

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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WORK OR FULL PAY



UNEMPLOYMENT — now officially near the million mark — is a cancer created by the capitalist system to eat away at the strength of the labour movement. It spells poverty and often despair for those forcibly deprived of their jobs. It means falling wages and worsening conditions for those still at work but bullied by the spectre of the dole queue.

The present grim, upward spiral of unemployment is part of the Tory-employer attack on the organised working class.

Next Wednesday, 24 November, must be transformed into a national day of militant action and protest.

The Trades Union Congress is calling a lobby of parliament on that day. It should be supported—but the protest needs backbone. The TUC leaders don't want REAL action.

Wherever possible, strike action should take place next Wednesday and meetings and demonstrations should be organised against the government.

24 November must mark the day of a massive fight-back to end the misery and degradation of the dole queue. That means that trade unionists should campaign for a fighting programme in their organisations:

NO REDUNDANCIES: Stop the bosses sacking workers and then increasing production with a smaller workforce.

BAN PRODUCTIVITY DEALS: these are a major cause of killing jobs.

35-HOUR WEEK without loss of pay: Another way to create new jobs.

WORK OR FULL PAY: make it expensive for the government and bosses to deprive workers of their jobs.

NATIONALISATION under workers' control of any firms declaring redundancies.

Strike, march, protest on 24 Nov

London Trades Council march: assemble Tower Hill 2.30pm march to parliament.
Central Hall meeting 6.30pm

Spanish workers in pitched battles with police

THE WAVE OF STRIKES and sit-ins which has swept Spain in recent weeks has again revealed the slow decay of the Franco regime's power, and given the outside world a brief glimpse of the new confident spirit of the Spanish masses.

A massive miners' strike in Asturias closed down most of the important pits and set the whole region seething with unrest. The management of the SEAT car plant in Barcelona declared a one-week lockout of 24,000 workers after 11 days of strikes, sit-ins and pitched battles with the police, in which one worker was shot and seriously wounded.

A wave of solidarity strikes throughout Catalonia affected scores of factories, including the Mataras and Fipalsa engineering works and the big Siemens plant at Cornellà. The workers' commissions call for a general strike was not generally supported, but the fact that thousands of workers did strike 'in solidarity with the SEAT workers, for a general amnesty, and against the dictatorship' is of great importance. It indicates the new

by S. MacRistear

confidence felt by Spanish workers. Although the right to strike in pursuit of economic ends was 'legally' restored in 1965, sympathetic strikes are still illegal, and 'political' strikers are still liable to summary trial by military courts.

Neither the Asturian miners nor the SEAT carworkers would agree to negotiate through the state-supervised sindicatos—the only legal 'trade unions' in Spain. They insisted on the government recognising the illegal comisiones obreras (workers' commissions), democratic bodies created by the workers themselves. While many private employers have been forced in recent years to negotiate with the outlawed commissions, this is the first time the workers' movement has felt strong enough to directly challenge the sindicatos' right to exist.

If the government is forced to back down and deal directly with the real workers' representatives, the sindicatos would be completely discredited and the prestige of the workers' commissions would be raised,

strengthening the Spanish labour movement.

Thirty-five years ago the Spanish capitalists defeated and crushed the workers who threatened to overthrow their corrupt and inefficient system. Today the Spanish workers are struggling to their feet again and are the most consistent opponents of oppression and dictatorship. They are the only class able to go beyond mere demands for democracy and 'liberalisation', pointing the way to a new society in which the very basis of oppression is destroyed.

A generation after the Civil War, the reformists and the Communist Party, who have learnt nothing from the tragic defeat of the 1930s, are still at the head of the workers' movement: they control the vast majority of the workers' commissions. These 'leaders' are still peddling the old idea of a Popular Front—the notion that the task is simply to get rid of Franco. The real task is to get rid of Franco's hirers, because unless this is done they will produce another Franco when fascism becomes the only path to salvation for their profit machine.

PRESIDENT NIXON has announced further troop withdrawals from South Vietnam. But how are the South Vietnamese troops who are going to replace them in the struggle for 'freedom' and 'democracy' making out?

The New York Times correspondent in Saigon recently reported: 'South Vietnamese infantrymen, underpaid and underused, are turning increasingly to murder, looting and highway robbery of other South Vietnamese, according to American pacification workers in all parts of the country.'

'Two weeks ago, in the southern delta province of Bac Lieu, a bus was stopped by a group of militiamen. They took the passengers' watches, wallets and rings—and one television set—then sprayed the bus with automatic fire from their American M-16s. Five persons were killed and five wounded, according to American officials.'

'In Danang last month, a group of South Vietnamese paratroopers stopped a United States Army bus carrying a troupe of South Korean entertainers and robbed them of their valuables.'

ON 9 NOVEMBER 400 African miners in Coppertown mine, South Africa, refused to go on the night underground shift and barricaded themselves in the compound, refusing to communicate with the management of the mine. Police were called in and workers are being repatriated to the Bantustan of the Transkei.

DURING his recent trip to France, Russian leader Brezhnev visited the Renault works at Flins, while one of his companions went to the Billancourt plant. The Communist Party and communist-controlled union branches in the two factories passed resolutions of welcome and even sent out their militants to put up French and Russian flags side by side. At Flins CP members got Brezhnev to autograph their party cards.

The vast majority of workers, however, were left unmoved by the CP's antics, and ignored the ceremonies. The fact that the recent agreement for Renault to build lorries in Russia may cost some of them their jobs probably contributed to this lack of enthusiasm.

EVER SINCE last summer's right-wing coup in Bolivia, repression has continued. It is reported that the secretary general of the trade union organisation, COB, Rene Higuera-del Barco, has died in the concentration camp where he was being held together with more than 200 political prisoners. Despite pleas from the La Paz teachers' union and the Red Cross, pointing out that Higuera's health would not stand up to conditions in the middle of the tropical jungle, the Bolivian authorities refused any medical assistance.

PRESIDENT AMIN of Uganda, who overthrew Obote last January when he was out of the country attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, is threatening his erstwhile supporters. The Buganda, the largest tribal group in Uganda, were pleased at Obote's fall. Amin's rise was regarded as a sop to Buganda nationalism.

But last week, at a rally of Buganda, he said that he knew some prominent politicians who went around confusing some Buganda—'some of whom were present'. He also warned that anyone engaged in politics would be thrown in prison.

A SECOND INTERNATIONAL conference of revolutionary socialists was held recently. It was jointly sponsored by the British International Socialists, the International Socialists of the United States and Lutte Ouvriere (France).

Other organisations attending were the Proletarian Socialists and the Leninist Faction of the Left Socialist Party (both of Denmark), the SAG (Socialist Workers' Group) from Germany, Rivoluzione Comunista and Lotta Comunista (both Italian), Accion Comunista (Spain), and three organisations from the USA, The Spark, Socialist Forum and the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

The conference discussed economic perspectives for Western capitalism and heard reports on the industrial struggle in different countries. There were also debates on the kind of support revolutionaries should give to national liberation movements, and on the strategy for building revolutionary parties. The conference was a useful step towards developing closer links between revolutionaries in different countries.

FRATERNAL 'socialist' message from Castro to Chile's copper miners this week: The Cuban leader told the miners, currently demanding a 50 per cent wage increase, to 'subordinate their interests to the interests of the nation'. SPECIAL FEATURE ON CHILE: page 8.

India uses Bengalis as lever for more aid

John Ashdown

THE STRUGGLE for an independent Bangla Desh is a threat not just to West Pakistan but also to India. The settlement in Bengal is locked into the situation both in West Pakistan and in India.

The dangers for the government of India have been uppermost in the minds of the Congress leadership. That is why, since July they have been trying to convert the internal struggle in East Bengal (which they do not control) into an international issue, an Indo-Pakistan conflict.

Yahya Khan, military President in West Pakistan, has argued that the revolt of the Bengalis is a Hindu conspiracy directed from Delhi. If Delhi has its way, that will come true.

India claims it is an innocent victim. The appalling flood of refugees into India continues, yet the Indian government keeps them crowded on the border—nine or ten million of them—in terrifying conditions of poverty, since they are a useful lever against Yahya Khan and a means to extract aid from the West.

The government claims to support the Bangla Desh struggle, yet it has thrust five divisions of troops between the Bengal guerrillas supposedly training in India and the fighting in East Bengal, and has removed the heavy weapons of the guerrillas.

High hopes

In 1965, the Indo-Pakistan war was effectively stopped by the intervention of China on Pakistan's side. This time India has signed a military agreement with the Soviet Union precisely to prevent this happening again.

Now if China were to intervene, it would face Soviet missiles on the north China border. In Delhi, this has provoked high hopes that Bangla Desh provides the ideal pretext to settle Pakistan once and for all.

For the West Pakistan military, its only posture internationally has had to be defensive. The army's staggering brutality in East Bengal has not at all destroyed the guerrillas.

Now the monsoon is over, the guerrilla attack is becoming much fiercer. The attack makes the administration of the



The Mukti Fauj: Yahya's brutality has not destroyed the Bangla Desh guerrilla army

province and the resumption of exports impossible, and the cost of supplying the troops is escalating. As a result, the economic crisis in West Pakistan grows worse, once again creating a radical opposition. Yahya Khan has made efforts to buy off the main opposition leader. He has just despatched Bhutto to Peking to try and extract promises that China will intervene in the event of an Indo-Pakistan war. Without success. Peking is not prepared to face Russian missiles in order to pull Yahya Khan's chestnuts out of the Bengal fire.

Initially, the US tried to offset Chinese influence over the West Pakistan generals by continuing to supply arms and using Yahya Khan as intermediary between Mao and Nixon. But the intervention of Russia on the side of India and the steady decline in the prospects of the Pakistan military are pushing all the great powers to hedge their bets.

Nixon, without promising anything substantial to India, has at long last agreed to suspend military aid to Pakistan.

The immediate military threat for the West Pakistan army. But the longer term political threat is now posed by Delhi. Delhi will seek by all means available to destroy Pakistan and neutralise the struggle for an independent Bangla Desh.

Challenge

Unless the Bangla Desh forces break with the Indian government, they will inevitably be used as agents of Indian foreign policy, as the Provisional government of Bangla Desh appears already to have become. The guerrillas will then be unable to create anything in East Bengal except a colonial satellite of India, exchanging the domination of Karachi capitalism for Calcutta capitalism.

The only way to prevent this is the development of a movement which challenges the government of India in India, and the government of West Pakistan in West Pakistan. The only people who can organise such a movement are the organised

workers of Karachi, Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong and the rest.

The willingness of the Pakistan Punjabis and the West Bengalis to accept the behaviour of their respective governments made the present situation inevitable. Unless their attitude is changed, guerrilla warfare on its own cannot break the deadlock.

We in Britain have to ensure that no aid goes to the West Pakistan military. That can only be effectively done by the labour movement. If the dockers refuse to load goods for Pakistan, no amount of manoeuvring by the British government can get round it.

A national conference of Bangla Desh committees to unify the movement in Britain can begin to raise these issues and ensure the sums collected do not go to pay for the antics of careerist Bangla Desh diplomats, but to those doing the fighting. It can also begin to clarify the way forward and the real help that must go from here to East Bengal.

NZ government axes seamen's union

LAST WEEK the New Zealand seamen's union was legally disbanded by order of the government. Since before the war, the Union has been controlled by hard-bitten bureaucrats to the delight of the shipping employers.

But in recent years, pressure has been building up from the rank and file to push the union officials into more militant policies. At the same time, in all the major ports, particularly Wellington, Auckland and Dunedin, organised militants have been spearheading unofficial action to improve wages and conditions.

In the last three years there have been more strikes than in the previous 15. And, of course, the result of this militancy, was a rapid improvement in wage rates and ship-board conditions.

This threw the giant shipping companies—most of them British-owned—in to a cold sweat. Militancy was something the employers had never experienced from the Seamen's Union which began

to challenge their god-given right to treat seamen like second-grade slaves.

With the collusion of the government, the shipping owners prepared a counter-attack. After a rigged Special Report three weeks ago, the government introduced the Shipping and Seamen (Amendment) Bill.

It was designed quite blatantly to give the shipping companies the power they needed to intimidate militants. Any seaman given three bad conduct discharges (handed out at the discretion of the captain) will be automatically suspended from the industry.

The response from the seamen was sharp: within a day, seamen in Wellington had called an all-out strike, and by the following day, every port was strike-bound. The government had obviously decided to make it a show of force between the unions and the state. On Friday 5 November, Labour Minister William Marshall announced that he was

de-registering the Seamen's Union under the Labour Laws (similar to Britain's new Industrial Relations Act).

The Union was legally broken up, its funds confiscated and all working contracts annulled. The Royal NZ Air Force was put on alert to break the strike.

The state had thrown down the challenge. The Seamen's Union issued an appeal to all other transport unions to take it up. But, in any confrontation between the state and the working-class movement, the bureaucracy of the trade union movement invariably lines up behind the state.

This was to be no exception. The Federation of Labour (the equivalent of the TUC) called an emergency meeting—not to back the seamen's struggle but to stifle it. The Federation blocked any moves for a general strike or even for sympathy strikes, and issued a very strong recommendation for a return to work on the government's terms.

Even worse, the Federation President, Thomas Skinner, said that should they refuse to return to work, the seamen would be 'out on a limb'—and strongly implied that they would be expelled from the Federation. Deserted by the official movement, the seamen had no choice but to return to work.

This defeat will set the seamen back decades. The Shipping and Seamen Amendment is now certain to become law, exposing all seamen to open victimisation.

And if the Seamen's Union seeks to re-form legally, the Labour Minister has the authority to order changes in the union rules. As a minimum, Marshall will insist on secret ballots before strikes, and far tighter disciplining of the membership by the union officials. The rule of the right wing will be ensured for years to come.

Bruce Lyttleton

Clinging to Labour's coat tails

ACCORDING to General Secretary John Gollan, speaking at the Congress last weekend, a big Communist Party is needed to force the Labour Party to the left. It is an odd sort of perspective for a party that used to claim to be a revolutionary organisation.

However, let us look at it on its merits for, quite apart from the now very respectable Communist Party, there are still a number of socialists who manage to believe that, somehow, the Labour Party can be made into an instrument of socialist change.

They have taken a knock or two in the past few months. First we had the great paper victories of the left at the TUC and the Labour Party Conference on the Common Market. Each turned up a huge majority against entry on Tory terms.

Whether or not this is the key issue facing the working class, it is the case that the Labour Party had rejected an important part of the strategy of British big business—and of the last Wilson government—and in that sense had made a turn to the left. The Communist Party had played its part in this. Indeed, for months on end the party's activity had centred around a campaign to get anti-Common Market resolutions through union organisations.

Then we had the vote in parliament. A large minority of Labour MPs headed by the party's deputy leader, Roy Jenkins, lined up with Heath, Barber, Carr and Davies to vote for big business. Needless to say, no disciplinary action was taken against these blacklegs. Quite the reverse. In the subsequent elections in the parliamentary Labour Party Jenkins won easily.

The majority of Labour MPs, not just the extreme right wing around Jenkins but the majority, will show in practice just how much importance they attach to conference decisions even when they are carried by overwhelming majorities. And remember, this is when the Labour Party is in opposition.

The truth is that the Labour Party is irrevocably committed to the support of British capitalism in practice. Not just Jenkins, not just Wilson but also Michael Foot, indeed all the parliamentary stars, are firm supporters of parliament, the 'constitution' and the so-called 'mixed economy'. And this means that in practice they are committed, whatever pious hopes they may have, to massive unemployment, inflation, cuts in social services, attacks on the shop floor and a general movement to the right in all fields.

The Communist Party, clinging to the coat-tails of the Labour lefts, is dragged in the same direction. It is a sorry end to a party that was founded to fight against all these things.

Fortunately, the party no longer dominates the socialist left, especially the youth, as it once did. A revolutionary socialist alternative will be built, is being built. It will grow by attacking and exposing the Labour fakers, right, centre and left alike, and not by spreading illusions that miracles still happen, that the Labour Party can, in spite of everything, be won to socialism.

TORIES SEEK COMPROMISE WITH RACIALISTS

SINCE the turn of the century a tiny minority of white farmers and businessmen has exploited and oppressed the people of the country now called Rhodesia. Since 1923 this minority has had a more or less free hand in dealing with the 'natives'.

Three Labour governments at Westminster, between 1923 and 1951, were happy to allow this state of affairs to continue. Indeed the Attlee Labour government of 1945-51 tried hard to impose the rule of the Rhodesian whites on the countries now called Zambia and Malawi. It introduced a scheme called the 'Central African Federation' that would have put all three countries under white Rhodesian control.

Times changed. The old system of colonial rule became impossible to maintain. Big business needed to protect its investments in Africa through more or less docile African governments. And so British conservatives, liberals and, of course, the Labour Party, discovered the evils of racial discrimination. The Rhodesian question was born.

In 1966 an out-and-out racist gang headed by Ian Smith was 'elected' to power in Rhodesia. 96 per cent of the population—Africans—had no vote. The constitution under which this swindle took place had been approved by Tory and Labour governments alike.

Still, Smith was a bit of an embarrassment. It wasn't so much what he did but the fact that he was honest and said what he was doing, that stuck in the throats of Wilson and the Tory opposition which supported Wilson on the question. His frankness made things difficult for big business in the rest of black Africa.

So the 'five principles' were invented. A little pressure—economic sanctions—was applied to make Smith pay lip service to them. Unfortunately Smith was obstinate. Harold Wilson had boasted that Smith would be brought to heel in 'weeks rather than months'.

In fact it took years and it was not Smith but the British government that was brought to heel. Now both sides are ready for a compromise that will save the face of both governments. The Africans, the 96 per cent of the people of Rhodesia, will continue to pay the price as they have been doing since their oppressors first brought them the bible and took away the land.

But not for ever. Smith and all he stands for will be destroyed, sooner or later, by the revolutionary action of the Rhodesian people. The final sell-out will prove, once and for all, that they have nothing to hope for from any British capitalist government.



COTTONS WARMS

Caught Bennion

AN EXPENSIVE prosecution will start soon at the Old Bailey against Peter Hain for his part in the campaign which sent the South African cricket tour packing during the summer of 1970.

The man who has brought the prosecution is a barrister named Francis Bennion. He has admitted raising the money from 'sympathisers' in South Africa. According to one report, crowded meetings of whites-only rugby toughs and other sporting types have been asked to contribute and responded handsomely.

Their money is in safe hands. Mr Bennion is associated with the extreme right wing and extremely badly named Society for Individual Freedom, a well-known anti-immigrant and anti-trade union body.

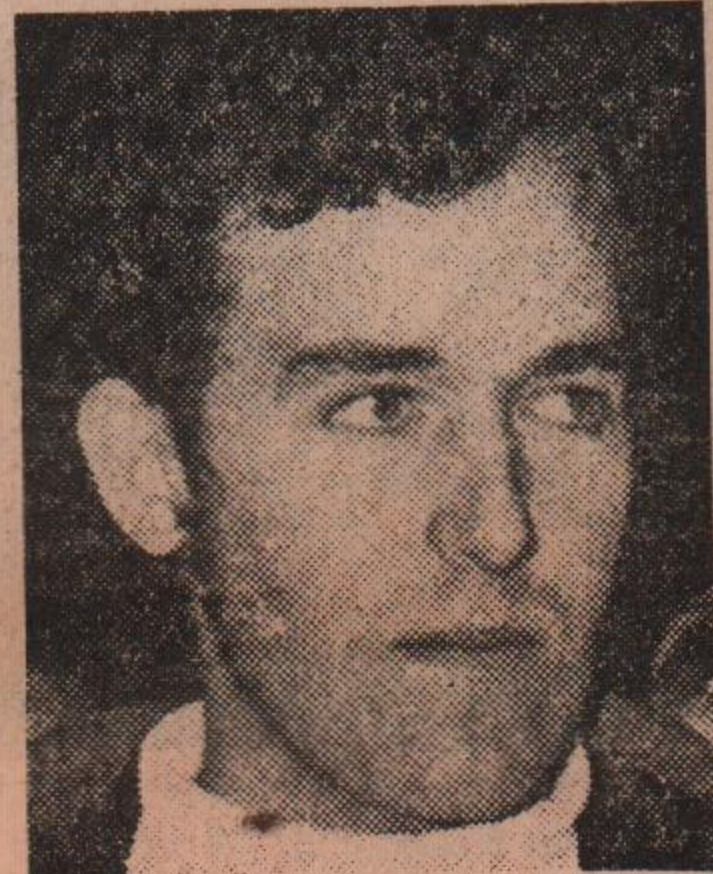
He has also founded recently a group known as The Professional Association of Teachers (PAT). PAT exists to prevent teachers' unions ever resorting to strike action, and also, as its name implies, to combat the idea that teachers are no better than other trade unionists.

Teachers should follow Peter Hain's lead and no-ball Bennion.

WE KNOW you won't believe this, but, Scout's Honour, it's true: workers at the Courtauld rayon staple factory in Greenfield, Flintshire, have been told to 'pull their socks up' by the management.

Bitter fight

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION in Glasgow has put in a claim for its members working in two licensed clubs demanding a £20 a week basic wage—the TUC minimum—time-and-a-half for weekends (many workers already get double-time) and



HAIN: sticky wicket

an agreement conceding sole negotiating rights to the union.

Latest offer from the management is £17 a week with four hours' guaranteed overtime to make it up to £20. They refuse to concede negotiating rights to the TGWU and want a procedure agreement terminating in compulsory arbitration.

So what? you say—typical response of hard-headed businessmen determined to hold out against the workers?

Sadly, no. The two clubs are owned by Glasgow and District Trades Council. The four-man finance committee that made the offer includes three Communist Party members, one of them chairman of the party's Scottish committee.

The TGWU is threatening industrial action. Hang on to your tankards for further news. Meanwhile, we suggest the workers take their lead from the latest beer ad: Exercise your rights.

WHILE we wait for Ralph Nader to get his teeth into the British car industry, you may care to have this snippet from our own motoring expert's report on the much-fanared Morris Marina.

The braking and suspension systems are lifted intact from the Morris Minor, the staid old post-war vicar's rattle-box. And the engine is the traditional old BMC formula used for more than 20 years.

So if you want to spend more than £800 on a flash new body...

Rent-a-fact

AMMUNITION for the 'Fair Rents' campaign: The Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Patrick Jenkins, told the Commons last week that the total tax relief on mortgages is estimated at about £300m for 1970-71. The aver-

age relief per house buyer is nearly £60.

This is more than the total of subsidies to council tenants—and the subsidies will be cut sharply under the government's new policy for rents. Worth bearing in mind next time some bowler-hatted buffoon starts in about subsidising council tenants out of his taxes.

Staff of strife

REMEMBER all those Tory pledges about cutting back on the size of the civil service in order to save the taxpayer money? Heath cheerfully wields his chopper when it comes to axeing jobs in those government departments concerned with people's welfare, but he is prepared to take on more staff when it comes to bashing the unions.

Take for example the new-styled Commission on Industrial Relations, spearheaded by trusty ex-businessmen, who will nose-parker their way around the country, looking at industrial disputes and the role of the unions. So busy does it expect to be that its staff is likely to increase from 200 to 500.

Printer's Greville

THE NOT-SO-LIBERAL GUARDIAN is now prepared to use a little news distortion to back up its growing hysteria against the IRA. Following the blast at the Post Office tower, Harold Jackson wrote a story on 2 November about people who make phone calls warning of bomb blasts.

He opened with a reference to one Roger Greville who appeared in court in Leamington Spa last May charged with making four phone calls in which he claimed falsely to be a member of the Angry Brigade. He asked for seven similar cases to be taken into consideration.

Jackson then went on to speak of the role of the IRA in Britain, the clear implication being that Greville was in some way connected with the Irish republican movement and bomb blasts.

One small point that Mr Jackson did not tell his breathless readers was that Greville is a member of the National Front—membership number 9065.

THE ISRAELI government has decided to try to breed chickens with shorter legs so that eggs won't break on the ground when they lay them. Rumours that Mrs Meir and King Hussein are to be involved in mating experiments should be discounted.



A raw deal for the men who bring home the bacon for Lord Sainsbury

LORD SAINSBURY stepped out of his powder blue Rolls-Royce onto the pavement of Stamford Street outside the Blackfriars headquarters of his family empire. His chauffeur swung the door silently shut and followed his master, clutching tightly the smart leather briefcase that hoards the nation's grocery secrets.

Both lord and lackey turned towards the main entrance of the Sainsbury sanctum, stopped sharply, and slunk away to find their way in through the tradesmen's entrance at the rear.

They were followed by catcalls and boos from a crowd of pickets who had travelled to London from West Suffolk at five o'clock that morning to spread the word about the strike of 700 meatworkers at HMP.

HMP stands for Haverhill Meat Products. The workers there say the initials really mean Her Majesty's Prison.

The company is owned jointly by Sainsbury's and Canadian Meat Packers. It processes pigs into hams, bacon, pies and lard for distribution to the chain of Sainsbury shops.

It was Thursday—day 11 of the strike—when Lord Sainsbury was scared away from his own doorstep by the pickets and the stoppage was gaining ground fast.

The strike had been a long time coming—five tedious months of procedural blind alleys—and the men were ready for it when trouble broke out in the abattoir at the end of October. HMP management served redundancy notices on seven of the 70 slaughtermen who operate the abattoir. It was the last desperate move to break the men and force them to accept new production rates for a £1 million abattoir that was now ready for use.

Lump sum

Under the existing agreement between the company and the Transport Workers Union the men had to process 220 pigs per hour to earn the maximum bonus of about £7.50 and bring the top rates of pay up to about £30 a week. Management now wanted an undertaking that the men would shift 280 pigs an hour when they opened the new abattoir.

For this 27 per cent increase in production HMP offered the princely sum of an extra 40p a week on the bonus. They also promised a lump sum of £150 per man to 'buy out' the existing agreement.

The men said they would work the new abattoir for a few weeks and let the management know if the new rates were attainable. But they would not wear an offer of 40p. Management refused to listen and withdrew the bonus agreement.

The men then settled on their own 'fair day rate' of 144 pigs per hour. This led to the redundancy ultimatum, which was put into effect on 15 October. The entire abattoir workforce of 70 walked out in support of the seven redundant men.

All that remained at work were about 80 maintenance men, members of the AUEW, and some 100 secretaries and managerial staff. HMP, the biggest factory in the area, was at a standstill.

At this stage the strike was unofficial and the men were anxious to get union backing, but it was a week before it

by
R.K. Nelson

was made official since Jack Jones and several key members of the TGWU executive were in Germany at the time.

In the meantime some interesting facts emerged.

First the local paper, the Cambridge Evening News, printed a story giving recent profit figures for HMP—£132,983 in 1968; £205,195 in 1969; £217,426 in 1970.

Secondly the strikers learned that on the day seven of them had been declared redundant HMP had taken on 36 new workers and told them to stay at home on full basic pay until the dispute was over.

Now the strikers began to talk.

Unpleasant

The entire plant is run on production lines and pigs are fed through it at tremendous rates. To maintain the line-speed the men have to stick the exhausting pace throughout their shifts.

All time away from the production line is logged by white-coated clock-watchers. The official permitted time for a visit to the lavatory is six minutes.

Knives and cleavers have to be sharpened as their edges are dulled by the devastation they wreak on the carcasses. This time, too, is docked from bonuses.

The jobs are unpleasant and monotonous. Plundering the guts of a pig and carving or cleaving away at identical hunks of pork day in and day out are physically and mentally wearing.

The work is dangerous, too. Most of the men have scars on their hands and arms—the legacies of misjudgement under HMP's high-speed pressure.

Safety gear is provided—when it is available. This takes the form of chainmail gloves imported from America. But the management are constantly allowing supplies to run short and men have to continue with tattered gloves that leave the hands almost completely unprotected against the whirling blades.

Management explain the shortage of gloves by quoting the cost—£6 each. They say they spend £1000 a year on protective gloves and the damned things only last six weeks before they have to be sent back to the States for repair.

The bonus

No figures appear to be available on how long a man's unprotected hand is supposed to last in the abattoir or cutting room at HMP.

There are figures, however, that give a revealing indication of the profits HMP make from their piggy plunder. Organs are torn out of the carcasses before they are weighed and it is for this 'deadweight' carcass that the company pays the supplier. Thus, the organs are free.

Liver, for example, costs upwards of 25p per lb. in Sainsbury shop. A bilious beast yields 4lb of liver, which means £1 over the counter. The increased rate that HMP want out of the abattoir men represents 2,192 pigs per week.

This would add the company an extra £2,192 in liver alone. Their 40p extra bonus offer to the 70 men adds up to a niggardly £28 per week. On the liver that they get free the company stands to make a clear profit of £2,164 a week.

HMP's attitude was perhaps best summed up in a couple of statements by the plant manager, Mr Dan Pillar. According to one newspaper report his main concern is to increase the efficiency of HMP to keep down prices for his customers. Very laudable!

But his customers are Sainsbury's stores, who own half of HMP anyway.

The workers understand clearly that when each individual works as hard as Lord Sainsbury they can all have powder blue Rolls-Royces.

In the meantime they will be knocking at the front door for a fair deal at work while his lordship skulks round the back.

Socialist Worker salutes a great Clydeside

Talking to
JOAN SMITH
as Glasgow
salutes his
birthday

HARRY

McSHANE at 80

'THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS IS THE BASIS FOR BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY...'

How did you become a socialist?
I WAS BORN in 1891 in the Gorbals but raised in Tradeston. I was a Catholic in Glasgow's south side, an area divided between Protestant and Catholic.

I was deeply interested in religion and had listened to many lecturers including the 'No Popery' ones and had even read atheistic literature.

Then in 1906 there was a General Election. The organised Irish vote in this country had always been Liberal, but in 1906 it split. Labour members got in in Dundee and the Gorbals.

There was a tremendous reaction in the Catholic Church in Glasgow. Wheatley, a Glasgow Independent Labour Party man, and later Minister for Housing in the 1924 Labour government, formed a Catholic Socialist Society, to counter this.

In 1909 I joined the Independent Labour Party and read Blatchford's Not Guilty which made me break entirely with religion.

SPLIT

Then Victor Grayson put a form in The Clarion calling on all socialists to form a new socialist party. On 15 August I saw the form and filled it in immediately. The party was formed provisionally in 1910, and I first met John Maclean at the provisional committee of the British Socialist Party.

I became the secretary of the Glasgow south-side branch in 1913-14 and secretary of the Tradeston branch when it was formed.

Then the split came in the war. For a long period we had been fighting the old Social Democratic Federation.

We split between the pro- and anti-war people. I remained with the anti-war people and attended pro- and anti-war meetings. I got beaten up but I couldn't stop myself.

Were you working all this time? What was organisation like?

I was one of the first Catholic apprentices accepted by Howdens, the engineering firm. Within six weeks of finishing my time in 1912, I was sacked.

By 1914, I was working in Weir's Cartcart and came across a Workshop Committee for the first time, led by an



ILP man, Jim Messor.

Then I went to sea for a period, to the Texas Coast, the Mexican Coast. Then I came back and went into Parkhead Forge and again became a shop steward.

There I was threatened daily with the Defence of the Realm Act. They made things so difficult that I left.

1915 was a big year—the engineers struck for 2d, John Maclean was arrested, for anti-war propaganda and the rent strike forced the government to introduce the Rent Restrictions Act.

The tenants went on rent strike against the rising rents and some soldiers' wives who were living on 3/6d a week were evicted. Then they tried to evict a Dalmuir worker and the shipyards struck, came down to the courthouse and the shop stewards negotiated with the sheriff.

They passed the Rent Restrictions Act in London the next day. It kept the rents down to the pre-war levels and you could withhold if you didn't get the repairs done. I was very active in the Gorbals for years getting people to hold back rent until they got the repairs done.

I wasn't so interested in the industrial

struggle then—my main concern was the anti-war one. I disagreed with Willie Gallacher that the industrial struggle was the main one. But finally I ended up in A. W. Smith's.

STRUGGLE

When in 1919 Glasgow struck for the 40/- hour week, I took the day off and went to the big meeting in St Andrew's Hall and the next day I came back and said to the men that if they didn't come out the mass picket would come and get them out. It was hard but they came out and finally they were among the last to go back.

How did you join the Communist Party?

Our Tradeston branch of the British Socialist Party was fed up. John Maclean had left the BSP. On May Day 1920 I met him on the demonstration selling the revived Vanguard and I joined with him.

We toured the country speaking on wages and conditions, the Irish struggle and the Black and Tans. At the same time we were organising the unemployed.

The differences of

by Raymond Challinor

THE TORY GOVERNMENT is perpetrating a gigantic fraud. It is attempting to dupe the British people into believing the troubles in Northern Ireland are religious.

Then it can conduct its repressive policy, using troops under the guise of trying to restore peace, and gain public acceptance, if not support.

A moment's thought proves Edward Heath's argument wrong. It fails to account for the fact that Catholics and Protestants can live quite amicably together in Donegal but not, a few miles down the road, in Derry.

Is it that there is a mysterious substance in the air at Derry, making the population cantankerous, which does not reach Donegal? Or is a more plausible explanation that a frontier runs between the two towns—that

Derry is ruled by a hostile foreign power?

Perhaps the position can be better understood by British people if they considered what would happen were the roles reversed. Suppose Britain had been conquered by the Irish and occupied for 300 years.

Irish landlords had rack-rented us. Irish capitalists had extracted the last pound of profit from us.

Heroic

As a result, the British economy was so exhausted by foreign exploitation that it could not maintain the population: millions of people died of famine, countless others had to emigrate.

Then, through the heroic struggles of the British resistance movement, the Irish imperialists had been forced to withdraw. National independence was conceded ex-

cept for the North of England, which continued to be ruled from Dublin.

Would British people regard such a settlement as satisfactory? Would they not try and liberate their beleaguered brothers in Lancashire, still suffering under the foreign yoke?

When these questions are answered, when the abortion that is Ulster is viewed in this light, it can be seen for what it really is—as John Bull's last colonial possession.

Concocted in 1921, it was an attempt to salvage as much as possible of Ireland for the British Empire. Imperialist interests coincided with those of the landed aristocrats and industrialists of Ulster.

Their business links were overwhelmingly with London and if, through Ireland becoming independent, they had become subjected to Britain's external tariffs, then this would have been quite ruinous.

Whenever these wealthy Ulstermen pledged loyalty to the British crown, their

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The union you can REALLY trust



Harry McShane (opposite) seen on a Glasgow demonstration of Irish solidarity last month. (Above) a vast unemployment march in London in 1933: McShane was a leading figure in the National Unemployed Workers' Movement

John Maclean got jailed twice in this period and I was seven weeks in jail myself, waiting trial on a charge of sedition. Finally I got a 'not proven' verdict. But then John Maclean embarked on his scheme for a Scottish Workers' Republic and in July 1923 I joined the Communist Party because I didn't fancy separating English and Scottish workers. But in 1923 I was evicted—what a battle that was—and I had to go looking for a job. I went to Mansfield. We had a very good Communist Party there, 40 members, nearly all miners and active organising for H.J. Cook, the Minority Movement candidate in the union. Then I went to Kent, to Hounslow, Leicester and then spent two years working in the Yukon. How did you become active in the unemployed workers' movement again? In January 1930 I came back from the Yukon for a short holiday. An International Unemployed Day was called for 6 March. I got active in that in Glasgow and was arrested and fined. I lost my job in the Yukon. I had trouble in getting a passport in the first

place. And I never stopped working in the unemployed movement from then onwards. I began to work on demonstrations and hunger marches. We had demonstrations once a week in Glasgow and three hunger marches to London. The 1932 Hunger March was a tremendous thing, three riots in four days in London, a tremendous fight with the authorities at Trafalgar Square. I was the Scottish organiser of the National Unemployed Workers Movement and the national chairman in 1933.

NONSENSE

What happened after the National Unemployed Workers Movement? When the war came we shut down the NUWM and I was asked to go on the Daily Worker. They ran a Scottish edition then. But it was suppressed in January 1941 and I went back to industry, to Stephen's Shipyards. Then after Russia was attacked, the Communist Party asked me to be Glasgow secretary. I did the job for 18 months and then went back on to the Daily Worker. I was very active then. I was on the Scottish Committee of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1953. I was very active in local work, secretary of the Gorbals Branch. I was on the Daily Worker until 1953. Why did you leave? After the war there was a load of nonsense about production—the Communist Party had all sorts of plans to save

capitalist Britain. This was worrying but we accepted it because we were loyal. They went on about the production thing for a while and then suggested there should be a coalition between Progressive Tories—Eden, Churchill and the like—and the other parties. But there was a swing back and things looked a bit better. In 1950 the leadership accepted the principle of the seizure of power openly. But then in 1951 came the British Road to Socialism—the party's new programme—and support for parliamentarianism. But even before this, I was involved in a dispute over the five power peace pact. We were told to get signatures for a petition and hold meetings for a five power pact for peace—America, France, China (Chiang Kai Chek at the time), Russia and Britain. Germany was to be pet out of it. They thought these congresses were marvellous and everything was to be dropped for this petition. The Gorbals branch did nothing for it. We didn't stop anyone, but we wouldn't change our strategy. My resignation from the chairmanship of the Gorbals branch was demanded, but they didn't get one vote in the branch. They suggested I be expelled and an aggregate meeting of the Glasgow membership was held. About 400 came to the McLellan Galleries. Then I opened up and said what had been happening in the branch and there was trouble. There was another meeting but I wouldn't split the party and it all died down.

I was eventually threatened with expulsion and I then resigned. It was a terrific break that I didn't relish. My one worry was that the Daily Express would try to make use of the situation. I denied everything, refused all money for articles and finally gave one to the Reynolds News. I was eight months out of work. Then I got a job in Harland and Wolffs where I stayed until I was 69. Eric Heffer, myself and others formed a Marxist Federation. Really from 1951 The British Road to Socialism was hammering at me all the time, as did the development of the bureaucracy inside the party. They just didn't behave like human beings. They saw only the party interests.

UGLINESS

They didn't see the masses, they didn't see the people. And now they're up to their necks in grabbing positions and sacrificing every vestige of principle. How do you feel as a revolutionary looking back? I've had 62 or three years of it now. Maybe I stayed too long in the Communist Party. The Marxist Federation might have developed but it would have split later. I was very glad that I read Raya Dunayevskaya's book *Marxism and Freedom*. I always had felt that there was more to marxism than just economics. That was what had attracted me to William Morris. He was a strange kind of a man—no one knows whether he was a marxist or not. But I read two essays of his, *Art under plutocracy* and *Art under socialism*, I think. I was very young at the time. They deal with the ugliness of capitalism and the brighter future. He didn't do it as a marxist would but he filled a gap that the marxists didn't fill then. We struggled to get an idea, now we have Lenin and other books and that makes it much better. I think that now we see that we are out for the emancipation of the potentiality that is in men. The emancipation of the working class is the basis for building a new society.

Not enforced

Little action from local (still less national) officials was forthcoming to reverse these decisions. The one success—'support' from the Dyers and Bleachers, the main shop-floor union—was not enforced, and little attempt was made by ASTMS officials to make sure it was. So very soon the strikers, who had only just joined ASTMS, were on their own and officials were rarely seen on the picket line. Victims partly of national feuds between ASTMS and AUEW officialdom, partly of the shortsightedness of their fellow workers, they have largely sat out the last months leading to the present tragedy. The failure of their early attempts to win rank-and-file support led to an excessive reliance on officials and eventually the enquiry. The firm is now running down other sections of the workforce, adding to the large unemployment in the area. The unions which let the ASTMS men go down may be organising marches against unemployment, but they are leading their own members to the dole queue. The main lesson of this long strike is all too clear: rank and file workers in all unions can rely only on their own unity for their strength. The only solution is to learn from failure for future struggles. Otherwise County Durham will face only declining jobs and wages, and trade unions might as well not exist.

Martin Shaw


Derry and Donegal

remarks were tinged by self-interest: 'patriotism' read 'profit'. But however beneficial it might be for the bosses, the Ulster state nevertheless contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction. It could only survive so long as the oppressed, who had been cowed into submission by tyrannous legislation, remained docile. But there were subterranean forces that were beginning to activate them. First, there was the growth of nationalism. In Asia and Africa colonial regimes were tottering, and this prompted the inevitable question: If Africa is for the Africans, why shouldn't Ireland—that is, the whole of Ireland—be for the Irish? Second, there were civil rights movements springing up in many parts of the world. And in places like Belfast and the Bogside this led not merely to the singing of 'We shall overcome' but also the application of similar tactics. Third, there was economic stagnation, the tendency within capitalism to concentrate production into fewer areas, leaving

outlying regions like Northern Ireland in the cold. Thus the problem of low wages and unemployment was gradually worsening. Into this deteriorating situation, the Belfast to Derry march of January 1969 flung the final spark. From its own position, the Ulster Unionist government was right to use violence against the march since it constituted a grave threat to the state. **Mutiny** History shows why this happens to be. Before the First World War the British people had been prepared to grant home rule to the whole of Ireland. Only the Curragh mutiny stopped this from occurring. In 1921, there can be no doubt that if all Irishmen had been permitted to vote there would have been no state of Northern Ireland. In other words, Ulster owes its very existence to the flouting of democracy; equally it could only survive by denying democratic procedures.

Bitter experience has taught the Irish that things only start getting done when you do them yourselves. It is up to us, as British socialists, to give them whatever support we can. We must expose the hypocrisy of the capitalist press that deplores the IRA methods, which are identical to those used by the French resistance against the Nazis in the Second World War. Despite the hysteria whipped up by capitalist press and politicians, British socialists must firmly identify themselves with the people conducting the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland. For our enemies are not in Bogside or the Falls Road; they are in Downing Street and the City of London. Let us remember that the struggle is interconnected. A victory over the Stormont regime is equally a victory over British capitalism. It weakens the Tory government, making it less capable of carrying out its reactionary policies here in Britain.

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DRUGS

While the law persecutes pot smokers, giant combines flood the market with pills that kill, maim—and provide massive profits for the owners

FOR THE PAST 10 years and more, respectable society has been racked by an obsession with drugs. The press, both popular and 'quality', has devoted more space to the 'drugs' problem than to any other.

It is impossible to open a newspaper in any week without reading about a 'drugs scandal' somewhere in the country.

Sociologists, psychiatrists, political parties and parliament have all given their minds to solutions to the 'drugs problem'. An entirely new force in the police has been created to help rid the country of a new set of 'criminals'—those who use and 'push' dangerous drugs.

The Drugs Squad have been armed by special powers of search which have trampled upon the civil liberties of an entire generation.

Thousands of young people throughout the country have been subjected to arbitrary harassment by Drug Squad bullies.

And the judges and the courts have been encouraged by successive Home Secretaries—including two Labour Home Secretaries, Jenkins and Callaghan—to punish with maximum severity those who break the Dangerous Drugs Act.

The black communities of Britain in particular have suffered from the violence and hysteria associated with the 'dangerous drugs' obsession.

The most remarkable feature about all this is that the drug which gives rise to the greatest number of prosecutions and searches—cannabis—has not yet been proved dangerous.

Yet while the government intensifies its machinery to suppress a non-dangerous drug and its effects, there are plenty of drugs circulating throughout the country which are extremely dangerous, and which are not controlled by the Dangerous Drugs Acts, by the police or, in effect, by any part of the criminal law.

THALIDOMIDE was a dangerous

drug. It was the direct cause of monstrous deformities in about 500 children in this country and several thousands in other countries.

It was launched on the market in this country by a newly-formed subsidiary of Distillers Ltd., the giant whisky combine. It was widely promoted in the medical press.

Trial abandoned

But in December 1961, thalidomide was withdrawn because of the 'harmful effects' on the foetus in early pregnancy. The withdrawal came too late to save 500 children from permanent deformity.

In 1967, seven executives from the German firm which invented thalidomide, Chemie Gruenthal, was prosecuted for causing grievous bodily harm through circulating thalidomide negligently.

After weeks of long, drawn-out legal argument the judge told the court that the drug and the company had caused grievous bodily harm, and that



the company had been negligent in testing and distribution. Nevertheless, he agreed with the defence, the trial should be abandoned without a verdict.

The abandonment of the German trial meant that no prosecutions were brought against any of the other distributors of thalidomide, who got off scot free.

Distillers offered each parent a deal whereby a sum of money would be paid over 'in sympathy' of the parents' plight, provided that the parents signed away their rights to sue the company for negligence.

Squalid terms

All the parents have now agreed to these squalid terms, rather than fight expensive negligence cases. The sums which they have accepted are a tiny fraction of the sums for which Distillers would have been liable if negligence had been proved against them.

THE MARKETING of thalidomide was not exceptional. The results were more horrific, but in no way more shocking than the results of indiscriminate drug marketing throughout the 1960s, the decade of the 'wonder drug'.

Ever since the invention of a simple and cheap way of producing 'antibiotics' to counter infections, the drug

companies in Britain and America have been falling over each other to cash in on the profits afforded them by the Patent Laws.

These laws give the companies the right to a 16-year monopoly in the marketing and licensing of a patented drug. There is no control over the price charged.

The big drug companies got together, patented very similar drugs and fixed prices for them which bore no relation to their cost.

After so many years wallowing in untold bounty, mostly at the expense of the National Health Service, the drug companies started to panic as the patents for the money-spinning antibiotics started to run out.

They still marketed their old 'proprietary' products in 'competition' with the cheaper 'non-proprietary' brands. Doctors still prescribed the old products, which cost three times more than the new ones.

Answering a parliamentary question in April, 1969, Mr Richard Crossman, Social Services Minister, said: 'I estimate that use of non-proprietary products instead of proprietaries with the same amounts of the same active ingredients would currently save about £1.4m, including about £130,000 for paracetamol'.

Absolutely useless

Nevertheless, the collapse of the outright monopolies on drugs like tetracycline caused some dismay in the drug companies. Their research departments were put to work to discover new 'combinations' of drugs and ointments which could be patented and turned into new monopolies.

This is the reason for the flood of new drugs on the market in the last five years. The majority of these new drugs are absolutely useless. Most of them add nothing whatever to the medicinal qualities of existing drugs.

In April this year, the director of the American Food and Drug Administration's Bureau of Drugs announced that his department had investigated 2000 of the 3000 main drugs circulating in the US.

The panels rated only . . . 39 per cent of the drugs as effective. 30 per cent of the claims and 25 per cent of the drugs were judged to be only possibly effective. Many of the drugs in question are among America's best sellers.



'Put another way, of the 16,000 therapeutic claims evaluated by the companies' panels, approximately 10,000 or 60 per cent, were found to lack evidence of efficacy'. (Medical Tribune, 28 April 1971).

In Britain, the Macgregor Committee which, until its recent demise, produced a list of drugs and their relative usefulness, found that about a quarter of all the drugs on the British market were too useless to be marketed. The Committee had no power to remove any drug from the market.

Probably the best British example of the role of the drug companies is the story of the 'anti-depressants'.

The most popular drug in this field, Librium, has been selling in this country under patent from the Swiss firm, Hoffman La Roche (and its British subsidiary, Roche Products). The average selling price of Librium has been £8 a thousand.

The cost of raw materials for the drug is approximately 10p per thousand, and the labour costs are not much more. Last year, some 350 million capsules of Librium were sold in Britain, approximately 12 capsules for every adult in the country.

A single share in Hoffman La Roche can be purchased at a price of £23,000. Two years ago, a share was worth £14,000.

THE SUCCESS of Librium caused a flood of 'antidepressants' onto the market, often with remarkable results. In 1966, for instance, a Mrs Buckle of New Malden was prescribed Parnate anti-depressant drug. Two days after starting on the pills, she ate some biscuits and cheese, collapsed from a brain haemorrhage and died.

The manufacturers of Parnate,



CROSSMAN Smith Kline and a 'warning' doctor feels like the drug has been instructed the p foods, like che beans.

Witho

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Mrs Wiseman, who don, and was pre- another anti-

depressant. Mrs Wiseman did not receive any warning about anything and foolishly ate a cheese sandwich. She suffered instantly from a brain haemorrhage from which she was unconscious for three days.

Then there was Mrs Coote who collapsed in her office from what was later analysed as 'poisoning from the drug Nardil', which had resulted from Mrs Coote's eating green beans. Mrs Coote had a warning card, but green beans were not mentioned on it.

When she rang the manufacturer, W R Warner, Ltd, to complain, a kind gentleman warned her not to eat Yoghourt, either, as there had been three recent cases of violent illness amongst anti-depressant patients eating Yoghourt.

The truth is that the drug firms marketing anti-depressants have no idea of the multiple damage they can do to the human body.

The list of dangerous drug damage could go on forever. It does not, largely because the press, and especially the medical press, are not interested in really dangerous drugs.

The medical press in particular is reluctant to criticise the drug companies. Two years ago, *Medical News*, which got at least some of its revenue from sales, was forcibly closed by its owners, the *Financial Times*, and merged with the *Medical Tribune*.

The new *Medical News Tribune* has a 'controlled circulation', and is financially dependent entirely on advertising, mainly from drug companies.

When the independent *World Medicine* printed an article recently about Pfizer's profiteering in tetracycline, Pfizer promptly cut off all its advertising.

As for governments and parliaments, all the trends are away from control.

There is nothing in the Labour government's Medicines Act, 1968, (passed with the full support of the Tory opposition) which restricts the 'right' of drug companies to promote and market useless drugs.

THE BRITISH ruling class is obsessed with the problems of 'dangerous' drugs, but not because they are dangerous.

The 'right' of rich and powerful men to grow richer and more powerful by the indiscriminate marketing of useless and dangerous drugs of every description is fully enshrined in the constitutions of all civilised nations. The killing and maiming of thousands a year by such drugs is regarded as a minor hazard in the important business of profiteering in the national interest.

Moral indignation

When drugs are marketed (not by corporations) which have the effect of distracting the minds of young people from the values of capitalist society, then liberty turns into license.

The prospect of a whole generation of bourgeois children lolling about in pads smoking pot with nothing but contempt and fear for the aspirations and values of their own class is enough to send businessmen, lawyers and parsons into paroxysms of moral indignation.

They are quite happy to betray their own children to the police and deliver them into the hands of some mad old Tory judge.

Weeping at the tragedy of it all, they return home to receive another quarterly dividend from Pfizer, or Cynamid, or Distillers, or Boots, or Bayer, or Smith, Kline and French, or, if they are very lucky, Hoffman La Roche.

thalidomide victims

The never-ending stream of lethal and dangerous quack potions

FIGURES produced by court order from Cyanamid, the huge American drug company (whose British subsidiary is Lederle) show the production cost of 100 capsules of tetracycline, the most popular and largest-selling antibiotic, at just under £1. The cost to the consumer was £22.

In the six years ending 1955, Cyanamid made a profit of 342 million dollars out of gross sales of 407 million dollars. Each tetracycline tablet cost, in labour and raw materials, slightly more than an old halfpenny. It cost the consumer 4/6 (22½p).

In the early 1960s, the Health Service was buying tetracycline from Pfizer Ltd at about £60 a thousand tablets. In a fit of free enterprise hysteria, Mr Enoch Powell, when Minister of Health, decided to exploit a loophole in the patent laws and put the NHS contract for supply of tetracycline out to tender.

A small firm called DDSA won the contract at £6.50 a thousand tablets in the first year, and £3.50 in the second year. When the Labour government was returned, Mr Kenneth Robinson, the new Health Minister, obliged the drug companies by stopping the tenders for tetracycline and ordered the hospitals to buy from Pfizer—at £45 a thousand.

AN INTERESTING example of the marketing of utterly useless material is that of a drug called Darvon. Since its introduction in 1957, Darvon has been prescribed about 230 million times and is the most popular and widely-prescribed painkiller in the United States. It is patented by Eli Lilly, the vast pharmaceutical combine, at an enormous profit.

Last year, three University of Chicago analysts published in the *American Medical Association journal* the results of 20 tests which had been conducted on Darvon.

Fifteen of these tests proved that codeine buyable for a small sum at any chemist, was 'equal or more effective than Darvon... Seven studies showed aspirin to be more effective than Darvon. Only one study showed Darvon superior to aspirin'. (Wall Street Journal: 11 August, 1970.)

THE FEVER with which the drug companies seek new permutations of drugs can result in widespread injury and death.

On 27 February 1970, the American Court of Appeals at Cincinnati unanimously upheld the contentions of the American Food and Drug Administration about the drug Panalba, an antibiotic sold by the big drug combine Upjohn to the tune of 1.5 million dollars a year in sales money (about 70 per cent of which can be counted as clear profit).

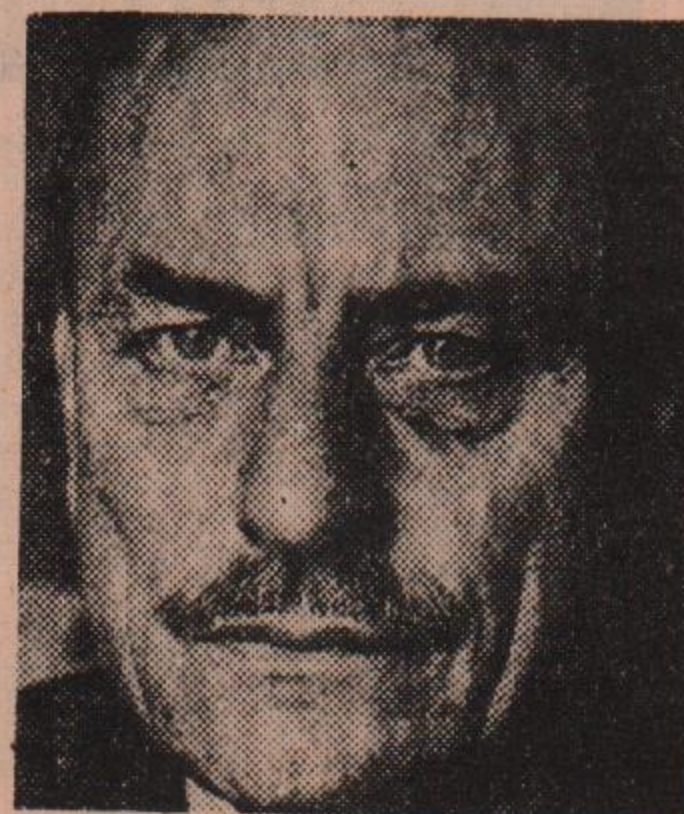
The FDA had argued that the combination of antibiotics in Panalba was not only useless but dangerous. The novobiocin component alone was enough to cause 'hundreds of thousands of needless injuries a year'.

The combination of drugs applied to at least 90 other drugs widely sold on the American and European markets. Many of these, the FDA warned, 'endanger not only patients who receive them, but entire populations'. (Washington Post, 28 February, 1970.)

In June and August last year, the FDA ordered a number of other 'two-tone' antibiotics off the market, saying: 'The products pose hazards to patients, particularly because of the potential of streptomycin for causing hearing loss and the ability of penicillin to provoke allergic reactions'. (Wall Street Journal, 25 June, 1970.)

Many of the companies affected, however, have appealed against this order and the cases are trundling through the courts at an average completion rate of 3½ years.

MORE FORTUNATE was a drug called Aralen, manufactured by the Sterling Drug Company of America, which had been prescribed in high doses for rheumatism, though it was originally a low-dose anti-malaria drug. Between 1960 and 1966 more



POWELL: free enterprise hysteria

known and publicised in the medical profession in this country since 1969.

NO PUBLICITY in any newspaper in this country or any medical journal has been given to the disclosure in the American press that certain solutions supplied to American hospitals by the giant Abbotts Laboratories for intravenous feeding to seriously injured patients have been badly contaminated.

The Wall Street Journal of 21 July this year reported: 'Abbotts Labs' contaminated intravenous solutions may have infected about 5000 hospital patients and contributed to the deaths of 500 of them, according to the Federal Centre for Disease Control'.

Proof of this contamination has been flooding into the American Food and Drug Administration for well over 12 months before this estimate was printed. The solutions were being used in 8000 American hospitals.

By January, the FDA knew that the solutions were dangerous, but took no action. Only after some publicity had been given to the deaths caused from the Abbotts' products did the FDA advise hospitals not to use the solutions.

Up to now, no one has been prosecuted or even sued. There is no information of any kind about the huge export of these solutions and whether or not they are still being used in European (and British), not to mention South American, hospitals.

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ALLENDE WALKS THE TIGHTROPE

TWELVE MONTHS AGO the presidential election in Chile was won by a 'left winger', Salvador Allende. Immediately all manner of people claimed that he would be able to prove wrong the classical teachings of marxism and introduce socialism 'peacefully', by parliamentary means.

Communist Parties, like the British one, greeted his victory as confirmation of their own doctrine that talk of 'violent revolution' is out of date. And the professional parliamentarians of the Tribune variety reacted in the same way.

At first glance it might seem that the last year has born out these optimistic predictions. For all sorts of reforms of immediate benefit to the mass of Chilean people have been granted. Wages have been increased by about 30 per cent (although to some extent this is to compensate for price rises of 30 per cent in 1970). House building plans have been stepped up enormously.

Every child gets a minimum of one pint of milk a day. So far 100,000 peasants have been given land that previously belonged to Chile's 600 big landowning families. And revolutionaries imprisoned under the previous government have been freed.

For the workers and peasants of Chile such reforms are to be welcomed. But they do not mean that the Chilean ruling class's power has been quietly done away with. Throughout history ruling classes have been prepared to grant reforms to the masses—particularly when faced with movements that might threaten their own power.

In Britain during and immediately after the last war a whole number of concessions were made to workers through the health service and welfare benefits. But this did not mean that the power of the ruling class was broken. It has been using its power since to cut down on the reforms it once felt compelled to grant.

The decisive question about Allende is not whether he has been able, temporarily, to improve living standards, but whether he has done anything to end the power of the old rulers and to strengthen the power of the workers.

Takeovers

Some of Allende's actions may seem to have been in this direction. He has, after all, nationalised considerable chunks of industry. The American owned copper mines have been taken over by the state and Allende has refused to pay compensation on the grounds that for decades massive profits have been taken out of the country by these concerns.

The major banks have been taken over—in this case by the government buying up shares. And when textile firms tried to close down because they were not making a profit, the government took them over after workers had seized control of the plant to keep it running.

But experiences from all parts of the world—from Egypt and Syria to our own British Railways—show that nationalisation is by no means the same thing as socialism. Nationalisation means only a take over by the state.

The key question is: who runs the state? If it is merely run by the old controllers of industry, now acting in unison instead of in competition with one another, nothing has changed from the point of view of those who actually labour to create the wealth.

Central to Allende's strategy of 'peaceful change' in Chile is the idea that nothing needs to be done to alter the basis of control of the state.

Before his election as president was ratified by parliament, Allende signed an agreement with the middle-class Christian Democrat Party in which he undertook not to change any of the key personnel running either the civil service or the

HOW LONG CAN CHILE'S 'MARXIST' PRESIDENT BALANCE BETWEEN THE CLASSES?

by JOSE MARTINEZ

armed forces. He has kept scrupulously to that agreement.

Both Chile's 40,000-strong army and its 20,000-strong heavily armed police force have a long and bitter record of viciousness against the mass of the population. For instance, when there were strikes in 1967 six people were shot dead and dozens wounded by the police. Yet those responsible for such actions remain in control of the forces.

The only change introduced by Allende in this area was to disband the 1000-strong special riot police—a mere twentieth of the total police. When top army officers were implicated in the murder of one of the few leading generals who sympathised with Allende, the president allowed the supreme court to stop him taking any action. The court is stacked with representatives of the old order.

The elite

Instead of attacking the power of the generals, Allende has sought to persuade them that he is acting in their interests. The level of arms spending—20 per cent of the total government budget—has not been reduced. And army officers have been encouraged to participate in the running of the economy.

While easing the fears of the representatives of the traditional ruling elite, Allende has done nothing to increase the real power of the working class in Chile. He has steadfastly resisted all demands that the workers be given arms. Workers are allowed to 'participate' in the management of nationalised concerns—but only as a minority, with majority control firmly in the hands of the old state officials.

The police have been used to prevent moves by peasants to divide the land of the rich themselves. Allende has spoken out on several occasions against workers' takeovers of factories or offices. And under the so-called socialist government 'the authorities have passed legislation that increases the penalties for violation of property rights'.

All this means that even if Allende wants to, he cannot take any action that goes beyond what the middle-class Christ-



Copper miners: the love affair may cool

ian Democrat Party and the old controllers of the state machine want. That is why in recent weeks he has made promises to them that he will leave considerable sections of the economy under private control and will keep a close watch on the actions of the 'extreme left'.

He has also made it clear that the period of reforms that favour the workers is past. At a rally to commemorate his first year in office he called upon the workers to show 'discipline' and to 'limit wage claims', and he criticised workers who have been occupying the premises of a US-owned bank.

Over the coming months there is likely to be growing conflict between Allende's government and the people who voted for it a year ago.

Although the government has carried out carefully laid limited actions against the biggest foreign firms in Chile and against certain of the most parasitic of Chile's own wealthy families, it has at the same time been committed to a policy of live-and-let-live with the rest of Chile's traditional rulers and the middle classes.

It believes that it can both give

reforms to the workers and satisfy the mass of big businessmen. Increased wages for the workers, it has argued, will help industry's profits by providing a larger market for its goods and enabling factories to work at full blast.

But things are working out rather differently. Industry has not picked up as much as was hoped. Industrialists are unhappy and are smuggling their money abroad to more profitable outlets. And Chile's major export, copper, is suffering as its price on the world market falls.

A situation is being created in which Allende can no longer hope to satisfy the owners of industry (including those middle-class democrats who exercise their ownership collectively through their control over the state) and the working class. He will have to choose to side with one or the other.

But one side is armed, the other not. And Allende shows no inclination at all to break his pledges to the middle class of a year ago not to 'interfere' with the state machine.

Power

Instead he will probably use his influence, and that of the bureaucrats within Chile's working-class based parties and trade unions, to persuade workers to put up with harsh conditions and an erosion of last year's reforms.

Such a course will tend to create confusion and a lack of direction among many workers. But it is not likely to lead to any great loss in the spontaneous militancy in the factories and mines. Because of that it will not satisfy those who continue to hold real power in Chile.

In the past we have seen a number of examples of regimes in some ways similar to Allende's. In Ghana, Indonesia and the Sudan, for instance, middle-class elements in collaboration with so-called socialists promised reforms and carried out acts of nationalisation but left the essential features of state power untouched.

After a period their mass support became demoralised and the government themselves were easily overthrown by right-wing military coups.

There is only one way in which that sequence of events can be prevented in Chile. A strong, genuinely revolutionary force has to be built up among the workers that is prepared to fight to smash the state machine and to overthrow Allende from the left.

The revolutionary groups in Chile—in particular the largest, the MIR—are beginning to see this. The leader of the MIR, Miguel Enriquez, has spoken out publicly in support of such a perspective.

The trouble is that in the past Chile's revolutionary groups have directed their work towards the poor peasants, the students and the unemployed slum dwellers, while leaving the organised working class in the factories to the almost exclusive control of the parties that support Allende.

But in a country like Chile where 60 per cent of the population live in towns, it is the organised working class that can hold the key to the future.

NHS and council workers need links

I FOUND the article on the local government workers (6 November) very interesting, but I was surprised that there was no mention anywhere of the current claim for NHS ancillary workers.

Both pay claims are negotiated by the same unions and are almost identical. In fact, traditionally, whatever the council workers have got has also been awarded to hospital staff.

That's why although Joe Clark's plea for closer links between council workers and their white-collar colleagues is important, I feel that closer unity between NHS and council workers is even more vital because of their common economic situation. A threat of joint industrial action by both hospital and council workers would be a potent force in the current wage struggle.

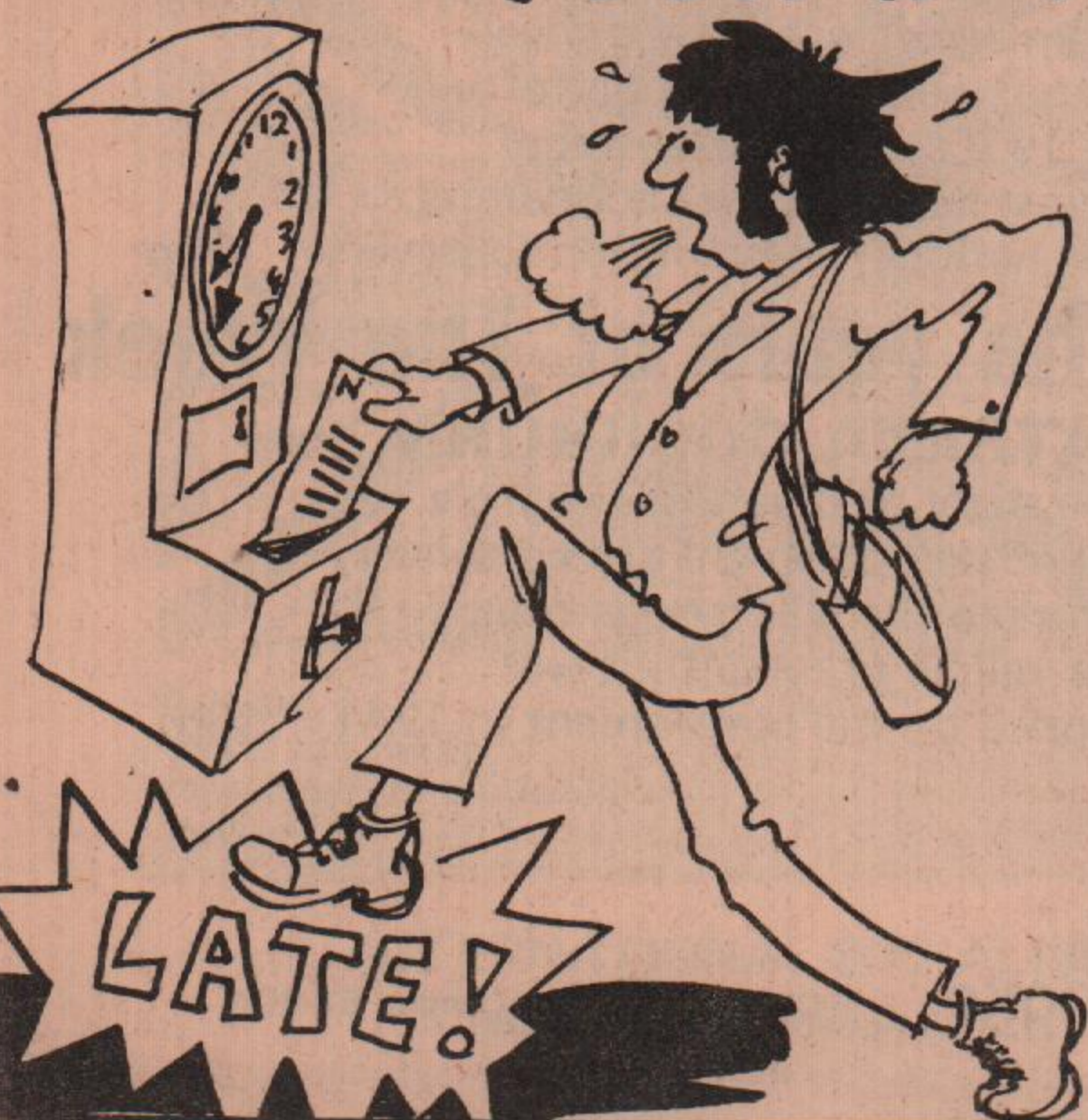
Not that there's going to be a repetition of last year's fight. Last year's strike was the first one in the 80 years of NUPE's existence. The way things are going it's going to be another 80 years before our leaders summon up the courage to use the strike weapon again.

Alan Fisher, NUPE's General Secretary, said at this year's national conference that 'We won't be fobbed off with a few coppers', but what else is £2 in the present situation of galloping inflation? This year's claim should have been for a £25 minimum basic; we should have been asking for a 35 hour week with no loss of pay; we should be telling the employers where they can stick their productivity deals (if there's any room up there along with their insulting 7 per cent).

Alan Fisher may be fobbed off with a few coppers, but by starting the fight now hospital and council workers can show that they won't be fobbed off with a few militant-sounding phrases. — JACK SUTTON, Secretary, United Manchester Hospitals Branch, National Union of Public Employees.



OUR NORMAN



WHY CAN'T YOU BE LIKE CHARLIE?



— HE HASN'T OVERSLEPT IN TWENTY YEARS!



REVIEW

GO AND PLAY IN THE STREETS

This week and next Review is dealing with the radical theatre groups that have emerged over the last 10 years. It's not the theatre of the West End, curtains closing and the middle classes running for the bar.

It's a theatre which you may find on your street corner, or in your factory. It's not Shakespeare or Brian Rix but deals with what is happening now, to the people of this country and the world. 'Red Ladder From The TUC' deals with one performance on the February demonstration. Next week Review will be talking to some of the people involved in the radical theatre now.

IT IS only in the last 10 years that young people in this country have begun to come in contact with the street theatre. Older militants may remember the movement in the 1930s.

Then groups like the 'Living Newspaper' and the 'Red Devils' took their performances to the factories, slums and dole queues of Britain. The Unity Theatre had over 60 branches—some outside Britain. The Glasgow 'Everyman' owes part of its inception to Unity.

In the 1950s and 1960s Unity declined, partly through its politics, partly through the stagnation which hung over the Left in the period.

The early 1960s brought change. In the United States a new wave of radical theatre emerged. Some in coffee houses, restricted to student and middle class people, others went to the streets, like Ronny Davis and the San Francisco Mime Troupe. The politics of the groups were generally confused, as Roland Muldoon of CAST says: 'They seemed to be expecting a Mongolian horde to liberate the American workers from their washing machines.'

The confusion partly spread to England—and some of it was home made. Around 1964-7 a variety of groups began to emerge in this country. They began as experimental theatre groups attempting to break down the barriers that conventional theatre create—the division between the audience and performers, the restrictions of being part of 'show business', to be hungrily or indifferently consumed by middle class audiences.

The groups went on to the streets, markets, parks and tubes in an attempt to involve the people.

The early activity made many of the players aware of the chasm that stops people creating and from



CAST in a scene from one of their plays

stepping out of the conventions of 'normal' life. The question of our rulers control over ideas in this society became important. Control over ideas means control over everything, our behaviour, the choice between wage slavery and not eating . . .

Conflicts began to emerge in the groups over these problems. Some wanted to continue experimentation without necessarily becoming involved in the politics, others to directly relate their theatre to the battle between the workers and the rulers of the capitalist world.

The problem has been recently illustrated by the split in a group which operated in South London, 'Theatrespiel'. They tried theatre on the Tubes, making love to trees in the park, dancing, sitting, laying down in the streets—happenings in fact, and with a purpose. It was an attempt to break down the rigid ways people see things, and behave.

But it could be demoralising—and was, for many in the group. They saw it as often a shallow and non-productive activity, which continuously ran into intellectual and physical barriers, the disinterest of passers-by and the interest of the police. The political value of the activity was getting buried.

The polarisation in the radical theatre is now stabilising. Both sides experiment continuously, but an overtly political theatre is now developing. Within this you can find groups like Red Ladder and CAST on one hand—playing to working class audiences all over the country—and on the other the groups which have emerged from radical political groups like Gay Liberation and Women's Liberation. The latter provided a funny and accurate parody/attack on last week's 'Miss World' contest at the Albert Hall.

Next week, names addresses and opinions on the movement.

Pulling the Red Ladder out from the TUC

21 FEBRUARY was the day when about 20,000 trade unionists demonstrated in London against the Industrial Relations Bill. Part of the assembly in Hyde Park was the Agitprop Theatre group, now called Red Ladder Theatre.

The actors didn't arrive the way other actors might, through a stage door, then onto a stage in a dark, hushed, auditorium. And the people who watched didn't dress up and walk through a foyer to pay their money. There were massive columns of men and women lined up behind their banners, rank after rank, and the players set up their props at the end of each line, performance after performance. To watch, you just gathered round.

The play was about some workers' experience with their bosses, and it featured the Bill. The demonstration was about the same things, and the play organised some of its concerns. What exactly had brought us all there? Why were we there on our day off? And why didn't we get together more often, on other days?

There are three bakery workers, men and women, in overalls, and the boss stands on a ladder looking rich and greedy.

More cake

The workers produce a big section of pink cake, and stand it up against the boss's ladder. The boss looks pleased. He gives them their wage and they give it back to him in return for their slice of cake: it isn't very big but they enjoy it.

The boss isn't satisfied either. 'More cake,' he says.

The workers decide to ask for more pay for producing more cake, and one of them steps forward to negotiate. They erect another large section of cake, so that the cake grows high up the step ladder. They get more money as promised, and they pay it to the boss.

But the slice of cake he gives them is still the same size. Rising prices. Inflation.

Meanwhile the forward brother has taken off his overall. 'I think I negotiated very well. I'm going to be a trade union official.' He rests one foot on the ladder and puts on a hat with a big Feather. (Here the audience gives its loudest laugh.)

The boss has made prices go up so much that international competitiveness goes down and there is a crisis. The British boss is fainting and lurching, but along comes Heath, grinning and lurid, offering to prop him up. Here comes the Bill, a cooling-off period for the workers' strike; a legally binding agreement; a huge fine to be handed over by the union official; bars

clapped over the shop steward's head: and the last poor worker hammered for going on sympathy strike. Wallow.

But the workers pick up a giant strike knife to cut into the cake. They use it to poke into action a reluctant Feather. He begins to thrash about and comes up with a voluntary wage freeze, and demonstrations on Sundays only.

The workers use their strike knife to cut off the heads of Heath and the boss. 'We don't just want a slice of the cake. We want the bloody Bakery!'

Everyone around had been joining in the workers' shouts, and at this we gave a great shout. The players handed out leaflets about their plays and offered to perform to demonstrations or trade union branches. People rushed up to ask them.

In Greek society some of the best plays ever written were performed in a comparable positive situation. Once or twice a year, the community coalesced in a religious festival to Dionysus, god of wine and abandon and the performances went on in day long competitions of new plays.

The word 'theatre' comes from the word meaning 'to watch'. In Medieval England, when plays were performed on pageants in the streets and in the market place, it meant, in Wycliffe's words 'a commune biholding place.' Only later did 'theatre' come to mean a building, a piece of property, which you have to pay to enter before you have seen what you're paying for.

Because the plays were performed in an amphitheatre, out in the open air, you saw them against a backdrop of the faces of your neighbours.

The chorus in the play provided an internal commentary on the action, and the curve of the audience made a kind of parabolic mirror, reflecting everyone's response. You were forced, if for only one or two days a year, to forget yourself except as part of something larger.

Vicious satire

The plays attempted to say true things about the course of human life. In comedy, pomposity was brought down in vicious satire. In tragedy, overweening pride was exposed and driven out; the inexplicable wrath of the gods wreaked its havoc, and a tragic scapegoat bore the brunt so that mankind could be spared. Emotions, in Aristotle's difficult words, were to be both aroused and cathartized. People were moved; they felt their minds move.

The play about the bakery workers depends upon an audience already united in class activity. They listen and watch because they are interested, and they don't need a dark auditorium and bright lights to lull them into a state of credulity.

The darkness in a traditional modern theatre cuts you off from the rest of the audience, and you hardly dare breathe it's so quiet. Attending the play means sitting still and paying your money and clapping at the end. There have been many attempts to break this down, in Brechtian theatre for example. But lacking the sense of a positive situation, Brechtian theatre has always been performed to intellectuals and no one else.

The play performed on the demonstration was different. It was agitational and it was real theatre too. It undermined the myths of capitalism—its 'rationality', its 'public good' and its 'national product'—by stating them . . . and then exposing the opposite reality: who got the cake and who got exploited. And how they fought back.

In Trafalgar Square, at the end of the march, Vic Feather talked about 'public sympathy', and how we shouldn't alienate it by more militant action. But for all that he said, the occasion was one of a declaration of class will against a common enemy. We don't combine as a society against the passions and unknown gods in us, like the Greeks; nor against the devil and the anti-christ and their temptations, like the medieval pageant plays.

The solidarity and community we have is in class struggle, and—while commercial theatre flounders among the tourists and the financial flops in the West End—real theatre is alive there too.

The address of Red Ladder Theatre is 37 Gordon Mansions, Torrington Place, London WC1

JUDITH CONDON

THE DOUBLE BURDEN OF WORKING WOMEN

Women Workers Struggle for their Rights (Falling Wall Press) 16p and Communism and the Family (Pluto Press) 12p. (Both available from IS Books, 6 Cottons Gardens E2 8DN.) ALEXANDRA Kollontai worked to make the emancipation of women an essential part of the Bolshevik Party's programme.

Reflected here are three of her main themes: that communism and feminism are inextricably linked, the double burden of working-class women as both workers and wives, and the need for the Party to do special work among women.

Writing in the glowing optimism which immediately followed the 1917 Revolution, she could not know that civil war, famine, the isolation of Russia when the revolution failed to spread, the harsh rule of Stalin, would mean the crushing of the wonderful advances she describes.

The inspiring vision of free union between man and woman based on love, comradeship and equality was briefly glimpsed during those years after the Revolution—there is little of it left now. There are more nursery schools and doctors in the USSR than here; girls can more easily train for scientific and

technical jobs. But the Russian working mother carries the same burden as her sisters in the western world—she goes out to work, and she also bears the responsibility for running the home.

After the Revolution, legal and social changes were made, drastically altering the position of women. The strong belief in the small close-knit family as the only ideal is challenged by Kollontai. She backs up her argument with readable accounts of families found in different countries, and at various times in history.

Special work

Many Russian women found the new freedoms frightening. Kollontai shows great understanding of these anxieties. She explains how freedom will benefit women, taking as her starting point the problems they actually face—marriage, children, housework.

Kollontai fought for special work to be done among women workers, separate within the party framework, with special groups for this purpose. As she said: 'As long as we have to take into account the political backwardness of women, and the bondage of the woman worker to her family, the necessity of intensive work

among the women proletariat remains as pressing as ever'. Written over 50 years ago, this is still true.

Like Klara Zetkin, she believed agitation and propaganda among women should go beyond the general aims of the Party, to women's questions like maternity benefits, education and political equality for women.

She fought against the influence of middle-class feminists in the women's movement, saying their demands did not come from the real situation of most women, but from an abstract demand for 'equality with men', sometimes to the detriment of working-class women.

Again, this is true today. The Women's Liberation Movement calls for 24-hour nurseries. If we get them, it will only be to free the working-class woman from her family so she can work on the night-shift. Capitalism is not going to provide nurseries so we can have a night out with our husbands at a party!

Kollontai puts great emphasis on state education and child-care, but now we question more closely the role of the state. We think not only of freeing the mother from her children, but of freeing children themselves, to develop their own ideas and interests.

VALERIE CLARK

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 for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

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 the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:
For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restrictions.

For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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. More than 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.

Bang, bang—but the major wouldn't lie down

THE DAILY EXPRESS has been running true to form. THEY SHOT MY DADDY the paper's front page lead screamed on 6 November. An army major had been wounded by 'Ulster terrorists'.

While the Express was turning over its lead to this crude propaganda, the rest of the press were, for once, keeping their heads. The Times gave it two inches on the front page, the Mail four inches on page two, the Sun 2½ inches on page two, and the Guardian and Daily Telegraph devoted a paragraph each on their front pages.

From the Daily Express headlines the inescapable impact on the reader was that the major had been shot dead. The Telegraph headline was sufficiently unhysterical: MAJOR WOUNDED BY SNIPER.

Perhaps the Express headline-writer was inspired by the paper's 'Talking Point', the daily quotes produced at the foot of its opinion column, which was a John Wesley gem: 'Do all the good you can by all the means you can...'

Blinded

The following day's Observer carried a story which dominated its page three and put matters a little more in perspective. It described how a mother of 11 children had been blinded for life when her face was smashed by a rubber bullet fired by a paratrooper from a range of eight yards—the width of a soccer goal.

The story, by Colin Smith, said: '... a report of the incident has been handed to the commanding officer... for him to act as he thinks fit.'

IT IS a long way from perfect, but the most recent newcomer on the political periodical scene, 7 Days, is embarrassingly superior to that other infant journal, the appalling Labour Weekly, official paper of the Labour Party.

Nobody can complain that 7 Days doesn't give its money's worth of reading, and some of the writing has a rare sparkle,

SPIKE RON KNOWLES' press column

but the magazine has yet to come to terms with its pictorial role.

The centre spreads on Northern Ireland and American prisons have had the grim impact of photo journalism at its best, but much of the other picture content and presentation has been disappointing.

The front cover pictures have had a lot of impact, but, with few exceptions—the page 3 hooded sniper in the first issue—the photographs have not been used with enough courage and élan. 7 Days is carrying a lot of weight, and very little of it is fat, and it might improve itself by spreading itself pictorially at the expense of the less immediately topical features.

Its material reflects much of the manner in which 7 Days appears to have been born—a hasty mixture of professional realism and enthusiastic amateurism. The 'analysis' articles on China and the UN and on Rhodesia had a patronising tone about them, like a David Dimbleby '24 Hours' introduction; but worse than that, they were dull. These attempts to up-date the historical background to a subject can be

useful, but they must be written with a bit of life and style.

They contrasted strikingly with a Tom Nairn piece on the Labour Party, which still dredged up a lot of old ground, but gave it a freshness, relevance and bite that made a boring subject readable.

7 Days is also producing some good material on the media. Stuart Hood's article on the TV industry followed up by Nick Garnham's piece on the greedy grabbers for the fourth TV channel have set an interesting theme which should be developed into a really valuable debate.

Nothing of value seems to be emerging from Labour Weekly, unless you prize confusion.

Mastermind

Its 5 November issue led with a story indicating that Callaghan was going to Ulster to mastermind a change of policy which would bring the Labour Party in favour of direct rule and an end to internment. Of course, as has subsequently been proved by the grotesque press conference the lying phoney gave after his talks in Ulster, neither Callaghan nor the rest of his cohorts have any intention of aligning themselves against internment.

Arses are still being kicked at Transport House for the Labour Weekly's Guy Fawkes Day squib.

The amazingly boring Daily Telegraph colour magazine continues to maintain its searing tedium and pretentiousness, thanks largely to the soporific Byron Rogers, who began an article headed LAST OF BRITAIN'S TRAMPS? with the following passage:

'By the time you read this the subject of the article will have disappeared into Wales as effectively as any goblin or guerrilla of the Middle Ages, as completely in fact as David Livingstone once disappeared into Africa.'

Who says Wodehouse is the funniest writer of our age?

IS NEWS

OXFORD:- 550 people crammed into a hall built to hold 250 when Bernadette Devlin and Bowes Egan spoke at a meeting organised by IS to condemn the terror unleashed by the British government and the Unionist regime in Northern Ireland. Both speakers called for the withdrawal of British troops and for an end to the internment of political prisoners in concentration camps.

The meeting ended with a march of protest to the Oxford Union where the Northern Ireland Minister of Development, Roy Bradford, was speaking.

NEARLY 100 people packed the Labour Hall in Greenford at a meeting organised by IS last week to hear Eamonn McCann denounce the Tories' desperate attempt to prop up their rotting regime in Northern Ireland. He told the audience—mainly Irish workers and their wives—that the tradition-

al republican aim of a united Ireland was not sufficient in itself.

The only way forward was the fight for a United Socialist Workers' Republic. There could be no hope of winning Protestant workers away from Orangism unless a socialist republic is seen as the central task and not unification under the Green Tories in Dublin.

COVENTRY:- 80 people attended a meeting of IS historians last weekend. The meeting had two aims—to discuss the class struggle in Britain in the upheavals after 1910, and to set up a permanent grouping of IS historians.

Discussion was centred around three papers. James Hinton dealt with ideological and social changes in the First World War, focusing on the emergence of the Labour Party as a 'trustworthy' (from the ruling class point of view) party of government.

Alastair Hatchett talked about industrial unrest and class struggle 1919-1920, and Julian Harber followed with an analysis of the formation and early years of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

An organisation meeting then followed and a steering committee centred on Coventry was set up. It will organise—among other things—a general conference on the Minority Movement and its relevance to the struggle today, a specialist historians' conference to discuss research in progress and problems of method, the provision of regular articles on the history of the class struggle for Socialist Worker, and speakers' lists for branches.

A list of all IS historians and their work is being drawn up and will be circulated. Anyone who wasn't at the Coventry meeting is asked to send in relevant details as soon as possible to James Hinton, School of History, University of Warwick, Coventry.

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Stirling
St Andrews

NORTH EAST
Barrow
Durham
Halifax
Newcastle upon Tyne
Sunderland
Teesside (Middlesbrough & Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley
Bradford
Doncaster
Grimsby
Huddersfield
Hull
Leeds
Mid-Derbyshire
Osset
Salby
Sheffield
York

NORTH WEST
Blackburn
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Oldham
Preston
St Helens
Wigan
Bolton
Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham

Coventry
Leamington
Leicester
Northampton
Nottingham
Oxford
Redditch
Telford
Wolverhampton

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath
Bristol
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Mid-Devon
Plymouth
Swansea

Wrexham

SOUTH
Ashford
Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Folkestone
Merton
Newham
Paddington
St Albans
Southampton

EAST
Basildon
Beccles
Cambridge
Colchester
Harlow
Ipswich
Leiston

Lowestoft
Norwich
Peterborough

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton
Camden
Chertsey
Croydon
Dagenham

East London
Enfield
Erith
Fulham
Greenford
Hackney & Islington
Havering
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
Hounslow
Ilford
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Merton
Newham
Paddington
St Albans
Slough
South Ealing
Tottenham
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich
Hornsey

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive or be phoned Monday morning. Notices are charged at 5p per line, six words per line. Semi-display 10p per line. Cash with copy or, if phoned, by first post Tuesday. No insertions without payment—invoices cannot be sent.

MEETINGS

NE REGION IS DAY SCHOOL: industrial and trade union perspectives. Sunday 21 November 3.30-6.30. Star and Garter Marton Road, Middlesbrough. Contact branch secretaries re transport. Party in evening.

COWDENBEATH: Fife IS public meeting: Tories and unemployment. Tuesday 23 Nov 7.30pm, Wee Jimmy's Bar, Cowdenbeath.

HACKNEY & ISLINGTON IS: politics of pornography. Speaker Dave Widgery, Rose and Crown, Albion Rd off Church St, 8pm Mon 22 Nov.

NORTHAMPTON IS: meeting with Wellingborough Young Socialists. Wed 24 Nov: The Case for Revolutionary Politics, 8pm The Crown and Anchor, Sanwick Road, (opposite Chapman's Factory) Wellingborough.

LONDON IS branch secretaries meeting: Saturday 27 November 2.30pm 6 Cottons Gardens. All secretaries must attend.

PORTSMOUTH IS public meeting: The Struggle for Socialism in the Seventies. Speaker Tony Cliff, Tues 30 November 8pm, The Rutland Arms, St Francis Ave, Fratton.

CROYDON IS public meeting: The Politics of Poverty—Imperialism and the Third World. Ruskin House, Thursday 25 Nov 8pm.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: Women and socialism. Speaker Margaret Renn, Thursday 25 Nov 8pm, The Spotted Dog, 72 Garratt Lane, nr Wandsworth Town Hall.

MANCHESTER & SALFORD IS: Dave Widgery on the Politics of the Oz Trial, 8pm Friday 19 Nov, The Castle Pub, Oldham Street, off Piccadilly. Public mtng—non-members welcome.

ENFIELD IS present a film *The Organiser*, starring Marcello Mastroianni, at Edmonton Town Hall 7.30 Thurs 25 Nov. Admission free.

SWANSEA IS: Michael Downing from magazine Case-Con for revolutionary social workers, on the attacks on the welfare state. Red Cow pub, High Street, 7.30 Thurs 25 Nov.

EAST LONDON IS DAY SCHOOL AND SOCIAL: Sunday 28 Nov 2pm to 11pm. The Swan, Stratford Broadway. Speakers: Brian Trench on Northern Ireland, Chris Davison on Work in the Unions, Tony Cliff on Building the Party, Buffet and Dancing. Guest singer Alex Glasgow. Admission 50p from Kathy Sims 478 7311.

PRESTON IS Public meeting: Brian White on The Common Market and How to Fight it. Friday 26 November 8pm. Oddfellows Tavern, Mount St (nr ABC).

TOTTENHAM IS Public meeting: The Struggle in Industry. Speaker: Roger Cox (AUEW), Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd (cnr White Hart Lane). Tuesday 23 November 8pm.

AUEW
There will be a meeting of all IS members in the AUEW early in December. All members in the AUEW should write to the Industrial Subcommittee, 6 Cottons Gardens E2 for further details as soon as possible.

NOTICES

IS WOMENS NEWSLETTER, No 5. Available from M. Renn, c/o 6 Cottons Gardens, E2 8DN. Price 5p—speakers with orders.

WANTED CINEMA BOOKS, good condition, interested in all aspects, silent to date, Hollywood to Eastern Europe. Anything on Eisenstein, political, historical. Send details, reasonable prices: Grime, 66 Exeter Rd, Doncaster DN2 4LF.

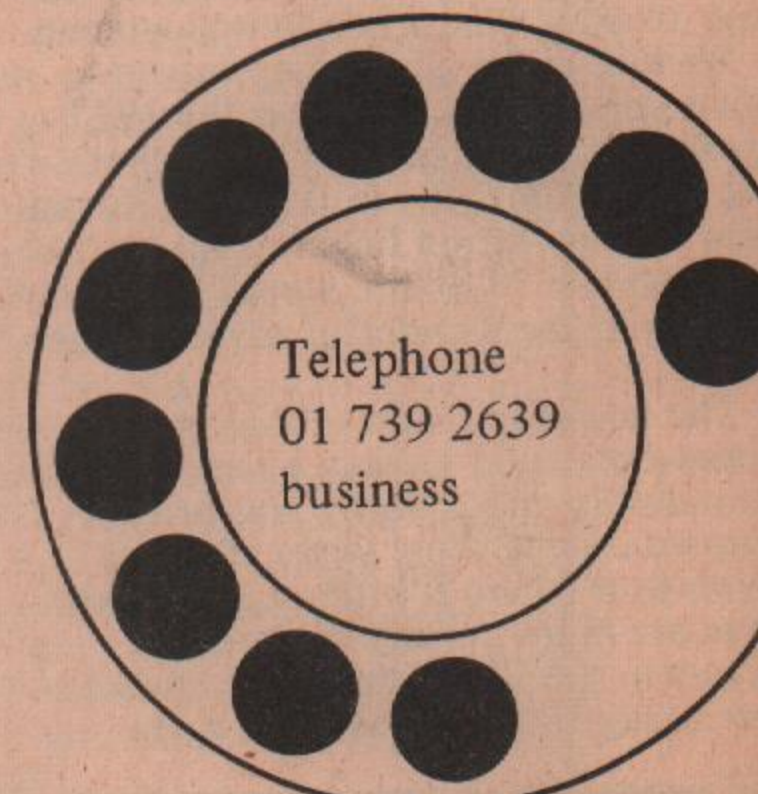
IS PAMPHLETS IN PRINT: Meaning of Marxism by Duncan Hallas 20p. Rosa Luxemburg by Tony Cliff 25p. Postal Workers & the Tory Offensive by Paul Foot 5p. France the struggle goes on by Tony Cliff & Ian Birchall 12½p. Ireland's History of Repression by James Walker 7p.

BIRMINGHAM INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS RALLY
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Sinking into the politics of half measures and despair

ONE MAN AND ONE NAME alone brought any feelings of confidence to this week's Communist Party Congress. The man: Jimmy Reid, the name: Angela Davis.

Congress's first two days were underpinned entirely by a current of gloom at falling membership, falling circulation of the Morning Star, falling dues payment and the lack of political education and discussion in the party.

General Secretary John Gollan's opening speech did deal with these very problems. He and fellow executive members who followed saw the problems as the result of personal failures, lack of enthusiasm among party members. Failure to grow had nothing to do with party policy, it seems.

The executive won the day, beating off the opposition which believes the party is soft on parliament and too reluctant to support the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

This victory by a five-to-one majority was achieved only by some elaborate phrasemongering on how the party was truly a party of power and revolution.

Key outcome

A careful examination of the resolutions and set speeches would have told the delegates that the independent road envisaged by the leadership is entirely with a view to encouraging left developments in the Labour Party and the next Labour government.

This is where Jimmy Reid and Angela Davis came in. They are both images of the kind of independence that many delegates seek despite their votes for the leadership.

Jimmy Reid, the UCS shop stewards' leader, introduced an emergency resolution on unemployment to the Congress. He was met with rapturous applause.

Reid personified the party's alleged fusion of parliamentary and industrial power. He was referred to openly as the next Communist MP, and it would seem that this is the key outcome of the UCS struggle as far as the party is concerned.

But the emergency motion on unemployment contains no mention of banning productivity deals in the fight against unemployment. This would hardly suit the book at UCS.

The motion concentrated instead on outlining some measures to expand the economy. The motion went through on the nod and without discussion.

Such is the structure of the congress that discussion is the one thing that is very difficult. The executive's great slab of a motion 'on unity, the CP and the struggle for socialism' was moved in one piece and from then on the debate had no boundaries and no direction.

Crucial question

Harry Hitchens, for instance, the GKN convenor from South Wales, raised the crucial question of the party's attitude to union leaders who campaign against unemployment and still go around advocating productivity deals which increase it. He was applauded and forgotten.

Apart from the odd critic, the whole debate was punctuated with displays of the most abject reformism. Delegates were encouraged to pay attention to their parish councils where, if seats were won, more houses could be Snowcrammed and more hedges planted.

This is the real child of decades of party policy. It serves only to strangle the serious industrial militants who have important questions to ask.

For the Communist Party, it is not a question of demanding socialist policies of the next Labour government and constructing an independent revolutionary organisation in anticipation of the betrayal. The illusion is seriously pandered that the next Labour government will really be the be-



REID: 'next Communist MP'

ginnings of a socialist one, if only Communist Party members get up enough personal enthusiasm.

Just how much policy is still the mixture as before can be seen from John Gollan's own programme. 'There can be no decisive change unless the domination of the economy by the great trusts is ended. Taking over these big firms acquires new urgency. But we need a new type of nationalisation with measures of workers' control, democratic direction and a slashing of compensation. This is often known as piecemeal socialism, and is impossible through parliament.'

No wonder there is a current in the Communist Party which quite seriously advocates dissolution and entry into the Labour Party as individuals.

The Common Market debate was seen as a key congress discussion. As one speaker put it, this was the one issue where the party could mobilise all sections of the British people to ensure a general election and the defeat of the Tories.

'Class issue'

Here again the CP's total submergence into the politics of half measures and defeat came out. Mick McGahey told the audience that the loss of parliamentary sovereignty was a class issue.

'It is not a question of waving the Union Jack,' he said. 'It is a question of preserving parliament's right to decide economic and social policies.' Even Harold Wilson is dubious about that, though he is still eager to be the next prime minister.

On the recommendation of the executive the congress studiously avoided another discussion of the Czech events. All that can be offered in reply to those who want to go back to the old pro-Russian dogma, is some stuff about the independence of Communist parties, and the 'British' road to socialism.

They cannot and dare not explain why the invasion took place, for that would open the way to the independent revolutionary left.

A similar lack of principle was seen in the discussion on Ireland, where no call for immediate withdrawal of troops was issued. Instead troops should be withdrawn from the non-Unionist areas, a quite ludicrous demand which could well open the way to party support for some repartition of Ireland.

Once and once only did an atmosphere of ideas and debate creep into the congress. The subject was women's liberation.

Here again the dead hand of party reformism was applied to defeat those who refused to have the issue totally reduced to this or that campaign, and who wanted a substantial political discussion.

There are many fine militants of both sexes in the party. It is an ever more urgent task to get them into a revolutionary organisation before they drown in the mire of lack of principle and ideas.

Laurie Flynn

TEXTILE MEN OUT OVER PAY FRAUD

SW REPORTER

NINETY INDIAN AND PAKISTANI workers at the Perivale Guterman textile factory in West London are on strike over a fake management-imposed bonus scheme previously thrown out by the workers. Chief shop steward Aslam Khan says the dispute amounts to a virtual lock out.

The factory was reopened just a few weeks ago by the Queen Mother after fire had destroyed it in 1969. Perivale Guterman once employed 185 workers, but now only 90 remain. Most of the others were sacked after the fire when they refused to carry out management's orders to clear up the debris and burnt-out machinery.

But in spite of the sackings, production has since doubled.

Working conditions are atrocious. The basic rate is a minimum 37p an hour, with workers doing a seven-day week on a three-shift system.

The machinery is old, was bought cheap and keeps breaking down. Facilities like tea machines are not serviced properly and often don't work at all.

Against a long background of arbitrary dismissals, intimidation, racist abuse and attempts to divide Indian from Pakistani workers and now the threat to sack 34 more people, management has imposed a bonus scheme that offers nothing except more sweat.

The new scheme requires the workers to operate 12 machines instead of eight as at present. They are also expected to do the cleaning in place of women cleaners. And it lays down a system of merit payments to divide one against the other.

When the workers rejected the scheme, negotiations reached deadlock. The chief shop steward protested against the unilateral imposition of the new scheme, but the production manager refused to discuss the matter and used obscenities.

Production was halted. The director gave the workers 15 minutes to get back to work under the new scheme or clear out before he called the police.

The strike will almost certainly be made official by the Transport Workers Union after the district official failed to reach agreement with management. The strike is 100 per cent solid and workers are maintaining a 17 hour day picket line. They are determined to win.

Messages of support and donations to strike fund to: Aslam Khan, TGWU, 219 The Broadway, Southall, Middlesex.

PUBLISH AND BE BANNED SAY JOURNALISTS' LEADERS

JOURNALISTS decided in London on Monday to continue to publish their monthly paper in defiance of a ban on it by their union leaders.

The paper, M+B Broadsheet, is produced by the 4000-strong Magazine and Book branch of the National Union of Journalists. The union executive banned the paper on the grounds of cost—£50 a month—but the branch members declared the motive was political.

The broadsheet has argued for militant policies to win higher salaries and oppose redundancies and the union leaders see the paper as a rival to their own conservative paper.

M+B members voted on Monday to continue to finance the paper out of branch funds. They said the executive had no right under rule to dictate how they can use their funds.

And the branch went on to decide to elect a new full-time branch secretary instead of allowing the executive to appoint their own candidate over the members' head.

We challenge NEC ban

by THE EDITOR

THE EXECUTIVE of the National Union of Journalists has issued a ban on the publication of M+B Broadsheet. The ban is based on the grounds of cost—£50 a month—but the branch members declared the motive was political.

Two new blows at union democracy

by THE EDITOR

THE EXECUTIVE of the National Union of Journalists has issued a ban on the publication of M+B Broadsheet. The ban is based on the grounds of cost—£50 a month—but the branch members declared the motive was political.

Front page of the latest broadsheet

Now Tory union bashers turn to the student world

by Graham Packham

TORY PROPOSALS as vicious as those contained in the Industrial Relations Act are now being produced with the aim of smashing students' unions.

Margaret Thatcher's Department of Education has issued a 'consultative document' on the financing of students' unions. This suggests that instead of the unions being financed by subscriptions paid for each student by the local authorities, they should instead get their money from the college.

This would encourage the college to make a 'much closer scrutiny' of union expenditure, and to decide how much the union gets and how it spends it.

The aim clearly is to destroy the independence of the unions and to restrict areas over which students can democratically make decisions.

Why have the Tories introduced the proposals at this time? There has been much talk in the press about 'mis-use' of taxpayers' money.

What they mean is that the unions have

been doing things the Tories do not approve of. Many students' unions have supported strikes and work-ins, campaigned against the cuts in school milk, opposed the occupation of Northern Ireland by the British army and have 'adopted' internees.

But the main pressure behind the new proposals comes from plans to expand higher education on the cheap over the next ten years—in the main in polytechnics, technical colleges and colleges of further education.

Fight conditions

Libraries will become even more inadequate, accommodation even more overcrowded, student/staff ratios will increase, courses will become shorter and more intensive.

The Tories know that students will fight worse conditions. They are trying to smash the students' unions now so that when the fight starts the unions will be little more than offices for running dances.

The proposals of the document must be resisted. The danger is that students' unions will get bogged down in discussing the small print with the Tories while their members lose interest in this threat to their position.

Socialist students must push resolutions through their unions totally rejecting the document and demanding that the NUS refuse to 'get round the table' with the Tories. The NUS must be forced to launch a militant campaign of national direct action in all universities and colleges to stop the implementation of the Tory plans.

BUILDERS FIGHT UNION MOVE TO CLOSE OFFICE

BUILDING WORKERS on Merseyside are fighting a plan by their union executive that will make it more difficult for the rank and file to keep any check on full-time officials. The leaders of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers have been trying to close down the district office in Shaw Street, Liverpool, and sack the office girl. Members in the area feel that this would mean officials working from the boots of their cars, denying the members effective representation.

Girls in the Manchester office subsequently went on strike. But officials, led by right-winger Eric Hughes, the regional secretary, broke the picket line each day and accused the International Socialists of starting an 'inter-union dispute'. Only one regional council member, Bert Smith, joined the three girls on the picket line.

As a result of the protests, the ASW executive decided on Friday that new offices will be provided and that the entire office function will be reviewed to investigate its efficiency. Meanwhile the Liverpool girl is 'working-in', with the district funds paying her wages, and the Manchester girls are banning overtime.

Reps want rights

by Dave Strutt

EDINBURGH:- 13 Addressograph-Multi-graph service reps—members of ASTMS—have been on strike for two weeks after a company attempt to sack two men involved in a struggle for union recognition.

The sacking followed a one-day sympathy strike against the redundancy of several reps in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The union members suspected that victimisation was behind the initial announcement of redundancies by the notorious American anti-union firm that makes office printing equipment.

The strike has been made official and backed by local solidarity action. Delivery drivers have refused to cross the picket lines and shop stewards in local industries where A-M machines are installed have promised to block them. Supporting action has been promised by service reps in other branches of the company.

The men's aim, as one of the sacked reps, Ron Taylor, puts it, is 'to harness the workers in the trade union movement in support of a basic right—to union representation'.

SUPERVISORS GO BACK

LEEDS:- Supervisors and technicians at Doncaster Monkbridge Forge returned to work on Monday after a strike lasting 10 weeks. They accepted a slightly improved offer giving an average increase of 15 per cent and improved shift allowances.

But although this is an improvement on the pitiful offer made before the strike, the women workers and men under 25 still remain firmly at the bottom of the scale.



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Socialist Worker

Coventry key battle for the unions

THE DECISION by the executive of the Engineering Union on Tuesday to back their members in Coventry's toolrooms may lead to the closure of every major factory in the City. More than 50,000 workers could be laid off.

The dispute is over the ending of a 30 year-old pay agreement that guaranteed to toolroom workers the average wage of skilled production workers in Coventry. The employers cancelled the agreement on 1 September and demanded that separate factory bargains should replace it.

The engineers refused and since then they have staged 10 one-day strikes. For the last four weeks the employers have retaliated by imposing one-day lockouts immediately after the strikes.

But this tactic did not stop the weekly strikes, and the nationalised Rolls Royce company intensified the offensive by indefinitely locking out all of its 1150 toolroom workers.

The employers' attack is an important part of their general plan to control wages in the motor industry. The Coventry employers are dominated by British Leyland who are leading the campaign against the pay agreement and the smashing of trade union resistance.

The employers are getting tough because of the current favourable situation for them. Unemployment in the city is higher than it has been for years. The employers' order books are not full and some of them feel that an all-out battle will be less costly now.

Not contributed

They are encouraged by the deep divisions that exist within and between the unions. The AUEW and the Transport Workers' Union are in competition.

Many TGWU members believe that the toolroom men have benefitted from past struggles of production workers without having contributed anything themselves. The AUEW district committee is controlled by the right wing, and the local full time officials are leading opponents of any militant activity within the union.

There are additional divisions between those workers employed by firms that are members of the Coventry Engineering Employers Association and those who are not, as well as between those who work in big, strongly-organised factories and those in the smaller and weaker plants.

Finally, the employers are confident of the backing of the Tory government. In January officials from Robert Carr's Department of Employment visited Coventry and investigated the toolmakers' agreement. This was not publicly known until the summer.

The bosses are hoping that a number of new government measures will be of crucial importance to them. On 3

by Roger Rosewell
SW Industrial Correspondent

November, for example, a new rule came into being that cuts the supplementary benefit payable to families of strikers by a full £3.85 a week.

It is widely thought that the Coventry Department of Employment officials have been instructed to interpret their rules in such a way as to deny unemployment benefit to those involved in or affected by the strike. This was admitted in an issue of the Financial Times last week.

Inspired by these beliefs the Coventry employers have thrown down the gauntlet. Unless the AUEW meets the challenge the agreement will be scrapped and a serious defeat will be suffered.

The bosses will be encouraged to launch new offensives and their opposition to the engineers' national pay claim will be stiffened.

That is what makes the Coventry struggle so important and why no compromise must be tolerated.

R-R: it's no joke

BRISTOL: Growing militancy was shown on Tuesday at a mass meeting of Rolls-Royce Bristol manual workers who voted to continue their strike.

John Blackley, a spokesman for the negotiating committee, told the men: 'This is not a short-term battle, and it is not a giggle'.

Ray Gardner, another committee member, said shop stewards from the neighbouring BAC factory had promised support, and would stop fuel entering Rolls-Royce through the backdoor—especially important as supervisors have been stoking the Rolls-Royce boilers.

BAC workers are telling all their contacts, including those in Germany, France and Italy, to black Rolls-Royce Bristol work.

On the question of possible redundancies sensationalised by a local evening paper, John Blackley said his committee's activities meant 'not impending, but impending redundancies'.

Compton Report on Ulster just tip of iceberg TORY-LABOUR COVER UP ON TORTURES

by EAMONN McCANN

IN ITS ATTEMPT to cover up for the use of torture in Northern Ireland's internment camps the Tory government appointed the Compton Commission. Its report is an amazing document.

It admits that men were made to stand for hour after hour against a wall—one for a total of 43½ hours—that they were kept hooded and that they were fed for days on end on bread and water alone. Yet it is then able to conclude that there was 'no brutality' because there was

'no disposition to inflict sufferings'.

Compton had evidence from dozens of soldiers but from only two of the internees. And he was not permitted to deal with the most substantial allegations—those concerning torture at Palace Barracks.

What he has done has been to nervously lift up a corner of the stone and give us a brief glimpse of some of the rotteness beneath.

In the coming days we can expect the press, Tory ministers and the Labour leaders to draw together in an attempt to belittle the grim truths that are coming to light.

'SAFEGUARD'

Already Labour's Jim Callaghan has indicated that he is in favour of a certain degree of torture. He said on Tuesday that 'parliament had to decide how far it was prepared to sanction the ill-treatment of some people in order to safeguard other peoples' lives.'

Meanwhile, the press will continue to push the sort of stories that made headlines last week.

Marta Doherty is the best-known bride in these islands. She is the young lady whose hair was shaved and tarred by Bogside women a few days before she was due to marry a British soldier.

Miss Doherty received much sympathy in the British press, but in the Bogside reactions were not unlike those of people in France when similar treatment was meted out to girls who had fraternised with the Nazis. After all it had been done for roughly similar reasons under roughly similar circumstances.

Miss Doherty will recover. Mrs William Groves will not. British readers will not know Mrs Groves name. Her case did not get much publicity, there were no harrowing photographs, no screams of editorial outrage at the savagery inflicted on her, no howls of abuse against those responsible.

Mrs Groves was standing in the kitchen of her home in Turf Lodge Belfast when a British soldier blasted her eyes out of her head with a rubber bullet. She was blinded for life.

MORE SAVAGE

We did not expect there to be condemnation in the British papers of the man who did it. We have come to know that when the Daily Mirror screams 'Stop this savagery' it means 'stop your savagery and allow ours to continue', just as when they say 'Take the gun out of Irish politics', they mean 'take your gun out, let ours stay.'

And they have more savagery and guns and better organised savagery than we could ever muster. At the moment they are giving automatic weapons back to the Ulster police.

This is the force which invaded the Bogside and the Falls area of Belfast in August 1969 in Shoreland armoured cars with Browning machine guns mounted on the top, and used tracer bullets at blocks of high rise flats.

The report of the Scarman tribunal on these events has been completed for some weeks. Neither the Northern Ireland government nor Maudling's ministry dare release it while those weapons are being handed back to the police.

The Belfast government is beginning its attempt to smash the massive rent strike against internment.

A 'starve 'em out' strategy began last week when vicious deductions were made from unemployment benefits, pensions, and family allowances of those participating in the civil resistance campaign.

As a counter, socialists and republicans are appealing to workers in the post office and unemployment exchanges to refuse to operate the new measures.



Cubitt's world ends

Strikers at the Cubitt's World's End, London site voting to stay out in support of the 'first-in, last-out' principle over redundancies. Cubitt's has refused to honour the site agreement and has even used semi-disabled men to try to divide the workers. The contract is behind schedule and Cubitt's has apparently provoked the situation to spin the job out further. Centre of the picture shows Bill Lloyd, ASW official.

Blue union dockers break Devlin peace in strikes vote

by Bob Light

AFTER a year of peace on the waterfront, London's dockers are once more stirring into action. The 4000 strong Stevedores and Dockers Union (the blue union) voted last week to reject the employers' wage offer and to hold a series of lightning strikes.

The vote follows last year's Devlin Phase Two agreement—a productivity deal of classical proportions. It has been under review since June, but employers have only made one offer—£1.50 now and 75p next year. Militants claim that this means a wage cut of £5 by next year, but TGWU officials—the majority union—recommended acceptance and won support in a secret ballot. But they then went on to demand that the employers pay the meagre increase before the blue union had reached a settlement.

Shop stewards in the Royal Docks called on all dockers to refuse the offer, and the men even handed money back to their bosses.

Unity between the two dock unions has been a slow business. At the moment port employers are on the offensive in

Medway jobs demo

SEVEN hundred trade unionists protesting about unemployment marched through the Medway towns last weekend. The march was called by the Kent Federation of Trades Councils.

When two speakers later put the official TUC line, angry calls went out for a stoppage on 24 November, and the meeting ended with appeals for a big turnout of trade unionists on that day.

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd (TU all depts). Registered with the Post Office.

London and nationally, and union solidarity is crucial.

It is in all dockworkers' interests that transport workers' members support the blue union's claim and honour picket lines.

Miners face Press mauling after ballot

WHEN miners vote whether to strike next week it is vital that a nationwide stoppage wins huge support.

So far the Coal Board has offered only 7.1 per cent, which would mean a cut in living standards at a time when prices are rising by 10 per cent a year. If the men are fobbed off with a low increase, other industrial workers may be forced into accepting a paltry rise.

If the miners' claim is fully met, the higher-paid will not get more than £35 a week, and most far less.

The overtime ban cannot defeat the Tories by itself. For until a strike is called no real approach can be made to other unions to black the importing of coal—and at present 83,500 tons a week are brought here at an average loss of £5 a ton.

Miners in Yorkshire are confident that the vote will be for strike action. No doubt that will be the signal for the Tory press, from the Express to the Sun, to launch a campaign of abuse against the miners as they did against the power workers last year.

The union must be prepared to take the counter-offensive against such propaganda by hurling their lies back at them.

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