who, throughout the Jordan fighting has thrown his influence on the side of Hussein.

The reported withdrawal of Syrian-supplied tanks from the zone is believed by both British and American government leaders to be the result of Kremlin pressure on the Syrian regime, and not—as reported in the press—a retreat from Hussein's army.

Commenting earlier this week on the Kremlin's decision to secure a Syrian withdrawal, US State Department spokesman Robert McCloskey said:

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 - Productivity and unemployment
 - Victimization at Pilkington's
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Even this two-faced statement is not a correct version of the Stalinist Middle-East position.

'Settlement'

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Same lines

Meeting the same evening, the Political Committee of the Communist Party, passed a resolution along the lines indicated by Jacobs.

It centred on a call to the Tory government 'to oppose these dangerous moves' (in the Middle East).

The Stalinists employ a division of labour. The Kremlin undermines the guerrilla struggle by seeking to cut off Syrian military aid, while in Britain, the CP leadership diverts the labour movement away from a class campaign in defence of the Arab Revolution towards an appeal for the Tories to save the Palestinians.

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POST UP ON FEB 15

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The change-over will coincide with Decimalization Day—February 15. This is the second postage increase in less than two years. After decimalization, the new first-class rate will be virtually twice the old 4d post.

The Post Office Corporation's £14 million price-rise package also includes higher overseas rates and increased parcel charges.

The Users' Council, however, turned down a request to reduce the weight allowance for basic mail from 4oz to 2oz. The Post Office Corporation has accepted the Council's amendments to its price-rise plans.

Cranemen work to rule on London docks

By an industrial correspondent

PORT of London Authority cranesmen and drivers at London's Royal Group of docks are now working to rule in support of a claim for extra pay.

Earlier in the week, the men had banned forklift trucks completely and reverted to hand trucks only.

Their action is now taking the form of insisting that vehicles meet safety regulations to the letter, refusing to work outside normal shift times and banning weekend working.

The PLA dockers are demanding a £3-a-week increase on the basic rate for

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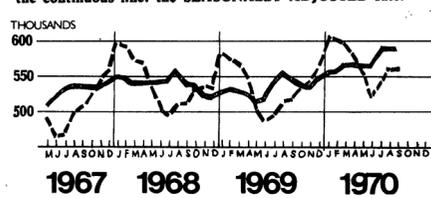
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The Wandsworth branch of the National Union of Teachers have voted to send a delegate to the All Trades Unions Alliance Pilkington's conference on October 3.

Their lead should be followed by teachers in all areas of Britain as part of their fight against Tory education cuts and anti-comprehensive legislation.

'Consider'

Asked at a Wednesday press conference what the union would do if the government turned down its demands, FBU president Enoch Humphries could say no more than: 'We will have to consider what we would recommend on the matter.'

'Tribune'-ite FBU general secretary Terry Parry seemed equally nonplussed.

Yet Humphries had earlier been forced to admit that when first eight, and then 85 Essex men were suspended without pay for their 'spit-and-polish' action 'there wasn't a squeak from the fire-authority employers or the government'—despite the fact that this could have provoked a wider dispute.

Council strike is on

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

INFORMAL talks on the manual council workers' pay claim have broken down and union leaders will begin official action. London will be the first affected area, where selected groups of men will be called out on strike next week.

London stewards remain determined, however, to call all the city's boroughs out on strike, despite the unions' plans to launch selective action only.

The National Union of Public Employees, one of the three unions involved in the 55s pay claim, says employers had not improved on their offer of 35s with a £16 10s minimum earnings guarantee.

'All they did in talks on Wednesday was to re-shuffle their offer, the amount they are willing to pay still remains the same,' said a spokesman.

'We feel that selective action is more intelligent than a total stoppage.'

'There was some talk of deferring action until October 5, but as far as I am concerned this has now died.'

'Some sections, like ambulance men, will be called out perhaps only for a day, other sections will come out and stay out to be joined by other depots as the strike progresses.'

Terry Wilson, secretary of the militant strike co-ordinating committee based in London said that they still planned to call the London men out as a body on Tuesday—the original date fixed for the strike.

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How would you characterize the present military junta? What are their aims in the long run?

The military junta cannot be characterized without referring to the international context.

It is clear that the government is aiming at 'modernizing' the Peruvian economy and legislation and this means, in many senses, a legalizing of already advanced processes, such as the disintegration of the traditional land aristocracy due to peasant revolts and the development of industry due to imperialist penetration.

This means to the Peruvian toiling masses unemployment, wage stagnation, growing uncertainties over their future and violent repression of their demands.

And when analysing the complex policies that are re-shaping banking, trade, industry and educational systems, the future aims are more clear and more dangerous.

The most likely outcome of this semi-Bonapartist regime is the growth of a corporate state. A clear indication of this is the new industrial code discussed in part 1.

Workers are asked to form a 'community of interests', to share profits and 'management'. This fairy tale has long been denounced by the international working class as a step towards corporatism.

State unions

The next step is the creation of state-controlled unions. The Minister of the Interior (chief of police) has declared recently that 'no communist will enter the unions'.

General Velasco, in his recent statement on the 'Defence Committees of the Revolution', which are supported wholeheartedly by the Stalinists, made clear that he will have nothing to do with his supporters.

But the right-wing union, the CGP, has been officially recognized. The Stalinist-controlled CGTP has not been recognized.

It all points to increased pressures against the Stalinist bureaucracies which would probably be led to dissolve the CGTP and integrate the state-controlled trade unions under the leadership of what General Velasco called 'a new breed of non-partisan, nationalistic union leaders'.

The 'Defence Committees of the Revolution' are another step in the direction of a corporate state. They amount to an undeclared political party (where the Stalinists are active supporters) dedicated to publicising the government and putting up smokescreens over its deeds.

With this political party, plus the state-controlled unions and newspapers, plus 'profit-sharing', wage freeze and one delegate of the 'community' on the board of directors in every firm, we have a Peruvian version of the well-known corporate state, the old 'new path between capitalism and communism'.

Why has this occurred in Peru? What are the social forces behind this?

It is certainly not a unique case. The Argentinian and Brazilian dictatorships show amazing similarities. Differences sometime appear more semantic than real. Not that semantic differences are not important!

In the Argentine, for instance, the government has devoted itself to strengthening the 'collaboracionista' union, and has practically wiped out any legal existence for the left-wing unions.

The 'collaboracionista' union has been called a state programme that will bring the state's share of investments to nearly 40 per cent of all industry in the next few years. Formal democracy has been abolished as in Peru.

The difference is more apparent with regard to the working-class opposition. The Argentinian working class is much stronger than the Peruvian.

It has long since passed through the experience of Bonapartism and corporatism, and has revolted against the rulers in Cordoba and elsewhere.

The military government in Bolivia expresses the same tendency. After unsuccessful attempts at crushing the resistance of the miners, it has followed the 'progressive' steps of the Peruvian military.

The establishment of military or quasi-military governments in Latin America is a tendency that started some years ago. Only a few governments keep an appear-

PERU has evoked considerable interest in the working-class movement because of the emergence of a so-called 'progressive' military junta which is receiving uncritical and enthusiastic support from world Stalinism, including the British Communist Party, as well as Fidel Castro.

This unprincipled support for the military regime, which continues to suppress ruthlessly the struggles of peasants and workers alike, is a clear indictment of the treachery and political bankruptcy of Stalinism and Castroism.

This interview with a Peruvian Trotskyist shows with great clarity and coquency the reactionary anti-working class, features of the junta and the inevitability, despite Stalinism and Castroism, of a revolutionary overturn in Peru as well as the favourable prospects for a Trotskyist party in Peru today.

ance of democracy, such as the Venezuelan and Chilean governments, but not without vast repressive measures against the working class and the peasantry.

This tendency reflects the impasse of world capitalism; it reflects the inability of capitalism to develop productive forces or to raise the standards of living of the masses.

The stagnation of productive forces is being caused by the extension of monopoly capital's grip into the industry, finance and trade of the backward capitalist countries and this is resulting in the stagnation of the living conditions of the masses or their actual deterioration as in Peru, growing unemployment and sky-rocketing living costs. These are all factors that co-exist with difficulty with formal democracy.

Control

Inevitably formal democracy, the rule by professional politicians of the bourgeoisie, becomes incompatible with the chaos, anarchy and crisis brought by monopoly capitalism. Direct control over every single movement of the economy becomes a necessity. A strong government is indispensable. Strikes and breaches of law and order become more intolerable than ever.

Whether the Bonapartists or semi-Bonapartists called to the fore define themselves as left wing or right wing is a semantic problem. Their policies against the working class and in support of capital are indistinguishable.

The social basis of this kind of government is therefore monopoly capital. Their agents are the weak and dependent sections of the national bourgeoisie, of the middle class, petty bourgeoisie, professionals, job-hunting bureaucrats, and, of course, the top



Bolivian miners militia.

military. It is within these ranks that the Communist Party bureaucracy expects to find its new jobs.

When we say that the social basis of regimes like the Peruvian junta is monopoly capital, we do not mean to say, as one of the factions of the Peruvian Maoists say, that the present government is the result of a 'fascist-imperialist plot'.

Weak

We only say that monopoly capital and the rulers of the world bourgeoisie, are the economic and social basis of the world capitalist system of which Peru is nothing but a weak and highly-dependent part.

Monopoly capital has closely determined the direction of the Peruvian economy, even in its most minor details. Monopoly capital has changed the traditional Peruvian oligarchy into a highly dependent and subservient

bourgeoisie whose most dynamic and profitable activities pertain to industry and trade and not land. Monopoly capital has fashioned the Peruvian army, its values, its equipment, its training, its officers.

Within this transformation a huge parasitic growth of the army, the bureaucracy, professionals, petty bourgeois merchants and traders, as well as the concentration of wealth in the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie has taken place. These are the agents of the kind of state structure that monopoly capital needs: a bourgeois corporate state.

Inflation

Not that these sections of the population are prosperous. They have gone and may go through periods of improvements in their conditions. But recently the characteristic has been inflation, low income and low profits. In times of crisis they also suffer, but infinitely less than workers and peasants.

But these ups and downs are precisely one of the agents in determining their behaviour. The army, the bureaucracy, the petty bourgeoisie, the managers and industrialists employed, hired, owned (partially or totally) and financed by monopoly capital know that their existence, their jobs, their income and their property depend on the health of the economy (i.e., monopoly profits). They also know that they are necessary tools of monopoly capital and thus they can do a bargain for a better share in the pillage of Peruvian workers and peasants.

Whether they are conscious of it or not, objectively this is their role.

If one can learn from psycho-analysis that a neurotic may pro-

cess to hate what he most loves, or to love what he most hates, one can without difficulty understand how this nationalistic ideology, this progressive rhetoric is nothing but a rationalization of an essentially reactionary, anti-working-class, anti-peasantry, policy.

Fidelistas are in confusion. Their dismissal of the working class, their glorification of the agrarian reform, the fierce police repression, their imprisoned

Hugo Blanco is in jail and you can imagine what his opinion of the junta is! He is not just a cadre of the left, he is a very well-known figure, an honest, dedicated revolutionary in spite of his mistakes. He has rebuffed the thesis of the revisionist United Secretariat in recent interviews and has not supported the government.

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The Peruvian military junta headed by General VELASCO proclaims 'land-reform' law.

STALINISM & IMPERIALISM IN PERU PART TWO

Could you briefly tell us how the different sections of the left have defined their policies with respect to the military junta?

We shall exclude the Communist Party. We have mentioned their position before and it is a left-wing party only because of its historic roots and because of the presence in its ranks of honest revolutionary workers who have not yet realized entirely the reactionary character of the leadership.

The Maoists are split into five factions. Their best-known group, publishing the monthly 'Bandera Roja', defined the junta as 'an imperialist plot'.

But their ultra-left verbiage does not obscure the fact that they have consistently refused to have anything to do with the working class, which they describe as 'aristocratic', and have concentrated all their efforts on convincing the peasantry that they should join future guerrilla activities. Their presence and opinion is of little relevance.

The revisionist pseudo-Trotskyists are also split. Posadists and Pabloites have endorsed the military government.

The one time leader of the left, Ismael Frias, has endorsed the junta and is today a senior writer on the government-controlled newspaper, 'Extra', using its columns to praise the junta.

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Fidelistas are in confusion. Their dismissal of the working class, their glorification of the agrarian reform, the fierce police repression, their imprisoned

Mountains of refuse provide a foundation for the Barriada dwellings in which half of Lima's population lives.



leaders, are together hopeless contradictions. In general they do not support the government and their importance is minimal. They have lived for long a semi-conspiratorial existence and have not attempted to build a party, only an organization, a conspiratorial unit, to support, logistically and

militarily the 'focos' of guerrillas, which, as you may imagine, are not the order of the day.

The key organization of the working class is the Vanguardia Revolucionaria. Founded in 1965, it has established itself firmly in the working class and its organizations.

This organization can become

the embryo of a revolutionary party provided the correct policies are put forward by revolutionary Marxists in its ranks (today this can only mean Trotskyists).

The blackmail of Fidelism, the primitive egalitarianism of Maoism, the unclear ideological stand of some of its members of petty-bourgeois origin, have limited the evolution of its original political stand.

Vanguardia Revolucionaria has nevertheless consistently followed a policy of political independence from bourgeois parties in the unions and has contributed to the creation of the CGTP, though never yielding to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Support should be given to these comrades who at present represent the only organized hope of the Peruvian working class. But much remains to be done in their ranks.

What do you think should be the main items of the revolutionary programme in Peru?

The thesis and programme should be based on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International and should be combined with the best of the thesis of J. C. Mariategui, the theoretician of the Peruvian Socialist Party.

It should demand a fight for the absolute independence, political and organizational, of the working class and its organizations from bourgeois parties and from the bourgeois state. It should fight the corporate state. It should demand the refusal of the working class to collaborate and share responsibility for the failures of capitalism.

It should refuse to share the profits of bankrupt capitalism. It should demand the distribution of land without compensating the landlords, and without making the peasants pay for the land.

It should demand the expropriation, without compensation, of all monopolies and the establishment of workers' control in industry, trade, education and services.

It should establish as immediate aims the strengthening of the working-class organizations, the satisfaction of their demands, the raising of the political level of the masses and the formation of the revolutionary workers party, as an integral part of the Fourth International.

It must fight for the overthrow of the military regime and the establishment of the workers' state based on soviets.

These should be the aims of the revolutionary party in the present situation and the development of working-class consciousness will depend on the strength and policies of its international vanguard.

In two parts — PART ONE appeared in yesterday's Workers Press.

TV

BBC 1

- 9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. 12.55 p.m. Bric-a-brac. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Racing from Ascot. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Basil Brush show. 5.25 Ask Aspel. 5.44 Babar. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 EUROPE THIS WEEK. What's happening on the continent. 6.20 TOMORROW'S WORLD. 6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. 'Melanie'. 8.00 DAD'S ARMY. 'The Big Parade'. 8.30 NOT ONLY... BUT ALSO. Peter Cook and Dudley Moore. 9.00 THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather. 9.20 'LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME'. Brian Rix and Elspet Gray team up in the farce adapted from Oscar Wilde's short story. 10.50 24 HOURS. 11.25 CONFERENCE 70. Third day of the Liberal Party Assembly. 11.35 Weatherman.

REGIONAL BBC

- All regions as BBC 1 except: 8.00 Bachelor father. 11.37 Weather. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 Schools. 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 8.30-9.00 Current account. 11.37 News, weather. N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around Westmorland. 6.00-6.20 Look North. 11.37 News, weather. Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.20 Wales today. weather. 6.54-7.05 Heddlu. 7.05-7.30 Dyna mam. 7.30-8.00 Bachelor father. 11.37 Weather. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 Schools. 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 8.30-9.00 Current account. 11.37 News, weather. N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around Westmorland. 6.00-6.20 Look North. 11.37 News, weather. Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.20 Wales today. weather. 6.54-7.05 Heddlu. 7.05-7.30 Dyna mam. 7.30-8.00 Bachelor father. 11.37 Weather. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 Schools. 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 8.30-9.00 Current account. 11.37 News, weather. N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around Westmorland. 6.00-6.20 Look North. 11.37 News, weather. 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FIVE LECTURES BY H. MARCUSE
Allen Lane. The Penguin Press 28s

Marcuse— 'New Left' Utopianism



REVIEWED BY BILL WOODS

IN THIS short book of lectures, two of which date back 15 years, Marcuse goes over some of his favourite themes.

He discusses Freud's theory of culture and psychoanalysis, attacks the so-called 'Utopian' element in Marx and digresses on the future of the 'student revolution'.

The first three lectures—all on Freud—are by far the most interesting.

Here he develops the view that Freud's theory of the instincts and his conception of the 'pleasure principle' form part of a 'critical' theory of man in capitalist society.

He suggests, for example, that capitalist culture hinges on the renunciation of pleasure. Philosophers Comte, Mill, Spencer and Kant all accepted this principle of self-denial.

The highest value which they all extol is productivity, not man's instinctual, creative drive.

The denial of the 'pleasure principle' in bourgeois thought was only possible, Marcuse argues, within a society dominated by exploited, alienated labour in which man himself, his whole life activity, was turned into a commodity.

REPRESSED

The erotic aspects of human activity are thus repressed as something evil, dangerous and disruptive to 'normal, healthy' bourgeois man.

Malthus' notion of 'normal restraint' for curbing population increases becomes the norm of all capitalist societies.

Marcuse tries to show that Freud's analysis of personality, built around the notion of sexual repression, is potentially a revolutionary concept.

The fact that neurosis frequently has a sexual basis—in its indirect rejection of pleasure—constitutes an explicit criticism of bourgeois society in Marcuse's opinion.

He links this Freudian analysis of personality disorder with the specific commodity-producing society of capitalism, with its 'fetishism of commodities' analysed by Marx in Volume I of 'Capital'.

Marcuse insists that this alienated state is not a permanent, non-historical 'human condition'.

GO FURTHER

But as an avowed socialist (which Freud was not) Marcuse has to go further than this.

His treatment of Freud clearly raises the question of the road to socialism, of overcoming the 'alienated state' in which man finds himself under capitalism.

This is the subject of the last two lectures in the book. They rehash, in a much more simplified form, the reactionary arguments of his 'One Dimensional Man' (1963).

Here he attacks the very foundations of Marxism and reveals without any ambiguity his thoroughly reformist perspective.

The working class, Marcuse claims, are now integrated into

the structure of capitalism, accept its values and consciously reject revolutionary politics.

Objectively, he says, a 'revolution' has been on the agenda for years, but alas, there is simply no desire on the part of the working class to fight.

'ONLY HOPE'

Their needs are sufficiently met by the monopolists and the result is 'a controlled and repressive consciousness'.

The only hope therefore lies outside the working class, in the ghettos, the 'third world', or in those with access to specialized knowledge—the students.

They 'know all the facts' and can be mobilized to fight capitalism on a moral basis.

Most revealing is his description of an anti-war demonstration at Berkeley (University of California) which produced the usual 'confrontation' between police and students:

'After two or three scary minutes the thousands of marchers sat down in the street, guitars and harmonicas appeared, people began "necking" and "petting", and so the demonstration ended. You may find this ridiculous, but I believe that a unity spontaneously and anarchically emerged here that perhaps in the end cannot fail to make an impression even on the enemy.'

So the guru of the 'New Left', Marcuse, attacks Marx for his 'Utopianism', yet himself descends to the worst of its many varieties by appealing to the good sense and decency of the ruling class.

These last two lectures are worthless.

In his analysis of Freud, he has said—in his usual tortuous fashion—something of value.

THE SPEECH of leading Black Panther Huey Newton at the recent 'Revolutionary Peoples' Convention' in Philadelphia has touched a raw nerve as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned.

Newton's 20-minute speech was the main attraction of the convention, called by radical groups to draft a new constitution for the United States. At the centre of his statement was the vital issue of programme and perspective.

He called for a fight for socialism in America now and said that the working class 'will use whatever means necessary' to achieve it.

ROOT

Newton pointed to the capitalist system as the root of racialism and stated that without a struggle against the system, racialism could not be destroyed.

Here he hits on the key issue facing the entire working class... and this is no accident.

The sharpening of class tensions with the worsening imperialist crisis is now throwing every movement into turmoil, including the Panthers, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for the press to label this movement as simply a bunch of trigger-happy extremists.

Indeed, the Panthers' struggle has attracted others, as 'The Times' reported on the convention:

'About 40 per cent of the audience was white, mostly young students. A surprisingly high proportion of the blacks in the audience were middle-aged men and women, apparently residents of the ghetto area which surrounds the modern, air-conditioned stadium.'

RECESSION

Another Panther leader, Michael Tabor, in opening the convention, made it clear that the economic recession is also breaking up the illusions in the possibility of some separate 'black capitalism'.

People urged blacks to own their own business, he said, but when they did they frequently went bankrupt because they could not compete with the big supermarket chains.

Despite the confusion and improvisation that pervaded the three-day convention, Newton's statement is important.

That is why the 'International Herald Tribune' did its utmost to attack the Panthers and sneers at its lack of 'doctrine or analysis'.

'They have mastered a few hand-me-downs from Marx, Lenin and Fanon, but they have neither intelligible theory nor tactics to deal with their chief concern, the American urban condition...'

'At bottom, then, the Panthers are reformers, not radicals. For all their talk, and sporadic use of guns, for all the repetition of "proletariat and oppression", their vision is not—or at least not yet—one in which an underclass forcibly seizes power from a ruling class.'

And this is how the esteemed paper, of course, would prefer it to continue—not only among coloured workers, but for white workers also.

Whatever our disagreements with the programme of the

US Round-up

Panthers at the crossroads

Black Panthers, Newton hit the nail on the head.

We are sure that there will be many coming from the ranks of this movement, who will break from the reactionary poison of black nationalism and take their stand alongside workers of every colour in the fight for Marxism in the United States.

BATTLE

This will not be some pure development, but must take place in a bitter battle against those who now take black power to its racist limits.

While Newton spoke in Philadelphia, 600 black leaders were attending the Congress of Racial Equality meeting in Alabama and denouncing integration to the

applause of the Southern extremists!

The Congress announced afterwards that it rejected integration for achieving social equality between whites and blacks.

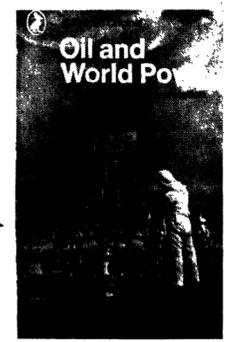
It will work, like its former segregationist enemies, for separate institutions and has taken a county school system as a model for 'district control' based on the existing white and black neighbourhoods.

However, the powerful movement of the American working class, as revealed in the fight of the motor workers, lays the basis for a thorough cleansing of this reactionary ideology.

Newton's words expose the smallest tip of a mighty iceberg.



Huey Newton



Price 5s

OIL—imperialism's international 'majors'

THE ERUPTION of the Middle-East crisis makes this a very timely book.

What is not so often realized is the tremendous expansion of the oil industry in the post-war period, so that any book more than a few years old is quite out-of-date.

Since 1945, world production of petroleum has risen at about 7 per cent each year—roughly doubling every ten years. A large part of this increase has taken place in the Middle East and Africa.

Professor Odell's little book attempts to show the effect of these rapid changes on many aspects of world politics and economics.

Only a Marxist, firmly based on Lenin's conception of imperialism, could really do justice to such a task.

CHARACTER

But Odell gives a clear outline of the complexities of the petroleum industry and its international ramifications.

REVIEWED BY JOHN CRAWFORD

The book's great virtue is its emphasis on the international character of oil production and consumption.

However, as Odell points out:

'"International" in this context does not imply an industry owned and/or controlled by the world's many nations. Instead it refers simply to the fact that this is an industry which operates internationally, with a complex network of relationships connecting most countries of the world. Its ownership and direction lie mainly in the hands of a very small group of companies.'

Odell explains some of the contradictory effects of the US

These seven 'international majors', as they are known—Standard Oil of New Jersey (Esso), Standard Oil of California (Chevron), Gulf Oil, Texaco, Shell and British Petroleum—account for 80 per cent of production outside the Soviet Union. Five of them are US firms.

The assets of US oil companies abroad amount to some \$15,000 million and their repatriated earnings in 1967 came to \$1,600 million.

This highly-monopolized situation has, of course, enabled the oil barons to make huge profits.

Odell explains some of the contradictory effects of the US

imports 'quota', imposed by Eisenhower in 1959, when low-cost Middle-East oil threatened the position of the US oil fields.

PRICE FIXING

He also has a section on the system of 'Gulf prices', which operated until the 1950s.

Under this, the price of Middle-East oil in W Europe was fixed as if it had been produced in the US and then shipped from the Gulf of Mexico.

Since costs of production in the Middle East are only a fraction of those in the US, astronomical profits were made.

General motors men state their case

BY TODAY nearly 350,000 General Motors workers in Canada and the United States will have gone through ten days of strike action. Many are preparing to dig in for a long haul, already discussing the stoppage in terms of months rather than weeks.

Rank-and-file militancy was evident right from the start when thousands of workers walked out at five US and three Canadian plants the day before their contract expired and the strike officially began.

Dan Fried, Labour Editor of the US Trotskyist newspaper 'Bulletin' talked to pickets outside General Motors Linden plant in New Jersey as the strike was getting under way.

They explained that, alongside wages, retirement on a \$500-a-month pension plan after 30 years, regardless of age, is one of the many big issues on which United Auto Workers president Woodcock refuses to commit himself in the current negotiations.

(There is no state pensions scheme in the US comparable to Britain's.)
One picket said:
'After 30 years in here you've had it—you've had it. Everyone in the plant from the guy who started here one month ago wants this (early retirement). Getting people out to enjoy life at an age when they can enjoy life and giving the kids a chance to get a better job—that's all we want. This isn't a selfish thing.'

HARROWING

The harrowing speed of the lines—60 cars an hour at Linden—has put real pressure behind the retirement demand.

One man who had worked eight years at Linden recalled:

'I've seen a lot of things around here that are unbelievable. I've seen a man drop dead and before he hit the floor there was another man doing his job. That's true.'

One of his fellow pickets added:

'One time I was up in the washroom and a guy who was washing his hands dropped dead. The foreman rushed in and the first words out of his mouth were: "Did anybody punch out his time card?" They were so afraid that this man was going to be paid while he was lying there dead... You could go on with stories like this all day.'

General Motors men know that they are in the vanguard of the wages fight and a victory would open the way for the sections following up close behind.

GEARED

Nixon knows this too.
One of the Linden pickets said:

'Of course, all of the other unions will want a big raise if the auto workers can get it, and that's why I agree with you, the government wants to hold it down.'

'Everything is geared to what the auto workers get. In other words, when the construction workers get a raise, they don't talk about pennies—they talk about dollar bills.'

'But when General Motors told the United States of America that they were going to give us a couple of billion dollars raise over a period of three years, that was the biggest lie that was ever put forth to the people of the United States. The truth is that GM is

offering 3 cents an hour in new money the first year.'

UAW members are demanding 26 cents an hour to catch up with soaring inflation over the last two years.

This is intended to be the new base line from which current negotiations should operate.

The car bosses want the 26 cents to be included in the new pay offers.

'NEW' MONEY

General Motors' workers rightly talk in terms of 'new' money, regarding the cost of living increases as theirs by right.

The unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause, given up during the 1967 Ford strike, is estimated to have cost each car

worker \$1,000 over the past two years.

Union president Woodcock is trying to duck out of another issue of vital importance to car workers, that of fighting for work-sharing as defence against the effects of automation.

One of the Linden men talked of this problem:

'I'm in maintenance. We automate here every month. There's getting to be fewer and fewer men here every month. We have such an automation programme in the body shop now



Auto workers president Woodcock

that pretty soon there's going to be just a skeleton crew there, with the "monster" and the "octopus" that they have in there.

'They've got 200 men in there now and they want to cut it down to 50. What are they going to do with the 150 men?'

'I want to see one machine buy one car. We build them and we can't even buy them.'

'Not only have we fallen way behind on hourly wages because of inflation, but unemployment has hurt our total income. Car sales have been very bad. You've had short work weeks and layoffs for a few weeks at a time. And today you can't afford any weeks without a pay check.'

What a contrast between these correct points on the problems facing carworkers through automation and the general crisis of the economy and Woodcock's bland reassurances.

Asked about the possible length of the strike Woodcock replied:

'There are no ideological hang-ups so there is no reason for it to go on too long.'

Though this statement is open to a number of interpretations, they all put Woodcock firmly in the camp of those retreating on the carworkers' struggle.

Threat

FROM PAGE ONE every factory and trade union branch in the country. This is the only way to unite employed workers and defend the right to work — the only serious right any worker is accorded under capitalism. No reliance can be placed in Labour leadership to undertake such a struggle. In the first few months of the Tory government — on the docks, at Pilkington's and at GKN-Sankey, to give only the most outstanding examples — these people have retreated steadily from any fight against the government. They are continuing to press ahead with schemes for productivity, Manpower Day Work and speed-up, which now constitute an enormous threat to the jobs of the workers involved. This situation gives the utmost urgency to the fight for a socialist programme and policies to meet the growing unemployment threat. The call from the Socialist Labour League Central Committee published in Workers Press last Tuesday — for action against the Tory government is of key importance in this fight. The SLL Central Committee calls upon the TUC to support the call for a one-day strike against unemployment issued by Shields and Kirkby Trades Councils, and to make this a national strike action. Only by mobilizing in industrial action against the government and the employers can workers defend their right to work. Trade unionists must support this call whether or not the TUC decides to back it up. The working class is not prepared to go back to the conditions of the hungry 1930s. In industry after industry workers are fighting for higher wages in tenacious conflicts with their employers and collaborationist union leaders. With a socialist leadership fighting for a revolutionary programme the Tories can and will be defeated and forced to resign. This means a fight against the existing leadership in the trade unions and labour movement whose policies of treachery and class-collaboration have opened the door to Toryism. They must be replaced by a new socialist leadership.

Widest campaign needed to defeat Tories

'THE PURPOSE of this meeting is to go forward to working-class power. We go forward to working class power. We have to prepare a mass movement to force the Tories to resign.'

This statement by Lambeth Trades Council secretary Vivienne Mendelson expressed the issue which was at the centre of a lively discussion at Wednesday's public meeting, called by the Trades Council.

Eighty trade unionists and youth listened attentively as the platform explained the main issues facing the working class and the need to begin the widest campaign inside the labour movement to defeat the Tories' plans. Workers Press editor Mike Banda pointed to the present Middle-East crisis as revealing the nature of the Tory government.

'This Tory government has contributed directly to the slaughter,' he said. 'The refusal to release Leila Khaled exacerbated the situation in Amman.'

'British trade unionists demonstrated in their thousands at the time of the Suez invasion. The Tories were forced to withdraw and Anthony Eden resigned. There should be a general strike if British troops are sent in or if there is a US intervention.'

The employers were determined to use unemployment to defeat the working class, he said.

'The Tories want unemployment, speed-up, wage cuts, to attack immigrants, bash the unions and give a few tax cuts to the middle class.'

NO REFLATION

The Tories will not reflate despite Feather's 'pressure' he warned.

The employers are pre-



A section of the meeting

pared to lose millions of pounds in the GKN strike to get workers back to work under productivity strings.

'There can be no compromise in this struggle. Either the working class concedes everything or the ruling class goes down.'

Leadership and policy are central, said Cde Banda.

TRADES COUNCIL MEETING TOLD

'Toryism survives because the trade union leaders stand between the employers and the working class as "honest" brokers.'

A fight on the Socialist Labour League's charter of rights could mobilize the working class to defeat the Tories for good and go forward to the expropriation

of the monopolies and banks.

Contrasted with this contribution, Dr David Pitt, Labour Party candidate for Brixton at the last election, spent 20 minutes telling the audience that it was necessary 'to replace a policy of exploitation with a policy of co-operation'.

'All of us have to learn to live together,' he said. 'All the world are our brothers and we are our brothers' keepers.'

Discussion on the main contributions went on until late in the evening, but only a Communist Party member supported Pitt.

RESOLUTIONS

The audience overwhelmingly supported resolutions in support of the Arab revolution and the release of Leila Khaled and the struggle of the Pilkington workers for reinstatement.

The proposed expulsion of Rudi Dutschke by the Tories was condemned as a witch-hunting attack on working-class rights.

Some members of the International Socialism group abstained on the resolution which called for the widest possible campaign for the All Trades Unions Alliance Pilkington conference on October 3.

Electronics success in Soviet rocket

Brazil regime's sop to unions

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE SOVIET UNION recorded a major technological achievement yesterday as the unmanned spacecraft Luna-16 successfully completed its return journey from the moon and soft-landed in a pre-set area in Soviet Asia.

The lunar capsule, carrying rock samples automatically cut from the moon's surface, parachuted to earth 50 miles South East of Dzekazgan in the Asian steppes and was later picked up by helicopter.

The weight of the samples — from the previously unexplored Sea of Fertility — is at present unknown but they will be the first substantial samples available for analysis by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The American Apollo-11 and 12 flights brought back a total of 177 lbs of material and it is likely that the Russians have some detailed knowledge of its make-up, since Czechoslovakia received a small sample from the second expedition.

NONSENSE

Although there may be some truth in reports that the Soviet space programme has experienced some delays due to problems with the giant boosters, the latest success makes nonsense of the usual criticism of Soviet electronics.

Luna-16 had to carry out a complex series of operations to complete its tasks. Before landing it orbited the moon at a height of 68 miles and was then brought down to 10 miles.

From this orbit, it descended to a height of just under 2,000 feet at which point a guided precision braking unit went into operation.

The main engine was used until the last 70 feet of descent then minor engines took over, cutting out when six feet above the lunar surface.

COLLECTED

Samples were collected from up to 13 inches below the lunar surface and hermetically sealed in the craft.

On leaving the moon, Luna-16 left behind part of the ship to act as a launching platform and this is continuing to yield information, according to Soviet sources.

During the voyage, nearly 100 communications sessions were held with the craft, yielding information about space conditions.

Correctly, the latest issue of 'Soviet Weekly' says: 'This success provides weighty support for the view stressed by Soviet space researchers that, in these early stages of moon-exploration, all the research can be carried out with complete efficiency by robot installations.'

RESEARCH

'Indeed, much of the most important impending planetary research will have to be conducted by robots — only the Moon and Mars can conceivably be visited by man...'

'Such research is also, of course, much more economic.' Most important — and left unsaid by 'Soviet Weekly' — is that the Soviet programme owes its success predominantly to the nationalized property relations in the USSR.

SHADOWS

The American and European 'programmes' — now mere shadows of their former selves, with most of the ambitious projects quietly shelved — have been the happy hunting grounds for the giant monopolies who continue to fight over the bones.

As the Apollo-13 astronauts, whose lunar flight last April almost ended in disaster, prepare for their goodwill tour of Europe next month, they may well wonder if their nightmare journey was really worth while in the light of Luna-16's success.

THE U.S.-backed Brazilian dictatorship, notorious for its use of torture and assassination against political opponents, is trying to head off the trade union movement by providing finance for various 'welfare' activities.

When President Medici met leaders of the 4,500,000-strong National Confederation of Industrial Workers (CNTI) in Brasilia last week, they demanded, among other things, an end to the wage freeze imposed since 1964.

Medici replied that he was determined to see 'a more equitable distribution of riches' and offered, as a sop, funds to be used directly by the unions, for medical, educational and cultural schemes.

In La Paz, capital of BOLIVIA, where there were widespread demonstrations earlier this week, the government has ordered the closing of all schools and colleges.

And in Trinidad, a town to the NE of La Paz, police killed one student and wounded three others when attacking a demonstration on Tuesday.

FRANCE: TEXTILE SACKINGS

THREATENED sackings of 800 workers brought out 5,600 workmates at the Boussac textile plants in the Vosges region of E France yesterday. The management had refused to withdraw any of the dismissal notices, scheduled to take effect in the spring of next year.

Such actions are becoming frequent in France, with union leaders calling protest strikes but refusing a determined fight against increasing unemployment in the older industries.

CONCORDE PAY FIGHT

And at the SNIAS (State Aerospace Industries) plant in Toulouse, SW France, where the Concorde is being produced, thousands of workers struck on Tuesday for a new company-wide pay agreement. SNIAS employs 43,000 workers in plants throughout France.

Management has offered a 2-per-cent-a-year increase in real wages, it is attempting to do away with seniority payments. If they will not give way, union leaders will probably be compelled to call a strike of all employees.

WEATHER

London area, SE central southern, E, EW, central northern and NE, Jutland, E and Midlands, Channel Islands Dry, Mist or fog early. Becoming sunny and very warm. Wind light, southerly. Max. 23C (73F). NW England: Sunny periods. Scattered showers. Wind light SE. Becoming very warm. Max. 21C (70F). Glasgow area, N Ireland: Rather cloudy. Occasional rain, becoming dry and brighter, wind southerly light or moderate. Normal. Max. 16C (61F). Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Rather cloudy in west and north with outbreaks of rain. Temperatures near normal. Mainly dry and warm elsewhere with sunny periods developing after clearance of morning fog.

Redundancy fears grow at CAV Acton

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

ENGINEERS at London's Acton CAV complex now fear that management is preparing to announce redundancy plans for the whole Acton site.

This follows a week of wage-cuts in some sections brought about by waiting time due to shortage of parts.

By agreement, laid-off workers are entitled to a guaranteed payment based on their average earnings over the previous six months.

This agreement was reached before Lucas's new combine pay structure was accepted. It is now believed the management may try to by-pass the lay-off provisions.

But the shortage of parts is no accident, it cannot be blamed on the GKN-Sankey strike or on the current CAV overtime ban.

Cut-backs

It is the direct result of cut-backs by the buying office, who have instructions to reduce their programme by 10 per cent.

Only a few weeks ago, the factory leadership accepted a document agreeing to introduction of the 'tele-control' production monitoring system.

No-redundancy 'guarantees' are included in this document, but many workers rightly fear the management will try to by-pass these clauses too.

Certainly, it would be suicidal for shop stewards to continue to assist in the introduction of this system, which poses a direct threat to the jobs of at least 300 operators and a large number of indirect workers such as storekeepers.

Fight hard

Instead of accepting the redundancy principle, CAV workers must fight hard against it.

Left to their own devices the management will select those they want to get rid of. Not a single sacking must be allowed.

Shop stewards and the rank-and-file must demand:

- Five day's work or five day's pay.
• No redundancies, no loss of earnings through waiting time.
• CAV must open the books to workers' inspection.
• No tele-control.
• An all-out strike immediately sackings commence.
• An end to all overtime — no 'special cases'.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

SWINDON: Sunday, September 27, 7.30 p.m. Oxford Hotel, Drive Rd. Unemployment, Walker St. Speaker: Alan Thornett, leading Oxford carworkers' steward.

WELLINGTON: Monday, September 28, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Wrekin Buildings, Walker St. Speed-up and unemployment — The GKN-Sankey and Pilkington disputes.

ACTON, London: Monday, September 28, 7.30 p.m. Co-op Hall, Acton High Street, W.3. 'Pilkington's': The Tory attack on jobs, wages and the unions.

SW LONDON: Tuesday, September 29, 8 p.m. Prince's Head, Falcon Rd, SW11. 'Build a new leadership in the unions'.

Salute

FROM PAGE ONE

'The real test of whether that is a meaningful matter will turn on whether or not forces from Syria are withdrawn from Jordan.'

When it became clear on Wednesday that Khrushchev pressure was having its intended effect, Tory Foreign Secretary Home met Nixon at the White House to re-examine imperialist strategy in the Middle East.

According to one observer, the Kremlin's refusal to back the guerrillas 'is regarded by both governments as helpful in averting a worse crisis'.

Even the most vocal supporters of Hussein fear his regime is still doomed, despite the territorial gains secured by the Royalists over the last two days.

FEROCIOUS

The resistance in Amman, which is not generally regarded as a stronghold of the guerrillas, is certain to be encountered on an even more ferocious scale should Hussein's forces attempt to take Irbid and the other northern towns by storm.

The guerrillas are not fighting in vain. The anti-imperialist fighters in Vietnam and the whole of SE Asia will draw new inspiration from the Palestinian revolution.

From now on, they do not fight alone.

The British working class, already engaged in a fight for its very existence against the employers and the Tories, must consciously take its place in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist front, now opened up from Vietnam to Jordan.

Down with Stalinist treachery!

Long live the Arab revolution!

Lightning strikes unless pay rises — say Leeds foundrymen

TWO THOUSAND Leeds foundryworkers have warned they will begin 'guerrilla'-strike action next Monday if their straight £5 across-the-board pay claim is not conceded.

The men, workers at British-Leyland's W Yorkshire Foundries subsidiary, are amongst the lowest-paid engineering workers in the country.

A semi-skilled worker can take home as little as £13 for a 40-hour week after stoppages.

Like the GKN-Sankey's workers in Shropshire, they produce car components and feel they have been left far behind other workers.

Discouraged by the support, Jack Grady, secretary of the S Shields Trades Council outlined the plans for the strike.

Veiled threats

Several workers told Workers Press that veiled closure threats have been used to avoid a fight for a straight increase.

In a recent leaflet — issued in reply to a management statement — the stewards' committee said:

'As to the question of high wage demands being partly to blame for the general recession in the trade, this is rather difficult to understand. Practically all our previous agreements, which may have increased earnings, were agreed productivity deals.'



BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

A MASS MEETING of 500 workers at West Thurrock's Magnet Joinery factory in Essex voted yesterday (above) to stay out on strike till their demands are met.

Italian unions split on reforms

UNDER powerful rank-and-file pressure Italy's main (CPL) trade union, the CGIL, has called for 'a day of struggle and discussion' on the trade union demands for reforms now before the Colombo government.

The other main unions, the CISL (Catholic) and UIL (Social Democratic) are emphatically opposed to strike action.

The unions have also failed to agree a joint document on the state of the negotiations with the regime, which was to have been discussed by the rank and file before talks are resumed.

China warns of another Vietnam

IN AN important article on the Jordan crisis, the Peking 'People's Daily' yesterday warned Nixon that 'if US imperialism dares to risk a new military adventure against the Arab countries and peoples, it will meet with the same staggering blows and disastrous defeat as it did in Indo-China'.

The same article also urged Syria — currently under great Soviet pressure to withdraw its support from the guerrillas — to step up its assistance to the anti-Hussein forces in Jordan.

One-day strike call

FROM PAGE ONE

every factory committee should support the call. 'There is only one way to fight the Tories — as always — attack.'

Nothing

In his discussion with Tory Minister of Technology, John Davies, TUC general secretary Victor Feather concentrated on telling the Minister of the effects of the closure, 'pressures' that elicited no response from Davies who stated bluntly he would do nothing for Hebburn.

The S Shields resolution also contrasts with the activities of the 'action committee for community employment', set-up by the NE Federation of Trades Councils.

They are preparing a teaching on unemployment in which the main speakers will be Edward Heath and... Victor Feather.

Arrangements

'Arrangements are going ahead for the strike in protest against the government's policy that has led to the Palmers closure. 'Appeals for support have been sent to the TUC, the NE Federation of Trades Councils and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.'

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LATE NEWS

COME TO CAIRO PLEA

PILKINGTON WALK-OUT

200 WORKERS employed by Cubitts on building new tanks walked out of the Pilkington works at Cowley Hill, St Helens yesterday. They struck work in protest against a foreman doing a labourer's job.

FIRE EXPERTS PROBE GAS BLAZE

Fire experts yesterday began investigating the cause of the explosions at a Mitcham, Surrey gas store which showered houses within a half-mile circle with red-hot metal fragments.

The fire early yesterday morning sent blazing canisters of gas hundreds of feet in the air to land up to a mile away.

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), 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

GLASGOW

Patrick Burgh Hall (nr Merkland St underground)

7.30 p.m.

Admission 2s.

'Trotsky and the coming English Revolution'

Speaker: G. Healy (SLL national secretary)

Sunday

October 4



Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper - WORKERS PRESS