

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM: 215 10 APRIL 1971 2½p

## MILLIONS FACE BIG JUMP IN COST OF LIVING

A SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT

### The Easter Bunny will visit only the rich this year



EASTER brings little joy for the majority of people this year. It marks the start of sweeping increases in the cost of living.

But the Budget means lots of Easter goodies for the bosses of industry, one of the most important sections of the ruling class. You can see what a nerve the Tories have in calling trade unionists 'greedy' when you see the staggering handouts to the rich.

#### COOL BONUS

The combined effect of last autumn's 6d (old money) reduction in income tax and the Budget's abolition of surtax and lowering the rate of income tax for big incomes, means, for example, a cool bonus of 80 per cent for Sir David Barran of Shell.

The profiteers who fight to hold down our wages are all receiving pay increases light years ahead of the government's ceiling for workers' increases.

Social Security Minister Sir Keith Joseph says he is against scroungers and people who live off the nation. Well, here they are, Keith, lad:



Hambro



Stokes



Barran

How the tycoons benefit from the Budget	Pre-tax pay	After-tax pay (bef. Mini-Budget Oct 1970 approx.)		Savings in March 1971 Budget		Total	% gain in Take-home pay
		£	£	£	£		
Sir David Barran Shell	72,809	13,000	1,781	4,831	3,768	10,380	80
Lord Stokes British Leyland	46,060	11,000	1,113	2,824	2,204	6,141	56
Jocelyn Hambro Hambros Bank	30,565	9,000	725	1,663	1,297	3,685	41

### COOPER BREAKS RANKS

LORD COOPER, chairman of the TUC and General Secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, told the House of Lords on Tuesday that he will advise his union to register when the Industrial Relations Bill becomes law.

Yet only three weeks ago, the TUC Special Conference at Croydon recommended all unions not to register. Cooper claimed to support this recommendation

When rank and file activists took mili-

tant action on 8 December and 12 January against the proposed anti-union laws, TUC leaders denounced them in speech after speech for 'breaking the unity of the movement'. Now Lord Cooper is deliberately breaking the decision of the TUC. He is also following a policy that will weaken the movement in the face of government attack.

Will those who denounced militants last December now denounce Lord Cooper?

## IN COST OF LIVING

by CHRIS HARMAN

THE COST OF LIVING rose sharply again this week for millions of working people. Cheap milk has ended for young children and school meals will go up by a third after the Easter holidays. And steep increases in dental, spectacles and prescription charges came in this month.

These facts prove how dishonest is the government's claim that it is stopping rising prices. Typical of the official lie was the speech by Prime Minister Heath last weekend in which he said: 'We've done our part. Now, on behalf of the community, we expect you to do yours.'

Yet last week's Budget and this week's welfare cuts will make worse the conditions of ordinary people. True, pensions are to be put up but not until the autumn. And even then they will be worth less than in 1969.

The tax cuts, so praised in the press, will be wiped out by rising food charges, health costs, rents, fares and national insurance contributions for anybody who earns less than £6000 a year. Yet somebody earning £20,000 a year, with two children, will be £35 a week better off because of the Budget.

### Unemployment rises

When Heath talks of the 'community' he means those who will benefit from his actions — the 2 per cent of the population who own 80 per cent of the industrial wealth. He told the unions to 'stop chasing wild and unreasonable wage claims — start negotiating sound and solid productivity deals'. What he did not point out was that productivity has risen 2½ per cent over the last year, while total production has actually fallen — because of his policies. Every worker has been producing more goods, but the total number of goods produced has been cut. So unemployment has risen by a tenth.

This year prices will rise by 10 per cent. Yet the government is refusing to let groups like the railwaymen have a pay rise of more than 9 per cent. And a third of that will go straight back to the government in taxation.

Heath said: 'Stop the strikes, start the work'. For 700,000 unemployed, such words must have a hollow ring. What he really means is: 'Stop obstructing those who own the wealth from pushing up their profits'.

He admitted that at present 'jobs depend on making it possible for firms to earn profits'. In other words, although every year workers work harder than the year before, they can be kicked out of their jobs if the minority who own all the wealth are not satisfied with the level of profits.

Heath has only one message for the workers of this country: Under the present system of society, those who produce the wealth must let those who live off our backs get richer. Otherwise, Heath claims, unemployment will grow and prices go up still further.

### Challenge

Working people must be prepared to take up the challenge of such an argument. We must assert that if the present system cannot give full employment and decent living standards without continually rising prices, then we are prepared to get rid of the that system.

And until we are strong enough to accomplish that task, we will fight to defend our conditions against the parasites that Heath represents.

THE POSTAL WORKERS AND THE TORY OFFENSIVE

Paul Foot

Just off the press: a full analysis of the postal strike and the role of the unions and the government. 8p post free from IS BOOKS 6 Cottons Gdns London E2

a SOCIALIST WORKER pamphlet 5p

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Joy in the Jaguar belt: p2  
Exposing the labour spy racket: p4



# Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN  
Tel: 01-739 1878 (editorial) 2639 (business)

## Calley: America's rulers in the dock

PRESIDENT NIXON'S decision to release Lieutenant Calley from prison reveals where the true responsibility for the horror of the Vietnam war belongs. Calley was found guilty by the military court of murdering 22 unarmed men, women and children at My Lai in 1968. More than 100 inhabitants of the village were massacred.

The court heard from soldiers how Vietnamese civilians were screaming with fright and pain as Calley and his men opened fire. Calley himself told how he shot babes in arms.

Yet Nixon has shown that he does not regard Calley's actions as serious and has virtually promised him complete freedom.

This is in marked contrast to what happens to other prisoners of the American government. Black militants like Angela Davis are not even allowed bail while they wait to face trumped-up charges in the courts.

The reason for Nixon's behaviour is not compassion. Nor for that matter is it acceptance of the argument that those who have organised the war in Vietnam should carry the can for its consequences. If that were the case, Nixon would put himself and Lyndon Johnson in the dock.

America's rulers face a fundamental dilemma. About three years ago it became clear to American big business that it could not afford the physical cost of waging the war in Vietnam for much longer.

The cost of the war began to cut into profits for the first time. A section of the military establishment was becoming more interested in new, even more monstrous forms of missile weaponry than in the relatively old-fashioned means of mass murder employed in South East Asia. And the Vietnamese people showed, with the Tet offensive, that they would go on fighting back, regardless of the level of terror employed by the USA.

Since then America's rulers have been trying to work out some way of getting out of the war, but without having to admit the truth that the people of Vietnam have defeated the attempt to subdue their country. Such a victory of the Vietnamese would be a tremendous boost for all those challenging the world-wide exploitation of the US ruling class.

Millions of ordinary Americans do not really understand these complications. They misguidedly supported the war and sent their sons off to die in it. Now they feel confused and betrayed. They switch between wanting to see the whole bloody business brought to a rapid end and blaming the American establishment for not backing up the 'boys who are fighting'.

Such bewilderment and demoralisation is even more widespread among the troops in Vietnam itself. Most of them do not see the real character of US imperialism. But they do see that there is little point in being heroic just to extend the presence of the US army in Vietnam by a few months.

From the point of view of America's rulers, the likelihood grows that they will be faced with no choice but to admit defeat in Vietnam and get out quickly. They try desperately to stem the tide. They can only do so if they increase the terror in Vietnam, even if they reduce the number of troops involved.

But if they are following such a policy, they can hardly condemn the actions of men like Calley. To do so would be to increase even more the discontent among the troops in Vietnam and annoy the Americans at home who have blindly supported the war in the past.

And so Nixon has felt compelled to free Calley. But this reveals the true barbarity of Nixon's own policies. He is in fact saying that the whole war in Vietnam is based upon murdering children. He is admitting that if the US army were prevented from using such methods, it would be forced to get out without delay.

His actions are the desperate responses of a man trying to run an insane system. He can only do so by supporting ever greater degrees of barbarism.

Only by kicking the American forces out of Vietnam once and for all can the mass murder that Nixon condones be ended. And only its final overthrow by a revolutionary socialist movement in America itself will end the US ruling class's ability to inflict such horrors elsewhere.

## NEED TO DEFY THE LAW

THERE IS STILL some confusion among militants as to exactly what policies should be followed now in the fight against the government's anti-union legislation.

We have stressed that from now on the centre of the struggle will be to force the union organisations to refuse to co-operate with the law. Union executives must not be allowed to register under the law and normal trade union practices must be continued, with official backing, even if this means defying the law.

We have also suggested that one very good way to express such a spirit of defiance would be to win as much of the movement as possible to a one-day strike the first day that the law comes into effect. This does not mean organising just one more strike of the kind we have seen in the last six months. Such strikes were enormously important in the fight against the Bill and in building resistance to it.

But since the failure of the TUC recall conference to support industrial action against the Bill, it is clear that further one day strikes of that character are not going to win the struggle at the moment.

But a one day strike once the Bill has become law would be a different prospect. It would signify that organised workers were prepared to defy the legislation in action as well as in words. It would give new heart to sections of workers without traditions of militancy who otherwise are likely to feel intimidated by the apparent power of the law. A massive act of defiance would prove how weak the law is against real, united working-class action.

We hope that the militants who attend the Liaison Committee Conference on 24 April support such a call. We believe it would find a ready response among many sections of the movement.



## Budget: three-pronged attack on workers

# BARBER: TOAST OF THE JAGUAR BELT

by Lionel Sims

THROUGHOUT the gin and Jaguar belt last week, the bosses toasted the good health of Tony Barber, the Tory Taxman. Any of you who thought the militants at Ford were 'unfair' in pushing ahead with the strike should take a close look at the Budget to see precisely what is meant by 'fairness' in this world.

The Budget launched a three-pronged attack on working people: reform of personal taxation, a major revision of company taxes, and lastly the introduction of Value Added Tax. Let's look at each in turn.

There will be enormous deductions in the amount of tax paid by high income earners. By demolishing surtax and putting in its place a single graduated tax in 1973, the taxman will no longer recognise that a difference exists between workers who create wealth and rich loafers who steal this wealth.

Incomes over £80 a week will pay a lower rate of tax. The liability to pay death duty on massive fortunes was raised from £10,000 to £12,500.

A top married couple will now be allowed to have their incomes assessed separately. Don't have any illusions about how 'top' you are. A single man's assessment begins at £325 a year, a married man above £465 a year.

### HANDOUT

To get any benefit at all the wife must earn well over the £418 a year she gets in basic allowances. In fact you have to have a combined income of more than £120 a week before you can benefit under the Budget reform.

As you can see in the table, by the time a boss's family is earning more than £10,000 a year, they get an automatic £1000 handout merely by asking to have separate tax assessments.

The Budget is not so generous to the rest of us. Instead of imposing a tax on profits to pull the old age pensioners out of their living hell, there is an all-round increase in National Insurance contributions.

To this must be added the fare increases after the government's withdrawal of the subsidy on London rail services, the food increases after replacing farm subsidies with levies on imported foods, the extra cost of health and specs charges and the withdrawal of subsidies from school meals and milk.

All this is ignoring the price increases due after the six week freeze requested by the government after decimatisation.

Forget that tax benefit you may

These figures, prepared for Business News by a leading firm of international accountants, are based on 1971/2 rates for income tax and personal allowances and 1970/1 surtax rates. They refer to couples with two children under 11 but do not take account of any other personal allowances.

	Joint income £	Joint tax bill £	Total tax bill if separately assessed £	Benefit £
Executive with wife earning pin money	3,600 (3,100 + 500)	659	713	-56
Level at which it is worthwhile	6,250 (5,250 + 1,000)	1,549	1,546	+3
Successful professional couple	9,000 (4,500 + 4,500)	2,918	2,368	+550
Top people	11,000 (6,000 + 5,000)	4,070	3,026	+1,044

From the Sunday Times

have been counting on. Unless you earn around £100 a week, or above, the net result is a wage cut because of the Budget.

It was tax deductions all round with no strings attached for the companies. The tax on profits, Corporation Tax, is to be reduced by 2½ per cent down to 40 per cent.

They will save £60 millions by the end of this financial year which will allow them to enslave workers even more through spending on new 'rationalisation' schemes.

Selective Employment Tax is to be abolished in all service industries. Even though the tax bill of food manufacturers, hoteliers and construction firms is going down, they are all agreed among themselves that this is no excuse to cut their prices.

Last week alone there were 360 price increases on retail goods. The builders have pocketed thousands on contracts they made two years ago at a fixed price, assuming they would have to pay SET.

So much for free competition. When private owners have a monopoly over the market they trade in, whether in the form of state ownership as in coal, or an old family firm as in sugar, the price system is rigged to line the pockets of a very few wealthy people.

The total handout to business in Britain before the 1973 new tax system comes into effect will be nearly half a thousand million pounds.

I have described a reduction in the direct taxation of the rich. I have also described how profits will incur less taxes. All this will come from increasing the National Insurance contributions, and by cutting government social service expenditure.

The two tendencies combine in the logic of Value Added Tax, the third of the three-pronged attack on the working class.

This radical change in the tax

structure shifts the burden of government finance from direct taxation to indirect taxation, from high income earners to the average family budget. Instead of there being a heavy purchase tax on certain goods (beer, cigarettes, etc) which affect working people more than rich people, and SET which hits certain service industries, Value Added Tax is like a generalised purchase tax on everything that can be bought and sold.

Every producer, dealer and transporter who handles any goods or service will add on between 10 and 20 per cent for VAT on top of his selling price. Because of the fantastic integration of world capitalism, any single item purchased in the shops will have passed through many people's hands before you buy it.

### BOOSTER

Each of them adds a bit on their price for VAT. All of the VAT is ultimately paid for by the consumer.

The result is a massive jump in price increases. When the Dutch bosses introduced VAT in 1969, prices increased 6 per cent in three months.

In preparation for entry into the Common Market, the Tories are bringing the British taxation system into line with Continental methods. If they do not decide to go into the Common Market, their job of heightening the class war in Britain is by no means shelved.

Shifting the system from direct to indirect taxation provides a massive increase in upper middle class incomes and gives them a morale booster.

To the unemployed, the Budget offered nothing. To the old age pensioners, the Budget changed nothing because of price rises. Next winter another 60,000 will die of cold and starvation.

To the millions of ordinary people the Budget changed nothing but confirmed everything that oppresses them.

## GETTING ROUND SS BILL

SW Reporter

WHEN is a law not a law? When it's Supplementary Benefits. This became clear to me when I interviewed a representative of the Birmingham Claimants Union about the new Social Security Bill now before parliament that will remove benefits from strikers' families.

The spokeswoman is a young unmarried mother with two children. She has to remain anonymous to avoid any victimisation.

She thought there was a lot that could be done to fight the Bill, and the Claimants Unions - local organisations that fight to help the jobless and the poor - have been trying to prepare workers for the event for some time.

'Rank and file strikers must confront the legislation by means of temporary 'strike claimants unions' to represent every striker and fight for benefits at the Social Security offices,' she told me.

The Bill, she pointed out, leaves the final discretion about whether or not to pay benefits to strikers' families in the hands of the local office, just as section 13 of the 1966 Act gives each ministry absolute power to raise or lower allowances, continue or cut-off payment and pay grants to excluded categories in 'except-

tional circumstances'.

Many important 'rules' are secret and have no legal weight. So if you pump the system hard, it will cough up.

During the postal strike, Claimants Unions won payments for unmarried strikers, despite the official line that 'it isn't done'. Every year only £1000 or so is paid out to strikers themselves in the whole country because they are very timid.

Unions, particularly officials, will have to change their attitude to the Supplementary Benefits Commission (formerly the National Assistance Board) which can pay or refuse to pay benefits as the result of a means test. Officials think it is inefficient but impartial and that any defects are due to 'nasty clerks'.

They think a word with the chief official will put things straight. They collaborate with the system instead of negotiating and act as a brake on their members' anger at the swindling they experience.

'We must recognise that the SBC and its means tests is the bosses' weapon every time: it is there to undermine the morale of the working class,' she explained.

Strikers can turn this offensive back on the bosses by visiting Social Security managers in force, demanding payments under section 13 of the 1966 Act and should fight each and every claim to the bitter

end.

Test Appeal Tribunals and mass appeals can be used to contest the law. Trades Councils should bring their 'workpeople representatives' on tribunals into line on this - or appoint new ones.

The Bill amounts to a confiscation of strike pay. There will often be no point in paying it all unless the grass roots will fight for full benefit.

'We need this mass struggle badly, to develop into something bigger,' the Claimants Union spokeswoman said. For instance, tens of thousands of workers are victimised by the 'industrial misconduct rule' every year, yet no mass resistance has developed. Under this rule workers can be refused benefits if their employers say, without evidence, that they were sacked for 'misconduct'.

'The Bill makes this rule into a vicious "starvation rule". If workers understood this, I am sure protest would lead to industrial action.'

The following information is available: Basic leaflet 'On Strike': 5p per dozen from BCU, 74A Stratford Rd, B'ham 11. 1AN. Pamphlet 'Strikers and Supplementary Benefits': 25p, revised fourth edition in preparation. From East London Claimants Union, Dame Collett House, Ben Johnson Road, London E1.



Exposed: the great labour spy racket

# Bosses' narks keep

**L**ast week the TUC warned of the growth in the number of labour spies once the Tories anti-trade union Industrial Relations Bill becomes law. This is nothing new. Ever since the trade unions were first formed they have suffered from infiltration by spies and informers paid and directed by employers and governments. In both Britain and the United States there is a long history of these activities.

The first records of anti-labour informers can be found in the Home Office papers for 1901. More documents were discovered in the years that followed. One of these showed that the half-yearly bill for labour spies in Bolton in 1816 was £226. In 1813 five workers were transported for life on the evidence of a spy with a particularly unsavoury past.

In 1817 a man called Oliver, alias Richards, alias Hobbs, travelled Britain visiting left-wing groups and urging them to prepare for an armed uprising. A Sheffield magistrate heard about this and arranged to have Oliver arrested.

He was persuaded not to, however, when he received a letter from Lord Sidmouth, then Home Secretary, on 31 May that said:

'Oliver is employed by me, that he is travelling under my directions at this time, and that I have reason to confide in his disposition and ability to render himself eminently useful, under present circumstances; I accordingly shall be anxious till I hear again and should be much relieved by hearing that he has not been apprehended.'

And 'useful' he proved to be. After appealing to workers in Derbyshire to begin an armed uprising, he promptly denounced them when they followed his advice.

Thirty-five workers were brought to trial on 16 October. Three were hanged and the rest were transported for life or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Since then both the government and the employers have tried very hard to keep secret their planting of spies in the labour movement. But they have not been completely successful.

In 1848 the London police 'discovered' a 'great Chartist conspiracy'. The Chartists were a mass working-class movement that demanded proper democratic elections to parliament and was hated by the government of the day.

## Transported

The chief witness at the Chartists trial was a police informer named Powell who admitted that he had: 'Encouraged and stimulated these men in order to inform against them.' Five workers were transported for life.

Evidence also exists that proves that spies were planted in the Unemployed Workers' Movement during the 1930s and in many other trade union and political organisations.

In 1937 the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labour investigated the question of labour espionage. It was chaired by Senator La Follette and was popularly called the Civil Liberties Committee.

## Notorious

One of the witnesses before the committee was Mr Heber Blankerhorn, an employer of the government's National Labour Relations Board. He said that in April 1936 there were 230 agencies in America supplying labour spies and that between January 1934 and July 1936 General Motors (Vauxhall is owned by them) paid \$994,856 and 68 cents to the Pinkerton detective Agency for trying to stop the growth of trade unionism in their plants.

General Motors employed 200 Pinkerton spies in their factories and the La Follette Committee proved that the police had also planted informers to give information about 'troublemakers' to the company.

The Pinkerton Agency has a notorious record in American labour history. They were employed by hundreds of companies. They infiltrated the 'Molly Maguires', a militant group of miners and in 1875 one of their spies was responsible

# watch on shop floor action

by ROGER ROSEWELL



Carr: spy man turned union basher

**IN THE** House of Commons on 25 March, Leslie Huckfield spoke of the dangers of computers used at the Department of Employment. Under the terms of the Industrial Relations Bill, he said, personal information, particularly militants' activities, will become a very valuable commodity.

He added that there was a danger of factory spies increasing in number and that already two or three private information firms offer spy and espionage services on the factory floor.

When a government spokesman assured Mr Huckfield that 'stringent safeguards' would be taken to ensure the confidentiality of information stored at the Department, Eric Heffer

pointed out that Robert Carr himself was a former director of a firm that offered to spy in factories.

Carr agreed that he was a former director of Securicor but said the letter from Complete Security Services, a subsidiary company, was written without authority. When it came to the attention of the board, the offer was withdrawn and the executive responsible was 'disciplined'.

Carr's answer can be treated with scepticism. The 'executive' in question, L Davenport, was the company manager of Complete Security Services and it is highly unlikely that such a venture would be started without the approval of the full board.

for the unsubstantiated evidence that sent 10 workers to the gallows and 14 others to prison.

They smashed the 1892 Carnegie Homestead Steel strike by sending in 300 armed, strike-breaking agents. They killed seven workers and wounded scores of others.

The Ford Motor Company also used spies and thugs in an effort to stop the United Auto Workers Union from gaining members and recognition. They employed a man called Harry Bennett to do the job and he ran a 3000 strong Ford Service Department for this purpose.

Many of Bennett's men were ex-convicts and gangsters. One of his closest friends was Joe Adonis, a key member of Murder Incorporated. Adonis had an exclusive contract with Fords for delivery of vehicles along the eastern seaboard.

## Ignored

The TUC evidence on the existence and possible growth in the number of labour spies was submitted to the Younger Committee on Privacy that was set up a year ago by the Labour government. It has been ignored by the millionaire press.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that labour spies do exist and that they are operating in Britain today. Both the government and the employers know this.

In February 1970 students at Warwick University in Coventry discovered a number of secret files. Among them was a letter to the University Vice Chancellor from Gilbert Hunt, a director of the Chrysler car company in Britain. The letter said:

'At my request, Mr N P Catchpole, our Director of Legal Affairs, attended a meeting of the Coventry Labour Party, which was addressed by Dr D Montgomery' (a visiting American lecturer at the University). 'Montgomery's speech revealed a very definite bias against employers in general.'

## Blacklists

Catchpole's notes of the meeting also mentioned that some local trade union militants were present and their speeches were recorded. No serious action was taken by the University Council about this clear case of spying. Members of the council included Sir William Lyons of British Leyland, Sir Arnold Hall of Hawker Siddeley and a number of other top businessmen.

Blacklists of active trade unionists have been kept and circulated among employers for years in British industry. They are compiled often by employers and special spying agencies that they hire. A letter from one of these agencies, Complete Security Services Ltd, was exposed a few years ago. It said:

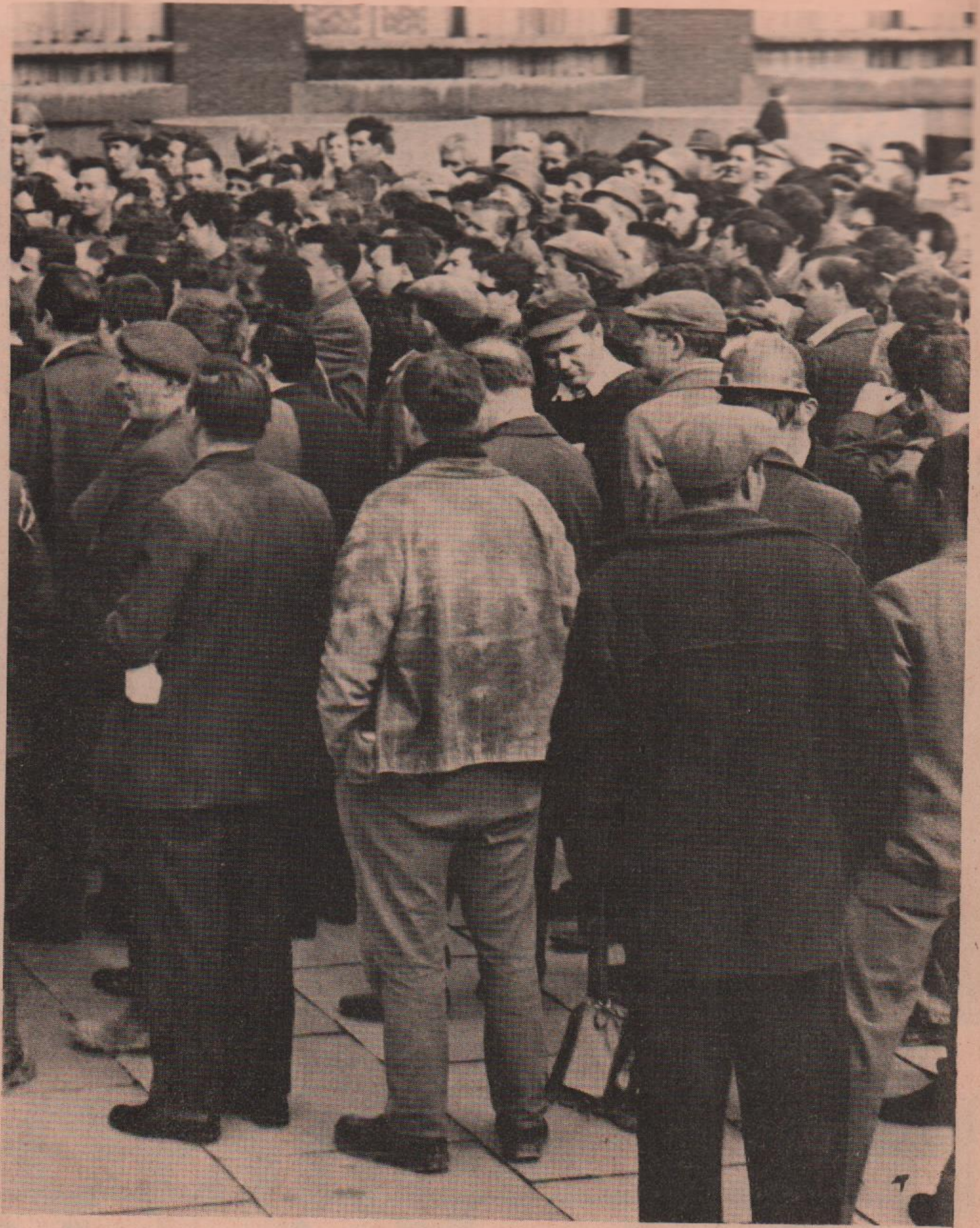
Dear Sir,

Most business concerns, however scrupulously managed, lose an appreciable amount of money each year through pilferage. This pilferage takes the form not only of petty larcenies from stock but also misuse and wastage of time by employees, mismanagement or laxity of discipline on workshop or stockroom floors, and falsely entered figures on time sheets and vehicle schedule sheets.

In some form or other, this is taking place in your company at this moment. We specialise in preventing this unwarranted sharing of your profits. Our services include:-

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2. The following of vehicles used by employees during the course of their work.
3. The investigating of thefts, frauds and embezzlement.
4. Reporting on any person who may be suspected of causing dissention or inciting employees to defection.
5. The screening of prospective employees - a search into their antecedents and background.

Our agents are carefully selected and thoroughly vetted and their methods of approach, discretion and loyalty are of the highest standard. Our consultant will be pleased to call to advise you, without obligation or cost, as to the most practical method of dealing with your particular problem. - Yours faithfully, L Davenport, Manager.



A strike meeting: Special Branch and security firms plant spies at such gatherings.

The services offered by this company are the same as were paid for in Bolton in 1816 - the planting of spies, agents and informers into the labour movement.

A former director of Complete Security Services is now a well-known member of the Tory government. He makes speeches frequently about the Industrial Relations Bill and claims that he 'wants to help and assist the trade unions'.

This former bigwig in the labour spy racket is none other than Mr Robert Carr, the present Minister of Employment and chief Tory spokesman on the anti-trade union legislation.

## Condemned

Other organisations active in this business are the Economic League, Common Cause and Industrial Research and Information Services. This latter body has been officially condemned by the TUC.

The police are also involved. The Special Branch keeps thousands of files on active trade unionists and are often called 'plain clothes police' as they don't wear uniforms. In most other countries plain clothes police are called by their correct name - secret police.

The TUC is quite right to warn of the dangers of labour spies. It is vital that the whole labour movement exposes the menace of these agents of the government and big business.

The best-seller that The Times called 'a handbook for militants'

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## IRELAND: CENTURIES OF OPPRESSION



# Colonisation by

# Britain, misery for the masses

**T**he colonisation of Ireland, begun by Anglo-Norman lords in the 12th century, accelerated in the 17th century with the development of capitalism in England. In the mid-17th century the last representative meeting of Gaelic lords took place, and Ulster, the last province to resist, was settled by Scottish and English farmers.

Cromwell demonstrated English and Protestant superiority by the mass slaughter of citizens of Drogheda. William of Orange's defeat of King James finally sealed the process and made any large-scale military revival by the Irish impossible.

Penal laws were enacted to suppress Catholic-Irish culture, make Catholic ownership of land impossible and fix the place of the Irish as a subject nation. By 1703, 14 per cent of the land was owned by Catholics. The rest was divided into large estates owned by Protestant landlords and on which the native Irish were tenants without rights.

In time, the landlords and the merchant class in Ireland formed its

own interests which did not always concur with those of the ruling classes and the crown in England. By the late 18th century some were demanding legislative independence and free trade.

'Grattan's Parliament' enjoyed more independence than any Irish parliament since 1494 but was short-lived. With this movement, which had also demanded basic rights for Catholics, there also developed a more radical movement which oriented itself on the doctrines of the French republicans.

The United Irishmen, under the lead of Wolfe Tone, was the first of a series of organised movements in modern times struggling for independence in Ireland and recognising that the only certain allies in that struggle were the 'men of no property'.



Starving families attacking a potato store in 1846

### Crushed brutally

It regrouped Presbyterians and Catholics, although in the years preceding there had grown up rival secret peasants' societies of Protestants and Catholics, competing for the land. The United Irishmen led a rebellion in 1798 which had momentary successes in the North East and South East but was crushed brutally by British troops.

To prevent the further development of an independent Irish capitalist class, Westminster enacted the Act of Union, which came into force in 1801. Robert Emmet led a small uprising in Dublin against British rule but this too was crushed. The fact that Union was possible at all indicates that the Irish middle class had not been very strong.

The pressure of English manufacturers led to the suppression of the Irish textiles industry, although the linen industry in the North East survived because it was not in competition with English industry.

### Uprooted ruthlessly

A small Catholic middle class had developed, however, and it was this class which led the campaign for Catholic emancipation, granted in 1829, although it had been promised 'in return' for the Union. The political and economic fortunes of Ireland were, however, determined more thoroughly than ever by the British ruling class and by the development of British industrial capitalism.

The Union led to large-scale 'absentee landlordism' and to the formation of a 'gombeen' middle class of agents and merchants.

The structure of agricultural production in Ireland changed according to the requirements of English capitalism, and with it the landholding system changed too. The peasantry was uprooted quite ruthlessly when the change was made from tillage to grazing.

They had absolutely no defence under law. Between 1838 and 1888 it is calculated that 3½ million people were evicted. Mass emigration started in the 1830s.

### Million died

A nationalist movement grew up in Dublin, largely around a group of intellectuals inspired by the European nationalist movements of the 1830s and 1840s. It was very productive in literary terms, but it failed to make any connection with the dissatisfied masses, and the attempted rising of 1848 was a failure.

The Great Famine which started in 1845 indicated most clearly in whose interests land was held and agriculture carried on in Ireland. The peasants, totally dependent for their nutrition on the potato, starved when the potato crop failed, while £45 million worth of agricultural produce left the country in one year.

Yet there were nationalist leaders of some standing who refused to advocate seizure of grain and of other produce. Hundreds of thousands of destitute peasants left the country (over

220,000 in 1847), and more than a million died.

The will to resist was not totally suppressed, and the Fenians were able to organise in the following decade not only in Ireland, but also among Irish emigrants in Britain and America. A rising was attempted in 1867, and large numbers of Fenians were imprisoned or executed.

Their brutal treatment won them sympathy. An imprisoned Fenian was elected to parliament.

In the same period, agitation on the land question was growing, and Irish representatives in Westminster formed a Home Rule League. Parliamentary 'obstructionists' and the mass movement met in the Land League, led by Davitt and Parnell.

To meet the challenge Gladstone put through the first of a series of Land Acts, and he was eventually persuaded of the necessity of Home Rule. But concessions such as the Disestablishment of the (Anglican) Church in Ireland did not lead to a lessening of the struggle.

### Militant action

The peasantry continued to agitate against the landlords, by boycott, assassination, and rent strike. Westminster was obliged to enforce Coercion Bills, in order to quell militant action. The pace of legislation to encourage land

purchase by tenants to head off the

The use of violence, of course, led to national movements, owners and other with the format organisations.

### Labour's

Irish industry in the last decade, and with it the national capitalist to attain political independence. Frustrated progress in West elements formed selves), which de of economic sep nell and Redmon the agrarian and tions.

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## THE EAST



Flag of the Irish Republic flown over Dublin Post Office

## what we stand for



THE International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action, that we must overthrow capitalism and not tinker with reforms to patch it up.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow.

To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in rank and file control of the trade unions and the

regular election of all full-time officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

We are against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

We are against productivity deals and job evaluation and are for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

We support all demands for equal pay and for a better deal for young workers.

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £25 per week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and lay offs and support the demand of five days' work or five days' pay.

We support all workers in struggle and seek to build militant groups within industry.

We are opposed to racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

We are opposed to any immigration restrictions and fully support the right of black people to self-defence.

We are opposed to all nuclear, weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We are opposed to secret diplomacy. Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism.

We are opposed to all forms of imperialism and unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

We are for the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are for the introduction of a democratic planned economy in which resources can be devoted to social need.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time.

Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. Over a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it'. If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us

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Special feature written by BR



## IRELAND AND OUR TASKS: 'ONE ENEMY ONE FIGHT'

THE 'Irish question' has been traditionally one of national independence. Although the issue of independence is different from 100 years ago or even 50 years ago, it is still relevant to the working class in Britain.

The nature of British domination in Ireland has changed from the time when Marx argued the need of British workers' support for Irish secession.

British domination is preserved through partition, through the direct

exercise of state power in one part of the country and penetration of the economy in both parts.

Since World War II nearly 500 firms have been established in Ireland, the great majority of them British. Shareholdings in Irish firms have also increased.

The Irish capitalist class have supported this trend and it is clear that no section of that class can achieve national independence. The question of unity and freedom has become the

question of working-class power.

With the ever-closer relations of the British and Irish economies — preparation for Common Market entry, Free Trade agreements — and the massive presence of Irish workers in Britain, the struggle for working-class power in Ireland cannot be separated from the struggle in Britain.

It is correct to argue that socialists in this country must uphold the right of the Irish people to self-determination, with no conditions. But there

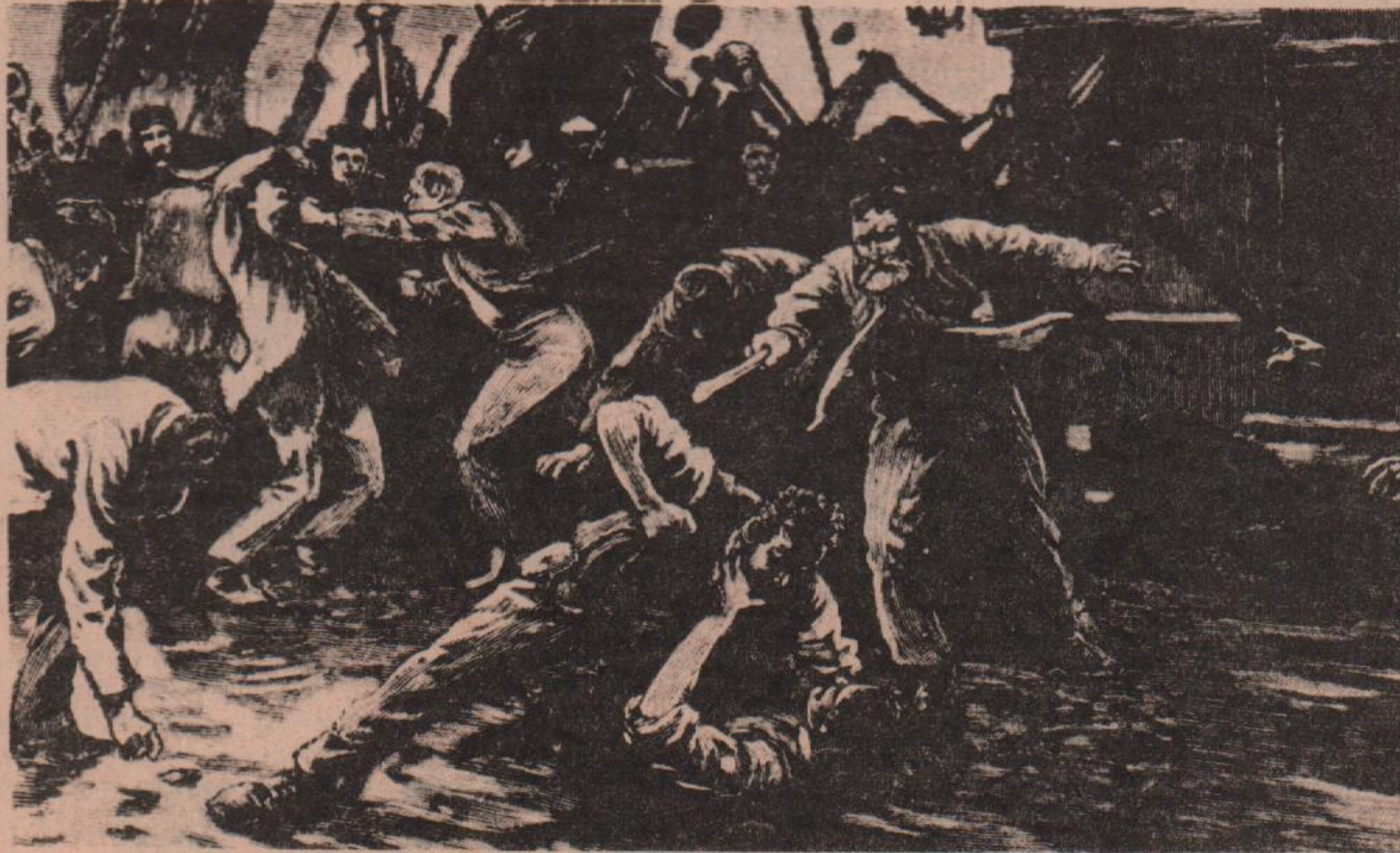
is little point in arguing this case continually and stressing the obligation of socialists to support an eventual unification or liberation of Ireland under capitalism.

Issues of solidarity cannot be seen as merely symbolic demonstration. Socialists in Britain are under an obligation to expose the role of the state, especially of the troops in Northern Ireland. They must explain that Britain has no right to interfere in Irish affairs.

But they must stress also the question of an end to British domination of Ireland in class terms. The only solutions to the Irish question are 32 County and working class.

It will be possible to attain and maintain such solutions when the working class in Britain is committed to support of the Irish struggle and mount their own attack on capitalism.

As in all colonial struggles, the slogan must be: 'One enemy, one fight'.



Belfast 1886: Orange mobs murdered local Catholics in the first of many pogroms



Carson reviews the Ulster Volunteers in 1912 — armed with German weapons

# Playing the Orange card

**T**he state of Northern Ireland is an historical abortion of the kind British imperialism has specialised in producing. It received its 'constitution' in the Government of Ireland Act (1920). Its geographical limits were set by the Boundary Commission in 1925.

The anti-Home Rule movement developed in North-Eastern Ireland with the commitment of Gladstone's Liberal Party to the granting of Home Rule to Ireland. The understanding of the constitutional and economic implications of Home Rule varied very widely, but it necessarily meant a parliament in Dublin with jurisdiction over the whole of Ireland.

This the Northern landlords and the extreme Protestant Orange Order would not accept. The Orange institutions, which had gone through a period of relative inactivity, revived with the encouragement of English Tory landlords, military leaders and financiers.

They thought that by 'playing the Orange card' they could prevent Home Rule altogether and thus preserve their interests in land, finance, and (to a lesser extent) manufacturing, in Ireland. The businessmen of North-East Ulster

were later recruits to the movement. Up to this time they had been in the main supporters of liberalism.

The anti-Home Rule movement eventually embraced all classes of Protestants in Ulster. Its leaders decided to form a volunteer force, to resist the imposition of Home Rule.

The idea of secession was mooted at an early stage. The arguments advanced against Home Rule were most frequently presented in terms of religious belief, and what was seen to be the Catholic Church's tyranny in civil affairs. But Unionist propaganda of the time does explicitly mention how investments would be endangered by any break with the Union.

### Security

Under the Union the linen and shipbuilding industries in the North-Eastern counties had developed without hindrance, while industry in the South had not been allowed to develop. There had been an uneven development of capitalism in Ireland, and Belfast industry, in particular, had become part of a complex linking with Liverpool and Glasgow, rather than Dublin.

The land question did not affect tenants in the North in the same way as those in the South. There had at times been joint action, but under 'Ulster Custom', the Protestant tenants in the Northern counties had always enjoyed greater security, and had not been discouraged from improving their holdings.

In 1912, more than 400,000 Ulstermen signed the Ulster Covenant and pledged themselves to 'defeat the pres-



Paisley: return to Bible thumping

ent conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland'. But the mass mobilisation of Protestants did not always proceed smoothly.

The trade union movement, especially in the time of Larkin's earliest activity in Belfast, had made an impact on the working class there and in 1907 had joined Protestants and Catholics in action. Religious-sectarian feeling was promoted to break this force.

After 1916 and the end of World War I, in which Ulster Volunteers had taken part as whole regiments, the struggle for independence became more generalised in the South, and the UVF started pogroms against Catholics. In 1922, the year after the Treaty settlement, 232 people were killed in fighting, mainly in Belfast.

Thus the Six County state was born in communal violence and its character as a state of institutionalised violence is marked by the passing in 1922 of the Special Powers Act, 'emergency' legislation that is still in force.

The state was founded on Protestant-Unionist ascendancy. The Ulster

Volunteers became the 'B-Specials', a force of Protestant workers and farmers who were compensated by their 'natural leaders' for any loss of wages while engaged in active service in 'defence of the province'. The Royal Ulster Constabulary became another armed wing of the political establishment.

Through the 1920s the other institutions were established to consolidate Unionist power. The Orange and Masonic institutions functioned as agencies of jobbery and patronage for Protestants.

In 1939 Proportional Representation was abolished. Constituency boundaries were re-drawn — and continue to be re-drawn up to the present day — in order to ensure Unionist control.

The classical gerrymander was in Derry where Unionists controlled the local government of a city in which they were in a 40 per cent minority.

### Pogroms

For the Unionists it was quite unthinkable that 'Ulster' should be anything but a 'Protestant State' with a 'Protestant Parliament'. This was said in 1934 by Prime Minister Craigavon — and by many since then — at a time when the economic recession had caused 25 per cent unemployment and there was joint mass action by Protestant and Catholic workers.

Religious-sectarian feeling was again used to break this unity and in 1935 there were more pogroms against Catholics. The same was to happen 30 years later, although in a slightly different manner, when parallel with the

revival of Labour politics, and the presentation to the government by the trade unions and the Labour Party of demands for democratic reforms, there was a revival of traditional, bible-thumping Protestantism, led by Ian Paisley.

The economic situation, the need to encourage investment from outside, given the decline of Unionist capital, required that politics be to some extent 'normalised' — without, of course, allowing class lines of opposition to harden. Terence O'Neill was the man entrusted with the task.

The Catholic capitalists, and Fianna Fail in the South, were obliged to play the game. The Nationalists, who for decades had maintained separate but complementary control of areas west of the River Bann, had been weakened by the growth of more radical politics.

Expectations had been raised, and O'Neill could not meet them. (In spite of his sophisticated appearance, O'Neill could still say in 1969: 'If you treat Roman Catholics with consideration and kindness, they will live like Protestants in spite of the authoritative nature of the Church'.)

The civil rights movement, an amalgam of various forces, has done something which the IRA Northern campaigns were quite unable to do. It has led to a shattering of the system.

For the capitalists, Protestant and Catholic, it is essential to make Ireland a safe place to invest, but it is unlikely that partitioned Ireland will ever again be a safe place for any form of capitalist economic activity. The permanent crisis in which the two states have — only just — contained has come to the surface never to be buried again.

## EASTER RISING: BRITAIN'S TERRIBLE REVENGE

**T**he Easter Rising of 1916 was the watershed in a period of roughly 12 years of heightened political activity in Ireland. It was the most courageous and symbolically most forceful act by those fighting for Irish national independence in that period.

It did not secure the victory of that struggle. But it remained, and remains to the present day, the point of reference of those dedicated to the achievement of an Irish Republic.

And, according to the historical meaning of those terms, this can never be anything less than 32 counties, free of British domination.

It is, however, more difficult to assess what the thoughts and motives

were of those who participated in the rising. What, for instance, did they think would happen in the North?

Did they imagine that they would achieve a military victory in the South? This hardly seems likely.

Did they imagine that the heroic act would galvanise national feeling and provoke a mass upheaval?

On that score one would have to say that 1916 was a failure. Most significantly, the Easter Rising did not precipitate mass action by the working class, although many participants in the struggle, members of the Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, were of the working class.

James Connolly had argued with his fellow trade unionists, although somewhat belatedly, that 'the cause of labour is the cause of Ireland; the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour.' In the same article in which these words occur, he explains that the green flag was hoisted on Liberty Hall (HQ of the Irish Transport and General Workers union) in April 1916, 'after grave and earnest deliberation', implying that the argument was not easily won.

Connolly was military commander during Easter week, but the ICA did not play a specific role as a working class force, although it had been formed in the heat of intense class struggle in 1913.

The Irish Citizen Army was formed to defend the workers against police attack. It claimed 1000 members in mid-1914.

In 1913 the Irish Volunteers had also been formed under Eoin MacNeill, ostensibly for defence against the Ulster Volunteers. The Irish Volunteers became identified with Sinn Fein.

It also contained members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood which had survived as a secret organisation since the 1870s. With the outbreak of World War I, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Redmond, promised support for Britain and split the Volunteers, many of whom went off to fight in the British army.

Connolly had taken a firm stand against the war with the slogan 'We serve neither King nor Kaiser, but Ireland'.

In early 1916 the plan for a rising

was drawn up by members of the IRB. Connolly was party to this, and became an officer of the IRB.

However, the differences within the Volunteers meant that contradictory orders were issued and that only in Dublin did a co-ordinated action occur. The Republic was proclaimed ('We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible...'), and the insurgents held strategic buildings for a week.

With the crushing of the rising — more than 400 people were killed — many of the participants were imprisoned or executed. All the signatories of the Proclamation were executed.

The brutal suppression of the rising certainly won sympathy for the republican cause.

But it was probably the extension of conscription to Ireland in 1918, as well as the economic hardship, which ensured the landslide victory of Sinn Fein (73 seats out of 105) in the 1918 general election — a victory which can be seen as a direct consequence of the

Rising, as Sinn Fein had come to be seen as the party of the Rising.

The Sinn Fein MPs did not go to Westminster. They met to form the first Dail, and a provisional government, in January 1919.

At the same time, there were sporadic actions against constabulary barracks in order to capture arms for the defence of the Republic. Estates were seized and during 1920 and 1921, while Britain deployed a massive and brutal force of 'Auxiliaries' ('Black and Tans') to smash the Republic, some factories, ports, and mines were taken over by the workers.

The Black and Tans were met with determined guerrilla warfare. Generally speaking, the organised workers had no part in the struggle. 'Labour must wait', Valera had said, and wait it did.

Connolly had said many years previously that the establishment of a Republic, the hoisting of a green flag, would not in itself prevent the exploitation of the Irish people by British capitalism. The process begun in 1916 has yet to be completed.



## The real Tudor England by David East: part 2

Until Charles Stuart had his head removed, the English monarchy believed in its God-given right to rule without interference or democratic checks. It was firmly rooted in the feudal system and it upheld staunchly the universal, Catholic, faith.

But the Tudor monarchy marked a break in that pattern. Under it, a new class of merchants and capitalist farmers developed and demanded more and more say in framing policies that would enable trade to expand.

They were ardent champions of the new 'Protestant' religion that grew after the break with Rome. It was the inability of the Stuarts to recognise the changed political and economic climate that helped hasten the Civil War of the 17th century and their own downfall.

When Henry Tudor defeated Richard III at Bosworth in 1485, he brought to an end the long and bitter feuding of the nobility in the Wars of the Roses, wars that seriously weakened the nobles as a class because of the heavy losses they sustained in battle and the draining away of their lands and resources.

But they were still a force to be reckoned with. Henry, who had a weak claim to the succession, looked for support elsewhere to keep him on the throne. He found that support from the merchants, clothiers and country farmers, anxious for an end to internal strife and disorder in order that trade might prosper and flourish.

The Tudor monarchy was kept in power by its accommodation to the swelling desires of the early capitalist class that, at the time, was not strong enough to challenge openly for political power. With their support, Henry VII created a despotism that stripped his opponents of their power and treated parliament as an irrelevancy.

Henry made it illegal for nobles to keep retainers — their own private armies. A royal monopoly of arms was established that gave enormous power to the state and a new legal system, the Court of Star Chambers, dealt harshly with nobles who defied the king.

As a further counter-balancing force, Henry created a new line of nobles drawn from the upper middle class that owed their allegiance to the court and the maintenance of the Tudor line. Families such as the Cecils, the Russells and the Bacons were created by the Tudors.

Henry was determined also to be financially independent. Parliament was forced to levy taxes for wars that were never fought. Nobles who objected to the new laws were fined and protection money was levied from the merchants.

### Cunning

He spent freely on new ships to help the development of trade, but in every other respect he was a cunning skinflint who left some £2 millions on his death, an enormous sum for those times.

It is a disservice to history that Henry VII is largely ignored today in preference to his more flamboyant descendants, for it was the first Tudor that laid the basis of a centralised state machine in line with similar trends throughout Europe. Along with England, France, Spain and the Hapsburgs of Southern Germany overcame internal dissension and embarked on outward-looking policies that sought the domination of the whole of Europe.

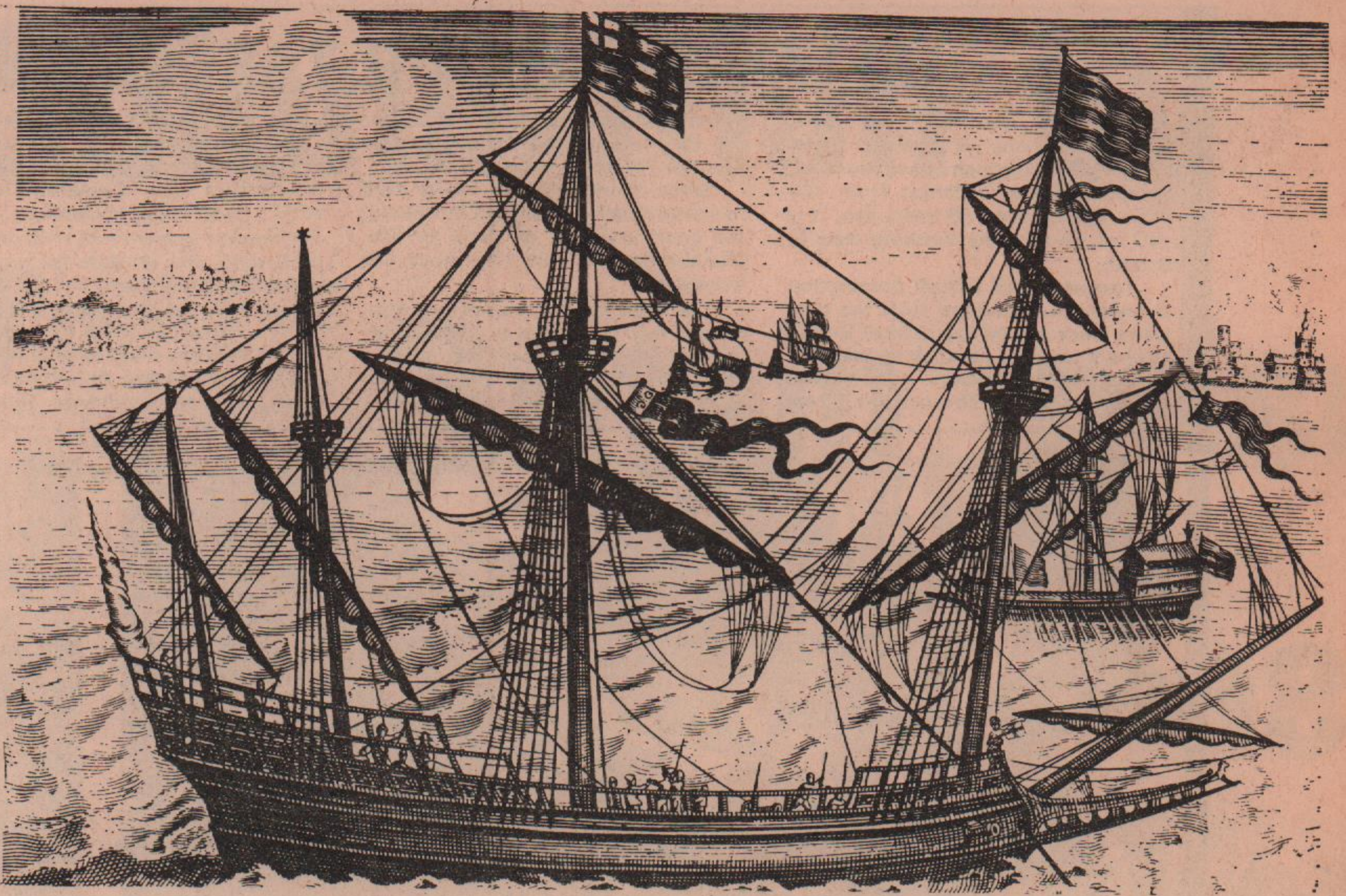
The early part of the 16th century saw a struggle between France and Spain for control of Italy and Flanders. England was then no match, militarily or financially, for either of these two powers and developed instead a subtle policy of allying first with one and then another in order to stop either from achieving its aims.

From 1509, when Henry VIII came to the throne, England was the staunch ally of Spain and at war with France. But in the 1520s, Spain became the undisputed master of Italy, refused to let England share in the spoils and forced Henry and his chief minister, Wolsey, to seek links with

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An English ship in Elizabethan times that helped rout the Spanish Armada

# The importance of skinflint Henry

France. It was this policy that led to the break with Rome and to the English offshoot of the movement known as the Reformation.

The Catholic Church was an international religious organisation that sucked enormous revenue from its subject nations. In the 16th century, it came into conflict with the growth of the strong nation states, headed by monarchs anxious for absolute control at home in order that their merchant backers could trade more effectively abroad.

The church's vast wealth, its ruthless and autocratic methods and its extensive ownership of land meant that monarchs seeking to break from its domination could win support from all sections of society. In the poorer, economically backward countries like Scotland, North Germany and Scandinavia, the Reformation was a popular movement with strong democratic undertones.

On the other hand, France and Spain, the super powers, did not break from the Papacy. Both hoped to dominate and use it in their struggle for European supremacy. The Hapsburgs of South Germany also found the Papacy useful in this way.

### Popular

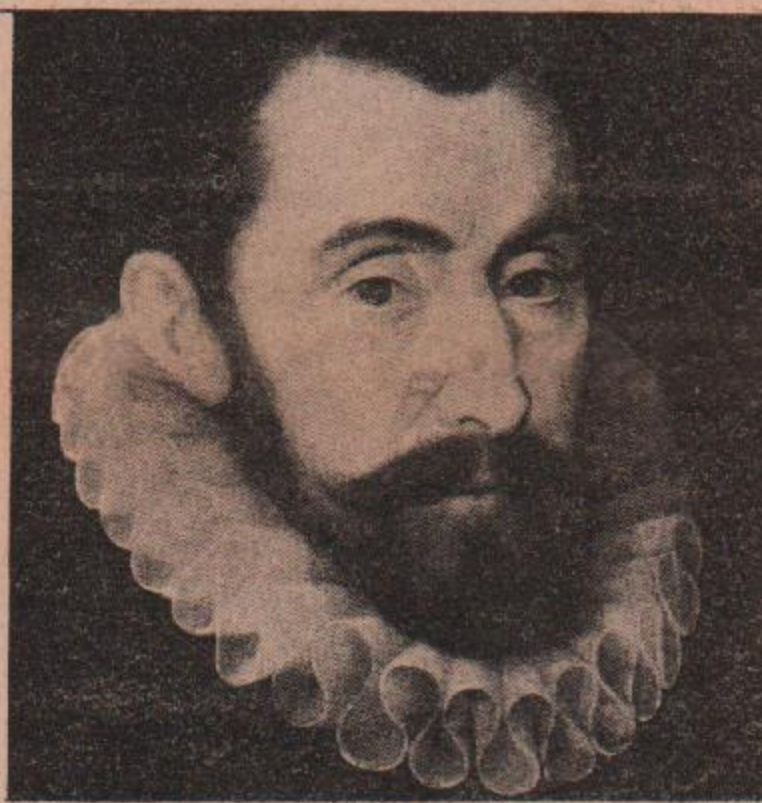
England hoped to follow this latter policy of wooing and controlling the Pope. When it failed, Wolsey and Henry took the steps that led ultimately to the victory of the brand of religion known as Protestantism.

The breach with Rome meant first the ending of the revenues paid to the Pope, a move that was popular with most sections of society, including the clergy, but not the monks.

From 1526, Henry determined to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon. This meant obtaining a Papal agreement that the marriage was invalid. Henry's reason was not just that his wife failed to produce a male heir to the throne. Catherine was a Spanish princess and was an embarrassment at a time when Henry was hell-bent on an alliance with France.

Rome refused, Henry sacked Wolsey and set in chain the legislation that was to name him head of the English church in 1531. The church became part of the state and the monarch had power to appoint its clergy and decide its theory.

In 1536, Henry embarked on the dissolution of the monasteries, partly to remove the last vestiges of Papal support and partly to increase his revenue. Henry's famous extravagance was not just a personal whim: in order to weaken the old nobility, he



Walsingham

adopted the policy of bringing them to court to act as advisers. He drew their sting politically but the opulence in which they lived was a considerable drain on his resources.

Henry sold off most of the former monastic land to courtiers, merchants and land speculators, who in turn sold it to smaller landowners and capitalist farmers. The result was the rapid growth of a powerful land-owning class that was determined to maintain the Reformation.

Unlike the poorer countries of North Germany and Scotland, the English Reformation was imposed largely from above, without mass support. This meant that the new doctrine of Protestantism spread more slowly in England than in the other nations that had broken with Rome and, like Henry, the great mass of the people remained for some time pious Catholics, although they owed no allegiance to the Pope.

The new religion was essentially the doctrine of the rising class of merchants and landowners whose wealth and power were boosted substantially by the Reformation and who stood to lose that power if there was a counter-revolution that renewed links with the Papacy.

Protestantism was therefore a political movement, overlaid with firmly held religious beliefs. The Protestant party understood the need for mass support for their policies and, aided by the translation of the Bible into English, began slowly to spread their ideas to the people, particularly in London and the Eastern Counties.

It was this class of 'new men', too that was spearhead the enormously important developments in science, literature and the arts in the Tudor

period.

Under Henry, the State machine was further centralised. Power was exercised at court by the King's Council and in the country by the landowning Justices of the Peace. Parliament was bypassed and called only to levy taxes or to give the seal of approval to the breach with Rome. But it was treated with care and its constitutional power actually increased, a fact that was to have important repercussions in the 17th century.

The Reformation received a setback on Henry's death. His son, Edward, was young and sickly, and real power was exercised by a Council dominated by the new nobility. It went to such lengths of vandalism to increase its own wealth by the plunder of Church ornaments that there was widespread disgust among the masses and strong support for the Catholic Mary even in such staunch Protestant areas as East Anglia.

### Blundering

But support for Mary quickly diminished when she won the throne. Appalling persecution of 'heretics' went hand in hand with the restoration of the Mass and a blundering marriage with Philip of Spain, England's chief commercial rival.

War against France ended in the loss of Calais, which had been held by the English for 300 years and was a centre of the wool industry. The merchants and clothiers were outraged and only Mary's timely death stopped an insurrection.

Elizabeth, a more astute politician without deep religious interests, speedily restored the balance between the declining and rising classes. The break with Rome was again confirmed and the church was subordinated to the state. But the organisation of the church was maintained along strict Catholic lines, avoiding the democratic demands of the extreme Protestants.

The struggle with Spain dominated most of Elizabeth's reign. The English and Dutch merchant classes were determined to break Spain's trading monopoly in the West in order to expand their own colonial ambitions.

Philip of Spain hoped to marry Elizabeth in order to remove England as a threat to his power. When this failed he tried first intrigue, through

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, who had a strong claim to the English throne, and then by open war.

Elizabeth and her chief adviser, Cecil, played a waiting game, first allowing Philip to think that marriage might be possible, then dallying 18 years before deciding to execute Mary Stuart. Support was given to the revolt of the Dutch in the Netherlands against their Spanish masters, but an open alliance with the Dutch was refused.

Walsingham, the extreme Protestant on the Queen's Council, was for an open alliance of all the non-Catholic nations against Spain. He forced the death of Mary Stuart, who passed on her claim to the English throne to Philip. War was then unavoidable.

The Spanish Armada sailed in 1588, a vast fleet of big ships to ferry an invading army over from the Netherlands. The defeat of the armada is considered one of the greatest naval victories of all times and is still treated in 'David and Goliath' terms.

And yet the Spanish defeat was virtually inevitable. Henry VII had not wasted his money on ships, neither had the merchants. The superiority of the smaller English vessels, their manoeuvrability and stunning gun power against the lumbering Spanish hulks were a glaring testimony to the giant strides in technique made in Tudor times, techniques allied to the changing relations and requirements of class forces in England.

The English victory opened up the colonies. In area after area, the Spanish were driven out and replaced by the English. The colonies were now plundered to enrich the English merchant classes — a process that increased in the 17th and 18th century to lay the basis for the British Empire.

The defeat of the Armada was a victory for a class rather than a nation. The dallying and ineptitude of Elizabeth and Cecil was bypassed by the merchants and gentry, prepared to fight not just Spain but the old nobility and Catholic minority at home.

Catholicism was seen as the main barrier to the ascendancy of the English merchant class. Little wonder then that they set sail with the new English Bible in one hand and cutlass in the other.

After 1588 they were fighting not just for wealth but for power. Political conviction and religious fanaticism was a combustible mixture that exploded with far-reaching effects in 1642 and helped mould a society that dominates us still.

Watch out soon for a series  
on the English Civil War



NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



# The torture of a nation

THE post-war years have seen the rapid crumbling of the old colonial empires. Formal political independence has been won for nearly all the ex-colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The relative speed with which this process has taken place often makes people forget that such independence was only achieved in many cases after years of bitter and bloody struggle.

One of the most savage of these struggles took place in Algeria, which for more than 100 years was seen by the French not as a colony but as an integral part of Metropolitan France.

But before independence was granted reluctantly in 1962, thousands and thousands of liberation fighters were killed, tortured and imprisoned, many of them victims not of the government but of the ultra-right wing, para-military organisation of the settlers, the OAS.

## Sealed fate

The Battle of Algiers (Kings Cross Odeon) focuses on one particular aspect of this struggle — the battle for the Casbah, the Algerian quarter of Algiers in 1957. The French temporarily won this round of the military battle but in doing so they were forced to resort to methods which alienated the whole of the Algerian population.

The result of the operation sealed the fate of French colonialism in Algeria once and for all.

The tremendous merit of the Battle of Algiers is that it narrates these facts in a gripping and absorbing manner.

The inevitably violent aspects of any national liberation struggle are not shirked and the horrific tortures which the French used to get 'suspects' to talk are dealt with in a clinical and horrifying couple of minutes of film.

And although the film is obviously totally in support of the struggle of the Algerian people, the French military administration are shown in the fullness of their dilemmas and ideological beliefs and not painted as caricatures.

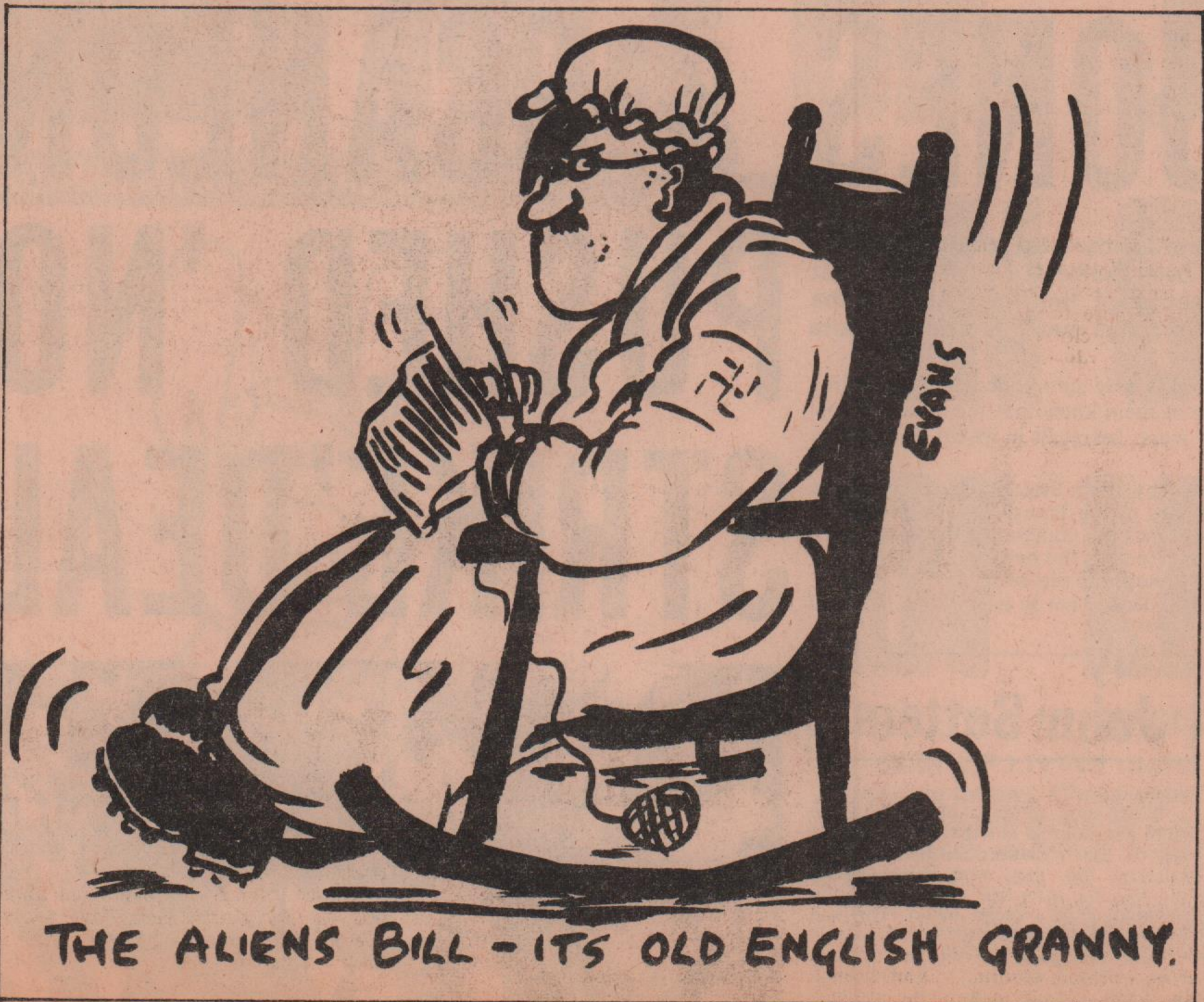
## Sacrificed

The only complaints that can be made against the film are that the director has focused on one aspect of the struggle to the exclusion of all others. Nowhere in this film do we get an inkling of the splits and divisions on the French side that led to the setting up of the OAS and, on the other side, to huge protest demonstrations against the war in Paris.

Similarly, we never get a glimpse of the FLN leadership and their discussions outside of a purely military context. In this sense, Battle of Algiers resembles the film Z in that an understanding of the political complexity of a situation has been sacrificed to the demands of dramatic tension and tautness.

But this is a tremendous amount to ask of any film. We should be thankful that Battle of Algiers has finally got a public showing four years after it was first seen at the London Film Festival. It is a fine film which should not be missed.

Martin Tomkinson



# COTTONS COLUMN

RESIDENTS of Southgate, the posh part of the London Borough of Enfield, demanded that the local council build a car park in the area to stop roughnecks and hobbledehoes from parking cars outside their expensive villas.

The council complied, a free park was built and the offending vehicles disappeared from the streets. In the fullness of time, the council changed hands, the Tories taking over Enfield to the delight and encouragement of Southgate electors.

But the Tories are great believers in 'free enterprise', the polite expression for lining the pockets of your business pals. The car park was sold off to National Car Parks and there was no more of that 'free parking' nonsense.

Steep prices were brought in, the cars reappeared outside the Southgate villas and such is the wear and tear on the roads that the council is putting up the rates from this month.

It's a bit much when capitalism starts biting the hands that feed it.

THE TORIES seem obsessed by ducks and other varieties of feathered foul. John Davies, Minister of Greed, dismissed unemployed workers as 'lame ducks' and last week Robert Carr said it was a 'canard' to suggest that he favoured industrial spying when he was a director of Securicor.

The literal French translation of canard is 'duck' but Webster's Dictionary says it means, in the sense Carr was using, 'An extravagant or absurd report set afloat to hoax the public'. Sounds like a good definition of the Industrial Relations Bill.

## I spy...

AT LEAST £65,000 is paid out each year by private companies to the



MARSH: watch for the peerage

Economic League and a further £14,000 to Common Cause, both organisations that build up 'blacklists' of militant trade unionists and socialists. The companies are often big and influential ones, with leading Tory MPs on their boards.

The following Cabinet ministers were directors of companies that made donations to either or both of these anti-union organisations:

Reginald Maudling: Shipping Industrial Holdings: £250 to the League in December 1968. Kleinwort Benson: £500 to the League and £250 to Common Cause in December 1968.

Geoffrey Rippon: Fairey: £150 to the League in March 1969.

Anthony Barber: British Ropes: £500 to the League in December 1969 and £100 to Common Cause.

Lord Carrington: Hambros Bank: £250 to the League in March 1970; Barclays Bank: £4750 to the League in December 1969.

## Marshland

SO RICHARD MARSH, former Labour government whizz-kid and a one-time Leftie, is going off to be boss of British Rail at a salary expected to be within shouting distance of £20,000 — a sum to be added to the substantial amounts he earns from his several City directorships.

Marxists have always stressed the ability of the system to 'buy off' the reformists who end up, in spite of

their staunch egalitarian principles, oiling the wheels of capitalism. But too little attention has been paid to the alacrity with which such specimens allow themselves to be bought.

Marsh, it appears, had become rather jaundiced with parliament. Aren't we all. But does he throw himself into the growing struggle to achieve the emancipation of working people?

Of course not. He plumps for a Tory job that entails screwing as much profit as possible from a badly-paid labour force.

Railwaymen should watch out for the prod deals and redundancy plans that will soon issue forth from the office of the future Lord Marsh.

## Bon voyage

ROLLS-ROYCE is so bankrupt that it is forced to sack thousands of its workers. But the R-R bosses are anxious to keep their places warm in heaven — even if they have to pay for them.

When the Archdeacon of Monmouth retired and hung up his hassock, he and his wife were offered two free tickets for a three-months' holiday in Johannesburg, that most Christian of cities.

The Man of God and his wife went by private sea cruise to South Africa, stayed in a luxury villa and had the use of a chauffeur-driven Rolls.

Total cost of the retirement trip? £6000. Who paid? The chairman of Rolls-Royce.

How about a parity campaign by 'retiring' Rolls workers?

QUOTE of the week from the mother of Digby Jacks, newly elected Communist president of the National Union of Students: 'I hope Digby's election will help make the Communist Party more respectable.'



IT'S not often that viewers are faced with a difficult choice on a Sunday evening on the two main channels but this week we had to choose between a critically acclaimed version of Bernard Shaw's Arms and the Man on London Weekend (Culture? What is Rupert Murdoch doing?) and a documentary on Brendan Behan on BBC1.

The trouble with making a choice is that I nearly always regret my decision and have to listen to people saying 'Did you see that great play last night?' I suspected from the outset that the Behan documentary would prove a disappointment, not from any lack of ability in the production team but because of the impossibility of dealing at all adequately in 55 minutes with the life of the Irish republican writer.

But the production certainly did not help. It crosscut from dramatic excerpts from Behan's book Borstal Boy to film clips of the successful writer, his tragic decline into alcoholism and death and interviews with relatives and friends.

The result was a disservice to Behan, who came across as two quite distinct personalities, the young 'rebel' fighting for a united Ireland, arrested and brutalised by the British legal system and then the older man achieving sudden fame as the writer of two brilliant and uncompromising plays, The Quare Fellow and The Hostage.

But there was no such sharp distinction in real life. Behan the writer was a natural development from Behan of the IRA, Borstal, beatings and shoot-outs with the Dublin cops. His plays and books were shot through with a burning hatred of prison, corporal and capital punishment and the colonial domination of Ireland.

In focussing upon this false split between the young and older Behan, the documentary — written by Dan Farson — unwittingly mirrored the attitude of the British 'literary establishment' who took up Behan after the success of The Quare Fellow and promoted him as a 'character', a veritable broth of a boy whose republican background could be safely dismissed as youthful indiscretions.

It is fashionable to speak of Behan's 'self-destruction' through drink — the Daily Mirror's critic began his review on Monday with 'Few sights are more horrifying than that of a man bent on his own destruction'.

What glib nonsense this is and how it absolves those who basked briefly in Behan's fame from any responsibility for his decline. I am not able to say how much Behan contributed himself to his destruction, but it is reasonable to suggest that his harsh treatment as a youth, his early loss of religious conviction and replacement by an unsatisfactory, narrow republicanism, plus the refusal of the literary voyeurs to treat him as a serious political writer all contributed to his fall.

But for all its shortcomings, Farson's documentary was warm and sympathetic.

THE nice thing about serials is that I am not commenting on programmes never to be seen again. I was less than enthusiastic about the first instalment of BBC2's adaptation of Lewis Grassic Gibbons' Sunset Song, now running on Friday evenings. So let me say that I thought the second instalment fine and absorbing television, carefully portraying the struggle for existence of a Scottish farming community at the turn of the century.

It is not too late to catch up with it and I urge you to do so.

David East



## ICI stewards want action

SHOP STEWARDS at ICI's Huddersfield plant issued a call this week for united action by all the chemical combine's rank and file leaders to ensure victory in the current wage negotiations.

The main unions — TGWU, AUEW, EPTU and NFBTO — have tabled a claim for a £7 across the board increase, a £75 lump sum now, four weeks' annual holiday, six-monthly cost of living adjust-

ments and increased shift allowances.

### NEW DEPARTURE

A statement by the Huddersfield stewards' committee says: 'We pledge our full support to the national negotiators in the current wage claim. The claim heralds a new departure in ICI negotiations and one which we feel must be supported by all the means at our

disposal, including industrial action where necessary.

'We urge all stewards in the combine to support the claim in every practical manner on their sites to bring it to a successful conclusion.'

The Huddersfield stewards said they would welcome contact from all ICI sites 'with a view to co-ordinating pressure to win the full claim'.

# FORD: JONES & SCANLON PUSHED 'NO STRIKE' DEAL

AFTER NINE long weeks of a magnificently solid strike for parity, nearly 50,000 Ford workers have been deliberately sold out. Last Wednesday, a hurriedly-called meeting of the union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee met in Transport House in London.

None of the members of the NJNC who were summoned to the meeting was aware of what was to happen. None of them knew that the Ford workers were about to be victims of one of the worst betrayals in recent trade union history.

The meeting was attended unexpectedly by Hugh Scanlon, President of the Engineering Union and Jack Jones, secretary of the Transport Workers. Jones told the meeting that he and Scanlon had met the company and negotiated a settlement of the strike. He said that the offer was the best possible that they could achieve and requested that the NJNC support the deal.

Jones concluded by saying that if the NJNC decided not to support him he would ignore their decision. Scanlon supported these remarks.

After an angry discussion, the company's offer was accepted. Four of the five convenors voted against but, as the full-time union officials are a majority on the NJNC, the shop-floor representatives were outvoted and defeated.

The settlement agreed by Scanlon and Jones failed totally to win parity or even a proper progress towards it. The new agreement runs for two years until 28 February 1973. It gives three increases — £3.60-£4 now, £2 in December and £2 in August 1972.

Before the settlement, Ford workers were paid £12-£16 a week less than Midland motor workers and it is clear that, because the wages of other car workers will rise during the next two years, Ford workers will still find themselves the lowest paid when the agreement expires.

The settlement forbids any wage demand during the next two years. It also states that no strikes for more money will take place during this period.

### WELCOME

In the opinion of Bernard Bradley, a Halewood shop steward, this last clause means that if any industrial action is taken by Ford workers, the company has the right not to pay the promised increases.

The no-strike pledge is precisely what Robert Carr and the Tories want. When he heard the news of the settlement, Carr, the man responsible for pushing through the government's anti-trade union legislation, said: 'I welcome the form of the agreement. A two-year period with no strikes and no claims is just the sort of stability we want.'

If the Industrial Relations Bill becomes law, any strike in defiance of this clause will be 'unfair' and therefore illegal. The Times of Friday 2 April praised the clause and said that, as the unions had agreed to ban all strikes, 'Ford need not perhaps think indefinitely about dismissing trouble-makers'.

This clause is a green light for victimisation and no improvement in living standards. This is particularly important as the final agreement fails to contain a 'no victimisation' guarantee.

After the settlement had been agreed by the NJNC, Scanlon and Jones told the meeting that a secret ballot would be organised to vote on the offer. This had not been mentioned during the previous

### by John Setters

discussion.

When shop stewards objected to the ballot and pointed out that this was again one of Carr's clauses in the Industrial Relations Bill, they were over-ruled and told that the offer was conditional upon the holding of a secret ballot. This had not been explained before.

On Friday, after the ballot had started, it was suddenly admitted by both Scanlon and Jones that they and not the company had suggested that the ballot be held. They said they had done this for the specific purpose of trying to stop the militant factories of Halewood and Swansea from rejecting the offer.

When the ballot was organised, the company took charge of it and sent out the voting slips in Ford envelopes. It was rumoured that the slips had been prepared before the Wednesday meeting of the NJNC.

Many workers voted to accept the deal when they were confronted with the sudden settlement of the strike, the absence of information, the need for tax rebate, the fact that the unions were going to discontinue paying strike benefit, and the hailing of the agreement as a 'victory' by Sid Harraway, chairman of the Ford convenors and a leading Communist Party member.

### RUSHED

The ballot was not democratic. No discussion on the agreement was allowed to take place and no proper explanation of the settlement was communicated to the shop stewards.

The voting was full of irregularities. Some workers failed to receive any voting slips while others received more than one.

One Dagenham worker claimed he voted four times. The vote was rushed through in an attempt to prevent the strike from carrying on.

The full sordid story of the sell-out has now emerged. Following the successful mass meeting of Ford workers at Basildon last Sunday week, Stanley Gillen, chairman of Ford of Europe, approached Robert Carr on Monday 29 March.

PUSHED 'NO STRIKE' DEAL



Dagenham workers voting in the ballot: no discussion was allowed

Carr told him to talk to Vic Feather, the TUC secretary. Gillen did so and Feather arranged for him and Bob Ramsey, Ford's labour relations director, to personally and privately meet Scanlon and Jones.

The secretary of the trade union side of the NJNC was neither informed of nor invited to this meeting.

Scanlon and Jones met the Ford employers and rejected the company's first offer of an extra £1.80 across the board, without strings.

Had it been accepted, this would have given an average rise of £5.40. Instead, the union leaders suggested a two-year deal, similar to those negotiated in the USA by the United Auto Workers Union.

It is quite likely that the idea resulted from the international union conference held in London the week before, attended by Leonard Woodcock, the President of the UAW.

The long-term deal was suggested by Scanlon and Jones in order to prevent a repetition of this year's strike. The effect

of the agreement will be to undermine trade unionism in Ford. It is for precisely this reason that the settlement was welcomed by Robert Carr.

The nine-weeks old strike by Ford workers was well on the way to victory before the sell-out. The Ford management were clearly concerned and there is little doubt that if the strike had continued a substantial and satisfactory settlement would have been negotiated.

### DAMAGED

All of this was lost by the intervention of Scanlon and Jones. The role of the two 'left' officials has been disgraceful.

They have damaged the battle for parity and obeyed the Tories anti-trade union laws even before they are passed.

Their conduct in this strike proves conclusively that rank and file unity of workers is absolutely essential and that no reliance can be placed on either the right or left wing trade union leaders.

## MAINTENANCE MEN LOCKED OUT BY TOBACCO COMBINE

by Bob Carter

MAINTENANCE WORKERS at the Basildon, Essex, tobacco firm of Carreras have been locked out for seven weeks by the management. The 124 workers, members of the Engineering Union and the Woodworkers' Society, were locked out on 22 February after they had staged a two-weeks' work to rule.

They took industrial action to press their claim for a 37½ hour week. Carreras employ 4000 workers, 2000 in Belfast and 2000 in Basildon and they all work a 37½ hour week, with the exception of the 124 maintenance men.

Carreras rejected a claim for equal hours from the AUEW and ASW and accused the men of breaking a domestic wage agreement.

They proposed instead a nine-grade job evaluation structure covering the entire works — but without any assurance that if the maintenance workers accepted the scheme they would get parity of hours with

the rest of the work force.

Carreras brought in a management consultant for the evaluation, but then presented shop steward Jock Walker with a document issued without consultation with the management consultant or the union negotiators. The proposals devalued seriously the status of the 124 skilled engineers and proposed to grade them with stock clerks.

Jock Walker was told to accept the offer and when he and his men refused they were ordered off the premises and locked out.

The struggle has been prolonged by the use of scab labour and anti-union activities that have not been opposed by the other unions at Carreras — TGWU, ASTMS and EPTU.

This failure to implement basic solidarity action has not been followed by London dockers who are blacking Carreras's exports.

Some of the men have no strike pay and donations are requested to: R Walker, 120 Putneys, Basildon, Essex.

## Move to end split in rail unions

by John Field NUR

THE MAIN railway union, the NUR, may join the present work to rule by the footplatemen of ASLEF if the management does not improve on its 9 per cent pay offer by Wednesday.

The decision came at Tuesday's NUR executive meeting when a motion calling for a work to rule from Sunday was defeated in favour of further talks with British Rail after the holiday weekend.

But the NUR threat of limited industrial action if the talks are unsatisfactory does go some way towards ending the disastrous lack of unity between the three unions concerned. Now only the railway clerks, TSSA, are refusing to take militant action.

The TSSA is willing to accept 9 per cent. ASLEF is demanding 15 per cent, while the NUR's original demand was for 25 per cent.

### SHARING OUT

The offer of 9 per cent represents a proportion of the total wages bill, not an all-round rise in the basic wage. Much of the negotiations have been taken up with sharing out this 9 per cent between bonus schemes and an increase on the flat rate.

In real terms, the offer means an 8.1 per cent rise in locomotive's basic rates (£1.20 to £1.85 across the grades), for other manual workers a rise of 7.55 per cent (£1.15 to £2) and a 9 per cent rise in salary for white-collar workers (£35 to £160 a year).

Militant railwaymen feel that the board has deliberately wasted time during the negotiations. It seems this was dictated by a fear of the railwaymen co-ordinating their action with that of the postmen. In fact, the rail unions are finding it hard going to co-ordinate their own pay campaign.

A resolution passed recently by the North London District Committee of the NUR called on the union to stand firm over the claim, and to try to obtain unity with the other rail unions. The resolution also stated that 'we have every intention of taking the most effective industrial action to achieve such an increase'.

All NUR members should support this lead and the Locomotive's action to the hilt.

### NOTICES

LIAISON COMMITTEE Conference 24 April, Central Hall, Westminster. Credentials obtainable from J Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Road, Ilford, Essex.

CARWORKER — just out, first issue of the rank and file carworkers' paper. Articles on parity, anti-union laws, British Leyland and Chrysler. 2½p a copy, 60p for 12 issues bulk orders post free. Available from Carworker, 41 Lloyd Baker Street, London WC1.

TOTTENHAM IS public meeting: Tony Cliff on the struggle in industry. Thursday 15 April, Red Lion (corner Tottenham High Road and Lansdowne Road) 8pm. All SW readers welcome.

HAVERING IS public meeting: Bernadette Devlin MP and Jim Kerrigan UPW on the Industrial Relations Bill. Thursday 15 April at Romford Spiritualist Hall, New Ring Road, Romford, near the Library 8pm

MANCHESTER Council of Action public meeting: Bernadette Devlin MP. Thursday 22 April, Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate, 7.30pm.

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE: demonstration against US imperialism in SE Asia and British complicity. Saturday 24 April, Trafalgar Square 3.30pm, march to US embassy and Hyde Park.

PART-TIME BOOK-KEEPER required, approx 10 hours per week, hours to suit. Ring 01-739 1870.

EXPERIENCED dictaphone secretary needed for solicitor's office near Baker St. Work largely conveyancing and crime. Good typing speed and spelling essential. Experience in legal office not necessary but helpful. Starting pay £25 pw, more for exceptionally qualified person. Ring Tony Young, 01-935 2562.

MUSICIANS wanted for possible IS-based jazz/rock/blues group in London. Contact Chris Barker, 01-485 0476.

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