

# Socialist Worker

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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



A section of the impressive International Socialists' contingent on the Leicester march, supported by Rebel youth groups. Picture: Wilson Grant.

## 2000 ON DEMO REBUFF RACISTS

LEICESTER: While press and television rant almost daily about the 'problem' of immigration to this Midlands town, they gave no coverage at all to an impressive, 2000-strong anti-racist march and rally there last Saturday. The demonstration, supported by more than 1200 International Socialists, was called to challenge the racist hysteria whipped up in Leicester by the fascist National Front. Report: back page.

### Vital boost for Fine Tubes strikers

WORKERS at Hawker Siddeley's plant at Chadderton in Oldham, Lancs, this week pointed the way to speeding victory in the 2½-years-old Fine Tubes strike.

They turned away a consignment of specialised tubing made by the Los Angeles company, Pacific Tubes, because the American firm is believed to be working in association with the Plymouth union busters.

The Hawker workers had previously turned down their own management's suggestion of a meeting with Fine Tubes bosses 'to hear the firm's side of the story'. Shop stewards replied that if Fine Tubes wanted discussions, then they had better see the Fine Tubes strike committee.

This is the kind of action that can bring Fine Tubes to heel, the kind of action that Britain's two biggest unions, the AUEW and the TGWU, have consistently declined to use to bring this official strike for union recognition to a successful conclusion.

This Saturday, in Birmingham the Fine Tubes Strike Committee is holding a conference to map out ways of winning their struggle and to discuss its lessons.

By Monday this week 500 trade unionists representing 30 unions had applied for credentials. It is vital that still more rank and file trade unionists attend. Last minute credentials are available at the door.

**Fine Tubes Conference**  
Saturday 28 October  
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham  
11am to 5pm

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# BIG PRICE HOAX

by Paul Foot

IN PUBLIC Edward Heath is a man who does not sleep at nights for worrying about price increases. From Downing Street comes the full-hearted roar of a Prime Minister haunted by the nightmare of starving old age pensioners in the grip of price inflation.

But in private, Mr Heath is inclined to boast about the 'advantage' of price increases. The confidential minute of the National Economic Development Council meeting last August summarises the view of Heath and his Chancellor, Anthony Barber, as follows:

'Much of the price problem was beyond their control and concerned world food prices. The one advantage of inflation of food prices was that the impact of joining the EEC through the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy would be that much less.'

In other words, the rise in food prices now would make the inevitable rise on joining the Common Market appear less offensive.

James Prior, the Minister for Agriculture, put it more bluntly in a debate on fisheries in July 1966:

'The time has come when we should have higher prices for food and no subsidies for either the agricultural or fishing industries. If we did that, we would get competition working in both industries and the nation would get better value, because the nation has been molly-coddled for too long by receiving cheap food.'

More recently Julian Amery expressed the view that no measures could or would be taken to control the price of housing.

Have all these men been converted to state interference in the 'right' of firms to fix their own prices? The Financial Times of 23 October provides some of the answer. 'The government is acutely conscious of the political importance of being seen by the public to offer a fair deal on prices.'

Justice, in short, must not be done, but must be seen to be done.

The recent 15 months 'voluntary freeze' sponsored by the Confederation of British Industry has given several clues as to the way in which the big corporations can maintain the rhetoric



PRIOR: need higher prices

of price restraint and the reality of price increase. Many big firms, notably Courtaulds, did not sign the declaration at all and Courtaulds made £13 million extra profit as a result.

Wimpeys, more cleverly, signed the declaration but entered an exception: houses. Wimpeys sells nothing but houses.

Most other firms have signed the declaration without qualification but have sought 'back-door' methods to keep the profits rolling in.

### SMALLER

**FOOD, TOBACCO:** The current issue of the Consumers Association magazine Which has an article on the way in which manufacturers in these industries keep prices up without people noticing.

Cadburys repacked their chocolates in larger packs and smaller quantities for the same price. Players have introduced the Carlton range of cigarettes with less tobacco but with prices not dissimilar to those of cigarettes with more tobacco.

The brewers are planning once more to reduce the alcohol content of their

products, thus saving on purchase tax, but keeping prices at the same levels. 'Standard' packets of vegetable seeds, which last year were enough to plant eight-foot rows, are now enough for three-foot rows. The price is the same.

A Minovla contraceptive pill in a new package costs more than three in the old package. A 12-ounce tin of Sun-Sweet prunes with a grand new sticker costs the same as the old 16-ounce tin whose sticker was definitely inferior.

**MOTOR CARS:** James Ensor, writing in the Financial Times last January, reported: 'The cost of major body parts has been increasing at least twice as fast as the cost of new cars. The motor manufacturers have been constrained by competitive market conditions and undertakings to the CBI. There are no such constraints on the rise in the cost of replacement parts.'

The car manufacturers have been changing the make-up of their products to ensure that the 'replacement parts' racket is exploited to the full. BLMC's 'Unipart' system requires replacement of even minor damage by a complete new part of the car.

A universal joint on a Ford Capri could be bought two years ago for £1.50 and easily fitted into the car. Now they are not available. Instead the customer has to buy a sealed unit prop shaft for £24. Fords have signed the CBI price increase declaration, and their word is their bond.

**MAGAZINES:** Ten days after Reed International signed the CBI price declaration, management at the International Publishing Corporation, owned by Reed, issued a circular to all departments making it clear that the 5 per cent price ceiling for the cover prices of their magazines did not involve similar restraints on advertising rates.

The circular recommended a 15 per cent increase in advertising rates, and 156 publications promptly responded. The extra costs of advertising were duly 'passed on' to the consumers

### FIDDLE

These are only a few examples. There are a hundred and one ways in which a manufacturer can fiddle about with prices, components, advertising and the like while apparently keeping within the bounds of an overall price freeze.

This flexibility has to be compared with the position of a worker or group of workers whose wages are pegged by agreement between his union official and his employer. There is no flexibility for him, no backdoor road to higher earnings.

All the talk about price restraint is a fraud to stampede the trade union movement into accepting wage restraint. It must be fought by a massive campaign to boost wages and stop workers' living standards falling.

**FIGHT THE TORIES! BUILD THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE!**



# WORLD NEWS WORLD NEWS WORLD NEWS

President Allende: he has had to retreat on all fronts after a massive transport strike. What hope now for the 1973 general election?

## Allende is forced to back down at home and abroad

**THE Chilean right wing and its allies abroad have recovered their former self-confidence and have launched a major counter-offensive to stop or even reverse any reforms introduced by President Allende.**

The first shot was fired by the US mining corporation Braden Kennecot, whose Chilean subsidiary was recently nationalised. Since the nationalisation there has been continual harassment of Chile by US companies and the US government, recently with an international credit freeze.

Braden Kennecot launched a direct attack. It claimed ownership of a cargo of copper mined by Codelco, the Chilean national mining trust, which was on its way to France.

This was a challenge to the sovereignty of the Chilean government, but even so a French court found it possible to uphold Kennecot's case. In other words although France recognises the Chilean government, and so its authority over affairs on Chilean soil, the French judiciary considers there are exceptions: multi-national corporations seem to be above the law.

Public opinion in Chile swung behind Allende's denunciation of Kennecot and even the right had to support him, much to its disgust.

But only hours later, lorry owners and drivers (mainly owner-drivers) were calling for a national strike against Allende's plan for a federal road transport authority for the southern province of Aysen. They claimed that this was only the first step towards the total nationalisation of hauliers.

### Emergency

Allende declared the strike politically-motivated—which is more than likely, seeing its timing—and four strike leaders were arrested, with some fascists and right-wingers. The opposition parties protested and demanded the release of the strike leaders. The Christian Democrats used their control over the Chilean Chamber of Commerce to declare a strike of all retail traders, and called for the 'mobilisation' of their supporters.

The military commander of Santiago, the capital, responded by declaring a state of emergency. He imposed a tight censorship on the media, banned demonstrations and threatened 'the harshest sanctions possible' against shopkeepers who went on strike.

On 16 October transport and commerce came to a virtual standstill. By mid-week government supply centres were out of food stocks, even though many lorries had been seized by the army.

Despite the ban, shopkeepers held two demonstrations, which the police broke up with tear-gas. The opposition parties then jumped on the bandwagon and called for 'civil disobedience'. By the next day 24 of

by Vic Richards

Chile's 25 provinces had been declared in a state of emergency—under army rule.

The government made things worse by arresting 1000 lorry drivers and owners—they are trade unionists. Last Friday the drivers' union went on a 24-hour strike, affecting all public transport. This may be followed by a longer strike.

Allende has had to retreat on all fronts. Codelco has given up all claim to the copper cargo, the lorry drivers' demand has been accepted and the transport authority will not be set up.

What emerges from these events is that the right wing has seized the political initiative in Chile. Worse still, as reaction gains in strength Allende has not fought it politically and has refused to mobilise the workers.

The reasons are not difficult to see. If Allende survives the present crisis, as seems likely, it will be because of the intervention of the army, not the resistance of the workers. The army supported Allende in part because right-wingers killed

the commander-in-chief two years ago, in part because Allende kept within the law while the right broke it.

While the right controls parliament, the army now sets the rules of the game in Chile—and Allende has to stick to them.

### Retreats

Allende is also the prisoner of the Communist Party line of stopping the reform movement to woo the Christian Democrats and the middle classes. In practice this means holding back the workers, liquidating the reforms and leaving the field open to reaction—as is obvious from the retreats already made and the confusion which has led bus drivers to support the right.

Refusing the path of class struggle, Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Communist Party, said last week: 'It is our patriotic task to keep the country going.' Patriotism, not class solidarity, is the keynote.

The general election is next March. All Allende will have to offer is dashed hopes.

## Socialists challenge Nixon at the polls

by Ian Birchall

RICHARD NIXON now seems almost certain to win next month's US presidential elections—a result that will mean at least four more years of war-mongering abroad and anti-working-class measures at home.

Meanwhile his Democratic opponent George McGovern is dropping even the pretence of radical crusading politics, and turning more and more to normal electioneering. At a rally in Chicago he went out of his way to flatter the city's corrupt political boss Mayor Daley, calling him a 'great mayor', and promising that if

electd he would 'seek the counsels of Mayor Daley on the problems of urban America.'

But Americans in at least some states do have the chance to vote for candidates who have condemned both Democrats and Republicans as being 'parties of, by and for big business.' These are Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, running for president and vice-president on behalf of the Socialist Workers' Party.

### BRIEFING

THE RIGHT in Israel has proposed several moves to counter Arab 'terrorism'.

Professor Ze'ev Laquior has urged that several Arabs in Israel and the conquered territories should be condemned to death, but not executed immediately: they should be held in readiness for the next 'terrorist attempt', and then executed.

General E Wetzman urges an Israeli ultimatum to Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Libya, saying that if terrorist activities don't stop immediately, Israel will 'hit them severely'. He argues that it is not enough just to 'react to the killing of five Jews by killing 50 Arabs, because there are too many Arabs'.

IN a recent article in the Israeli press entitled *Apartheid Israeli Style*, Mrs Shulamit Aloni, a member of the Israeli Labour Party, describes the activities of a company belonging to the National Religious Party of Israel, subsidised with state money, which builds houses for religious Jews only. Any prospective house buyer has to sign a contract that he is an orthodox Jew, and has to get a reference from a Rabbi as to the 'intensity of his religious behaviour'.

AUTHORITIES in Rumania have banned a performance of the play *The Inspector General*, by Russian playwright Gogol, on the grounds that it might be thought 'anti-Soviet'. The play was first performed in 1836, and was a satire on provincial bureaucrats in Russia at the time.

A *BIOGRAPHY* of General de Gaulle is to be published in Russia—a rare honour for a Western politician. Announcing this, the Russian weekly *New Times* says that de Gaulle faced international problems with more depth and lucidity than any other Western politician.

THE CHINESE leadership is moving even further away from the policies of the Cultural Revolution. A recent article in the People's Daily denounces those who, during the Cultural Revolution, used 'the most revolutionary phrases' in order to 'destroy everything'.

It declares that the struggle against right-wing opportunism unfortunately offered 'fertile ground for the development of anarchism', and ends by reminding its



The party's programme makes a sharp contrast with Nixon's right-wing rhetoric and McGovern's mealy-mouthed platitudes. Its main points are:

An immediate cease-fire in Vietnam and the rest of Indochina, and withdrawal of all US troops.

No wage controls; wages to rise automatically with inflation. An end to all anti-union laws.

Jobs for all; a shorter working week and a crash programme to build houses, schools and hospitals.

The rights of blacks and other

racial minorities to control their own communities.

Public ownership of major industries.

Support for the rights of women, homosexuals, prisoners, students and other minorities.

To get their candidates on the ballot papers, the SWP have to collect signatures. In New York more than 73,000 were collected, while the Communist Party could only muster 37,000 (they had originally promised 120,000). The Courage Party, New York section of Wallace's American Party, failed to get on the ballot with only 18,000.

Various legal devices have been found to exclude Jenness and Pulley from the ballot in several states. Jenness has been ruled ineligible in Ohio because she is 'too young' (she is 31). In Illinois the candidates have been barred for refusing to sign a loyalty oath, and in Tennessee because the SWP is not recognised in the state.

Jenness's age is also being used to keep her off television. The National Broadcasting Company is refusing her the legal right for all candidates to have equal time on television and radio.

Many criticisms could be made of the SWP presidential campaign. Despite the party's name, it has no real strategy to build a combat organisation inside the working class. On the contrary, over the past few years it has actually turned away from the working class, in order to involve itself more and more in a variety of middle-class radical and protest movements. In its campaign the working class appears, not as the key to social change, but as one oppressed group among many.

readers that 'authority and discipline are indispensable under any social system'.

A GROUP of Portuguese socialists picketed the Portuguese Embassy in London last Saturday, protesting against the recent killing of a student by the political police during a meeting of students in the Faculty of Economics of the University of Lisbon.

A member of the political police slipped into the meeting, but was unmasked by a student. The police agent then shot and killed the student, Ribeiro dos Santos. Another student, Lemos, tried to rescue his comrade but was shot and wounded.

These events are further proof of how shallow the much-publicised 'liberalisation' in Portugal really is. The Portuguese dictatorship continues to fight bloody wars to prevent its African colonies from achieving independence, and press censorship has been tightened and extended. Police spies are as active as ever.

For most of the population, things are worse, not better. Portuguese workers are still driven to emigrate by low wages and mass unemployment—but now jobs are scarce even in the rich countries of Europe, and young people face the prospect of several years in the army.

# Army seeks peace with Loyalists



CRAIG: ready to kill

THE REACTION of the British government and its army to the outbreaks of Loyalist violence last week has given the lie to the publicly-stated reasons for the troops being in Northern Ireland. The behaviour of the troops shows that they are certainly not there to 'keep the peace and maintain law and order'.

There are seven British Army battalions in Belfast. Five are in the Catholic ghettos and the other two in the fringe areas between Protestants and Catholics.

from Mike Miller in Belfast

The areas where the UDA is most active have virtually no troops in them. The army has openly admitted that it cannot protect Catholics who live there without drafting in soldiers who are currently terrorising the residents of Republican areas.

Rather than reduce the repression in the Catholic ghettos, the army has chosen to make peace with the UDA, giving them virtually full control

over security in those areas where the army is weakest.

It is in these areas that Catholics, isolated and unprotected, have been murdered by the dozen by UDA men or their supporters. It is in these areas that Catholic homes, pubs and shops have been systematically fired and bombed for the past few months.

From one Loyalist area alone, 80 per cent of the Catholic residents

have fled in recent weeks because of the UDA terror. Now the UDA is to rule supreme in these same areas.

The new mood of Loyalist extremists was expressed vividly in the much publicised speech made by William Craig to the extreme right wing Monday Club in London last week—the day after the truce between the army and the UDA. Craig, chairman of the Loyalist United Front which includes the UDA, said Loyalists were prepared to shoot to kill.

Although fire was returned at Loyalist gunmen by the British Army, it was done so reluctantly. Army officers and Tory politicians held talks with UDA leaders while UDA gunmen were shooting up British soldiers. They appealed to the UDA to let them get on with the 'real' job of killing off the Republicans and their supporters.

The army released 27 men who were in a UDA club where guns and other military equipment were found. The areas from which UDA gun fire came were not sealed off and searched as has happened in every Catholic area of Belfast.

While Loyalists shot at soldiers, politicians scurried to and fro in a desperate bid to placate those whom they have allowed to arm, train and organise for so long.

## Privileges

But while the army has certainly given in once more to the threatened Orange backlash it is by no means certain that this policy will be maintained for all time. The Loyalist workers are beginning to stand more and more in the way of British imperialism as the Tory bosses try to impose their own solution on the Irish working class.

This solution still involves incorporating the northern Catholic middle class, as represented by the SDLP, into the political institutions of the state. To do so it will have to break the back of the old Unionist and Orange machine and in the process attack the marginal privileges of the Protestant workers, which the Orange Order has guaranteed.

This is the one thing Protestant workers are determined to oppose. They will fight to prevent any reunification, because under the terms offered by Southern Premier Lynch and the SDLP, they would suffer cuts in their living standards.

## Shooting

The British rulers are not prepared to finally break the Orange state while there is any anti-imperialist force in existence that might continue to agitate and fight against them. So the Republican forces remain enemy number one. But when British imperialism feels safe enough to do so, it will move against the Protestant workers as well.

Socialists have no wish to see the British Army being used to kill Protestant workers, no matter how misguided they may be. If the Tories decide to shoot Loyalist workers, it will be for the same reason they have been shooting Catholic workers for the last three years—to stabilise imperialism.

Imperialism would still dominate a united Ireland in which the working class did not rule. The miserable conditions of the workers would still remain and so too would the divisions.

Only a struggle waged on class lines between workers and bosses can make civil war between workers themselves an impossibility. The presence of the British Army in Ireland is fostering civil war. Its removal can serve only to speed the achievement of power by the working class.

# WITCH-HUNT! WE NAIL

## THE STRIFE MAKERS EXPOSED

It is abundant evidence that a noisy, hot, bloody-minded minority is menacing the democratic way of life.

MINISTER Anthony Barber has warned of a 'small but determined group of men determined to degrade and destroy the elected Government, Conservative or Labour, in order to smash the system and their own sort of society.'

THE NEWS OF THE WORLD team has spent weeks seeking the truth about 'The Strife Makers'. In particular, those who strive to subvert millions of ordinary workers who earn their day's work and seek a fair day's pay.

Indicated manipulators are everywhere in the life. Where trouble is, there have we the facts. Start reading them today.

HOW THEY  
WRIGGLE  
INTO POWER



ALAN TATTAM... 'Right lads, look menacing,' he said



PETER CARTER... The man with many aliases



LOU LEWIS... 'All the hard liners are Communists'



KEN WELLER... Disciple of industrial sabotage

How the News of the World launched its campaign against the militants last Sunday

by Gerry Kelly (UCATT)  
member of Birmingham building workers' strike committee

THE News of the World started a three-part series on 'strife-makers in society' last Sunday with an attack on the dangerous 'subversives' in Britain's building industry.

In the best traditions of gutter press journalism, the reporters set about convincing the unsuspecting public that the recent building workers' strike was the result of 'two years meticulous planning by Communists and other extremists'.

As well as an interview with right-wing union boss Frank Chapple on 'How they wriggle into power', there was also a juicy bit of muck-stirring by Simon Regan under the headline 'My boys like a bit of a punch up when there's a few scabs around'.

## INACCURATE

This slander contains at least one direct lie. It alleges that Pete Carter, leading Birmingham builders' shop steward and one of the supposed 'strife-makers' led a coachload of pickets wielding pick-axe handles to Rotherham, Yorkshire, to chase men off a site.

The truth is that the Birmingham flying picket did not at any time go to Yorkshire. It did not move outside the Midlands except to go on delegations to building workers demonstrations in other areas.

Another major inaccuracy is that Regan claims to have gone with Carter and a hundred pickets to the Blue Circle cement depot in Sparkbrook, Birmingham, where 'one policeman was kicked in the mouth and lorry windows smashed.'

Apart from the fact that the only Blue Circle cement depot in Birmingham is in Handsworth (quite a way from Sparkbrook) why was no one arrested for these violent acts?



Frank Chapple: the wrigglers

Many pickets—including myself—will testify that the police were anything but slow in arresting men for the most trivial of offences.

Regan goes on to say: 'The previous day at another cement depot there was much spitting, swearing and scuffling and six men were arrested', after which Carter led the pickets to another site telling them that they had 'done well'.

Sorry Mr Regan, but you're wrong again. Those six pickets were arrested at Rugby Portland cement depot which is in Sparkbrook and Pete Carter was not there at that depot.

The fact that a shop steward who had come from London to Birmingham to address a meeting had to take a leading role in that picket and was arrested surely shows that no leading Birmingham stewards were there, never mind the apparent superman Pete Carter who 'singlehandedly brought out 90 sites.'

If Regan was travelling around with us, as he claims, then he must have a very poor memory. Either that or he is talking about a totally different strike from the one myself and many thousands of other building workers are proud to have taken part in.

## BETRAYALS

But perhaps he is lying and distorting for a good purpose. It is well known that after the bloody nose the employers and the government received in their confrontations with the dockers and railwaymen over the Industrial Relations Act, they are trying a different tack.

This latest strategy is to get so-called moderate trade union leaders to discipline their rank and file 'wildcats'. One part of creating a favourable climate for expelling militants from unions and withdrawing stewards' credentials for defying the betrayals of the union

leaders is to whip up hysteria against shop stewards.

This is done by telling other workers that all strikes are a communist conspiracy and that the brave fighters who lead them in struggle are not interested in their welfare but are lunatics whose only aim is to create chaos and anarchy.

Many rank and file militants like Pete Carter and Lou Lewis have jeopardised their livelihoods by being in the forefront of the struggle to maintain jobs and workers' purchasing power in the face of a vicious ruling class attack on them.

By doing so they risk the danger of being blacklisted. And far from being in an unassailable power position, as the News of the World suggests, shop stewards are voted into office by the rank and file, and can be voted out whenever the ordinary men and women workers who put them there wish to do so.

The News of the World with its 'reds under the beds' stories is only doing a job on behalf of the real strife-makers in our society—those people who live in luxury created by the labour of others and expect workers to accept a maximum rise of £2 a week while rising prices and rents continue to eat away at their living standards.

# NEWS OF WORLD DISTORTIONS



# Socialist Worker

## Tory fifth column

MRS SHIRLEY WILLIAMS MP, a well-known supporter of the Jenkins right-wing in the Labour Party, has been giving her views on incomes policy. First of all she summarises the record of the Tory government: 'Unemployment, despite last month's better trends, has for two years been higher than in any year since the war . . . Food prices have leapt by a fifth, land prices by a third, house prices by two fifths in these disastrous two years . . . Surtax payers, shareholders and the better paid occupations have gained marked increases in disposable incomes. The ordinary worker pegged to a £2 increase will see half that go in extra rents alone, and most of the rest in higher prices.'

Then perhaps we can count on Mrs Williams and her well-heeled friends to oppose the incomes policy swindle? Not a bit of it. 'Some of the more highly paid, and I mean trade unionists as well as professional people, will have to accept proportionately lower increases for a year or so to give the low paid and women workers a chance to better their standards of living. Socialists cannot opt out of socialist principles when they are themselves affected.'

Is it possible that this old con trick can still take people in? Ford workers have a claim in for 'a substantial increase'—they are said to be thinking of £10. Suppose they withdraw it. Does anyone believe that this would benefit the agricultural workers by one penny piece? Of course not: the only beneficiaries would be the shareholders of the Ford Motor Company.

### Hardest hit

As to the reference to women workers, this is a particularly despicable piece of trickery. Under the equal pay legislation, women workers would have got substantial increases in the next year to bring their wages up to 90 per cent of men's rates by the end of 1973. The incomes policy proposals would put a stop to that. All further progress towards equal pay would be blocked. And women, remember, are by far the largest group of lower paid workers. As always they, and other low paid workers, will be hardest hit by an incomes policy.

Of course the real appeal of incomes policy propaganda lies in the hope that the continual price increases will be stopped or at least checked. It will not happen. Inflation is international, though the rates vary. Inflation is built into the system. Nothing short of a catastrophic slump will halt inflation as long as capitalism lasts.

What is at stake in the Heath incomes policy is whether real wages can be kept down by keeping money wage increases below the level of price increases. That is what the government is after. They were having some success in this aim by union-bashing 'confrontations' until the miners, the railwaymen and the builders defeated them. So now they are trying the 'soft sell' of incomes policy.

The government's strategy was outlined with brutal frankness by the big business mouthpiece, *The Economist*, last week. 'Its objective is to isolate and defeat the union militants. It is therefore trying to organise against them all the other sections of the community.'

Exactly. The isolation and defeat of the militants means the defeat of the whole working class. It means lower real wages and worse conditions. It means more output from less men. It means more unemployment. All those so-called Labour politicians and trade union leaders who help to sell the incomes policy fraud are aiding the enemy. They are acting as a Tory fifth column in the working-class movement.

### RED MONARCH

WE HAD always supposed that communism had something to do with social equality and the abolition of private property. In 'communist' Yugoslavia we read, in connection with the visit of that well-known fighter for socialism and peace, H M Elizabeth II, of Tito's 'private island . . . with its villas and private beaches, its zoo and its soft lawns . . . an opulent mixture of Balmoral and Hollywood' (*Guardian* 23 October). The workers of Yugoslavia are among the worst paid in Europe. These facts do not, apparently, worry those self-styled left wingers who lick Tito's boots and prattle about 'workers' control' in his bureaucratic police state.



### Grey's elegy

THE REVELATIONS in *Socialist Worker* and *Steelworker* about proposed mass sackings in the steel industry throw some light on the resignation last September of Stephen Grey, managing director of the strip mills division of the British Steel Corporation.

Grey's resignation was shrouded in mystery. There was, and is, no explanation from the British Steel Corporation.

Original theories that he had been sacked for incompetence were firmly squashed by the *Financial Times* on 21 September which pointed out that the strip mills loss in 1971 of £200,000 was 'a reasonable performance when compared with the substantial losses incurred in some other divisions'.

On 21 September Eddie Griffiths, Labour MP for Brightside, publicly asked for a government explanation of Grey's sacking. He got none. Tom Jones, the Welsh Regional Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, got near the bone when he commented: 'It would appear to me that Mr Grey would have been a friend of Shotton [a steelworks in Flintshire] and would have done anything he could to ensure the future of the works.'

What happened was this. For eighteen months at least, top steel management has been racked by arguments among themselves and with the government about the future of the industry. The government, looking all the time to their 'commitments' in Europe, have been urging massive redundancies and concentration on supply of steel from Europe.

These plans are particularly devastating for South Wales, which, in effect would be replaced as the supplier of steel for the Midlands and London conurbation by the Dutch steel industry.

For a long time Lord Melchett, the merchant banker chairman of the British Steel Corporation, tried to hold out for the Welsh steel industry, but in the end his loyalty to the



Dai Davies: credit for Melchett

government and to the 'European idea' won through. In September he called a secret meeting of the top BSC managers and executives at the Compleat Angler Hotel, Marlowe.

He announced his 'conversion' to the government's demands for the butchering of the Welsh steel industry. He said that all argument must stop, and demanded from all the men present a signature on the bottom of a document outlining the government's plans.

One by one, the toadies signed.

Stephen Grey, however, who had been a member of the organising committee which planned steel nationalisation in 1966, and who took the view that the purpose of nationalisation was not solely to throw steelworkers on the dole, refused. Melchett made it clear that refusal amounted to a vote of no confidence in the future of the corporation, and that Grey would have to draw his own conclusions.

A few days later, Grey resigned, to be replaced by one of Melchett's most loyal followers, Robert Scholey, managing director of operations, London. Scholey's axe will soon start to fall at Shotton and Ebbw Vale.

Will the steelmen's union, BISAKTA, put up a fight against Melchett's proposals? Listen to Dai Davies, general secretary of BISAKTA, speaking for the General Council at this year's TUC after a debate on steel redundancies.

'It is unfair to blame the present situation on the Steel Corporation. The chairman, Lord Melchett, is entitled to full credit for the fight he has put up to preserve the public sector largely in the state in which Labour had left it.'

A few days after this accolade,

Lord Melchett reaffirmed his faith in public enterprise by joining the board of the Orion Bank, a new-style dynamic merchant bank which deals in 'Eurocurrency', and is run by one of Melchett's old chums in the merchant banking world, Ronnie Grierson. Melchett's appointment, for which he needed government permission, is believed to be the first ever occasion of a chairman of a nationalised industry joining a board of a private company which has no connection with his main job.

LEICESTER IS OUR CITY! screamed a leaflet handed out to the anti-racist demonstration on 21 October.

It was published by the National Front, whose address, conveniently printed at the bottom of the leaflet, is 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon.

### Mug's game

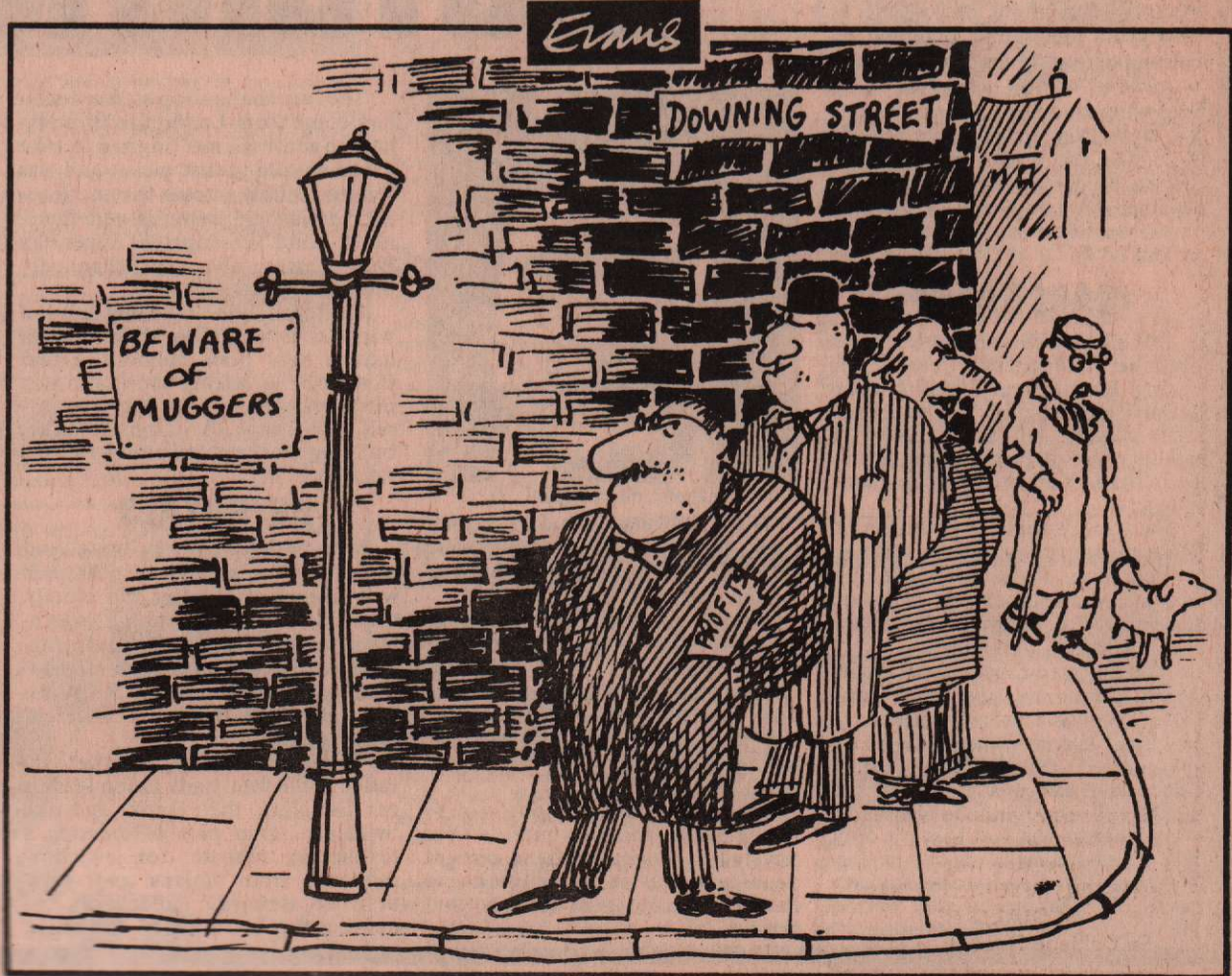
THE national press will publish anything nowadays about 'muggers' especially if the guilty ones are black. The *Daily Mirror* on 13 October, under a large headline 'Thursday is Danger Day for Mugging' quoted from a court case proceeding at the Old Bailey, in a way which made it look as though a young black man had admitted to a mugging offence, and stated that he was a regular mugger.

The facts are as follows. Vincent Trew, Constantine Boucher, George Griffiths and Sterling Christie are members of a South London self-help organisation called SELPO. They were arrested last March by railway police at Oval tube station and taken to Kennington police station.

The prosecution case is that the men admitted to mugging offences at the police station, in terms quoted by the *Mirror*.

The four men, on the other hand, claim they were badly beaten up at the police station, and eventually intimidated into signing the 'confessions' which had been prepared for them, and which were quoted by the *Mirror* without any mention of the men's case.

Socialist Worker readers will be kept informed as the case progresses. In the meantime don't believe anything you read about it in the *Daily Mirror*.





# PRINTS

## Leading blight

THERE has been considerable rejoicing in Yorkshire following the death of Sir Linton Andrews, former editor of the Yorkshire Post, whose reactionary views dominated the county's largest-selling newspapers for half a generation.

Andrews hated trade unions and in the last few years of his life worked up an even fiercer hatred against students. He was the first chairman of the Press Council and managed to ensure during his term of office that the council upheld every excess of newspaper proprietors and editors which was reported to it.

The Times had a rave obituary of him on 29 September, which included the following unforgettable passage:

Andrews went on writing leading articles for the *Evening Mail* until it was forced to close down.

ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, regional secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union in the North East, whose name was mentioned with such embarrassing frequency in the Poulson bankruptcy hearings, has drafted a standard letter to employers who set up in the region.

A firm which announced that it was siting a factory on the Crowther Estate in Washington New Town recently received such a letter expressing Cunningham's delight at the 'boost' which the firm would give to the North East.

'The aim of the union,' wrote Cunningham, 'is to create a cordial atmosphere and thus prevent any serious unrest in the many industrial concerns in which we have members. Our full time officers and shop stewards are thoroughly schooled in all the modern techniques of production and we instil into them a policy which has as its permanent aim the peaceful coexistence of management and workpeople in the factory.'

'We have in this area 17 full-time trade union officers who have been schooled in productivity bargaining, job evaluation, method and time study and all other means of measuring work.'

Then comes the punch line: 'I would like to have the opportunity of meeting you to discuss the possibility and the advantages of your company and this union arriving at a one-union agreement covering the negotiations about wages and working conditions of your employees.'

## Post waste

THE POST OFFICE has issued a glossy brochure to all businessmen entitled *The Postal Services Can Do More For Businesses Than You Think*, which describes with pictures and PR superlatives the methods whereby the Post Office comes to the aid of British industry and commerce.

The Post Office is increasing its facilities for businessmen. Up to a year ago, for instance, the range of subsidies for mass postings stopped at a 25 per cent rebate for more than 250,000 letters posted at one time.


The brochure outlines proposals for free postage of all letters in excess of 700,000 and 1,000,000. Any firm posting a million letters at once, therefore, gets 300,000 of those letters posted completely free. For any letters in excess of one million, there is a straight 30 per cent rebate.

There are literally hundreds of mail order firms, not to say pools firms or firms wishing to engage in mass advertising by post which will gain hugely from these subsidies.

Businesses are also entitled to free

PO Box No 6  
Billingham Teesside  
TS23 1LD

Telephone Stockton on Tees (0642) 53601  
Telex 58443 Iciag 1 Sltkn



**Imperial Chemical Industries Limited**  
Agricultural Division

All Male Staff  
Projects and Engineering Department  
Annexe

Your ref	Our ref	Tel ext	Date
	PE/WGC/GPA	3004	5 October 1972

Dear

UROGASTRONE PROJECT

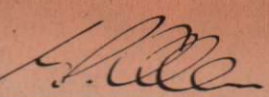
You may have heard from your Staff Committee representative that Pharmaceuticals Division are preparing a chemical called Urogastrone, to be used for the treatment of peptic ulcers, and that the raw material for their process is urine. They require large quantities, and have asked for the help of staff in Projects and Engineering Department at Billingham.

From Monday 16 October 1972, therefore, special containers will be placed in the male toilets in the Annexe and V Huts. They will be collected daily, preliminary processing will take place in Research Department, and the concentrate will be sent on to Pharmaceuticals Division.

I am asking for your co-operation, and for your own personal contribution to this Project, as until another source of Urogastrone can be found, the collection of urine is vital and is likely to be so for some time.

For your information, collections are already organised in Petrochemicals Division, Research Department and elsewhere at Billingham. Our colleagues in the ADO may be asked to make their contribution at a later date. General information on the Project is published on the Notice Boards.

Thank you.



## Extracting the urine

THE above letter has been received by all ICI workers at Teesside. ICI, Stockton, confirm that a G P Allen works in the drawing office of the Projects and Engineering department. An ICI spokesman in London told *Socialist Worker*: 'Urogastrone is a substance in human urine which some people believe can cure ulcers. We are doing some research on it, in the hope that we will be able to produce a product many years hence.'

collecting, and, in some cases, free franking facilities. Most letters and parcels are posted by firms and industries, and the total subsidy is enormous—not less, certainly, than £20m a year, or £100 a year for every worker at the Post Office.

## Banana twit

THE PRACTICE developed to a fine art by many worried shareholders of complaining at companies' annual general meetings about the investment of the particular company in apartheid in South Africa can have some interesting results. There are two examples in the marvellous new book on investment in apartheid, *The South African Connection* by Ruth First, Jonathan Steele and Christabel Gurney.

At the AGM in 1971 of Rio Tinto Zinc, Sir Val Duncan, Rio Tinto's chairman, replied to an anxious questioner on the company's investment in South Africa as follows: 'I once asked a super-Liberal: "What particular people in South West Africa are going to get up from under a banana tree or wherever it is, and run the country?"'

'If they're well-paid and become gradually middle class and settled, then they will help the country in the long run. At the moment we're faced with a vacuum.'

Socialist Worker's geographic correspondent was not there to advise Sir Val on the incidence of banana trees in South West Africa.

A shareholder at last year's AGM of General Electric Company, which has substantial investments in

apartheid had even less luck. After a bromide reply from Lord Nelson, the company chairman, the shareholder rose for a 'supplementary', only to be interrupted by GEC's managing director, Sir Arnold Weinstock.

The following dialogue then took place (according to the official transcript).

Weinstock: You've had your say.  
Shareholder: You have to consider...

Weinstock: Shut up. Shut up.  
Shareholder: Don't tell me to shut up.

Weinstock: I'm telling you to shut up.

Shareholder: The shareholders are supposed to have a voice.

Weinstock: At the proper time.  
Sir Arnold is a passionate opponent of racialism, and does not live under a banana tree.

RIVERS of tears flowed out of the plush Cardiff rooms on 10 October where Sir Julian Hodge, the Welsh financier and personal friend of James Callaghan, was launching the Commercial Bank of Wales and remembering his childhood in the remote Welsh mining village of Blackwood.

'In those days,' drooled the millionaire, 'the first factories and plants to close down were those controlled from outside, putting many of our people out of work. I determined then to devote my life to giving Wales as much financial independence as possible.'

A third of the shares in the Commercial Bank of Wales have been issued to the First National Bank of Chicago.

# Lies that make an asset stripper the darling of the City

PRESS and television have recently started talking about the 'asset stripper', far from the darling of the City.

The Investors Chronicle recently described the asset stripping company thus: 'It lives by acquiring other companies, which it then ruthlessly reorganises, churning out the rubbish, keeping the best, capitalising on the property and so on to the next.'

That, incidentally, is favourable comment by the men in the City. The 'rubbish', as the workers at Briant Colour, Dennis Motors, Fisher Bendix, Triang Toys and many others know to their cost, are the workers.

One such asset stripper is David Hargreaves, who calls himself a socialist and runs a company called Hestair. This company recently took over Dennis Motors, the firm that manufacture fire engines and dust carts.

In the offer document sent round to the shareholders of Dennis, with the terms of the Hestair bid, the following sentence appeared: 'Hestair intends to continue to manufacture at Guildford under the Dennis name and will safeguard the interests of employees and staff.'

That statement was a lie. Less than six months later the labour force has been reduced from 1200 to 900, part of the business sold and part of it transferred to a factory elsewhere in the country.

As the Investors Chronicle says: 'The main asset realisation potential lies in the 32 acres of prime land at Guildford.' When the company was taken over everyone in the City knew this, the financial press said so. Everyone knew that ex-management consultant and accountant Hargreaves would start slicing the labour force to increase profitability. This was the whole justification for the deal.

## Toothless

Yet the offer document said nothing about this. It talked about greater prospects for the employees of both companies, entry to the Common Market, but there was nothing about redundancies. Instead there was a pack of lies.

And what is happening to David Hargreaves? He is not, of course, in prison for this perjury. The toothless Stock Exchange Council and company laws do nothing. He continues his asset stripping ways.

The Investors Chronicle continues: 'The Dennis sports field is suitable for residential development and is expected to bring in £600,000, and a two-acre office development is planned.'

There could be no more graphic illustration of the cynicism of capitalism than when a 'socialist' sacks his employees and turns their sports field into a housing development where the prices may be more than many workers will earn in their lives.

At one stage it looked as though Hargreaves' well-laid plans might fail as opposition developed among the workers who had been given notice, saying that if they didn't accept their dismissal notices his 'very generous offer of severance pay' would be withdrawn. So that workers would not have to cross the picket lines to hand in their acceptances, he gave an ex-directory telephone number



where they could ring him and accept. Thus blackmailed, the workers accepted.

Such tricks are not new. In December 1971 Hestair acquired Johnsons of Hendon, manufacturers of photographic equipment. The cost was £2.5 million and this has been more than realised by the sale of property. Inevitably, parts of the manufacturing operations have had to be relocated.

It just happens that in the relocation of the chemicals division the labour force was halved: Hargreaves was saved the embarrassment of sacking people as many of his workers didn't want to move 100 or so miles to the new location.

He is hoping to move the repair department next from its valuable North Circular Road site, so that he can net £500,000 on a development. Apparently he is worried that the workers will discover the value of the development and not co-operate so willingly this time.

Hargreaves' activities have increased Hestair's profits from nothing to an expected £750,000 in less than three years. They have helped to make his personal shareholding worth something like £500,000.

The people who have lost out are the workers who have been sacked, shuffled around and treated to the pleasures of 'work study and incentives' (Hargreaves' own words). They have been lied to, misled and cunningly outmanoeuvred. All this by a man who calls himself a socialist and who measures up perfectly to the image of the modern technocratic businessman the Tory and Labour politicians admire so much.

T H Rogmorton

An International Socialists pamphlet

## STUDENTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

Susan Buddle Richard Noss Colin Sparks

The struggle for socialism can only be won by the working class, but other sections of society are always drawn into the action. The International Socialists believe that students can and must be won into political alliance with the workers, and this pamphlet analyses the role of students and of the 'student movement' in an attempt to show the way forward.

Price 15p, plus 3p postage, from  
IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



# FIGHT THE

In the autumn and winter months, International Socialist branches will be engaged in a major Fight the Tories campaign in every area of the country. They will distribute hundreds of thousands of leaflets and posters, stage demonstrations and organise rallies and meetings. The aim of the operation is to hammer the Tory attack on the working class, to expose Labour's pretensions as an alternative to the Heath government and to stress the vital importance of building a real socialist alternative.

To underscore the campaign, Socialist Worker will feature articles on each area of the country as the meetings and activities get under way.

## SCOTLAND

UNEMPLOYMENT, depopulation, rising prices, the destruction of communities—those are the features of the 'development areas' today—the areas that are victims of profit, that live or die according to the investment decisions of a tiny minority of the population.

Scotland, a 'development area' within British capitalism, has a population of more than five million, four-fifths of whom are crammed into the Central Lowlands. This 20-mile-long belt grew up with the basic industries of British capitalism: engineering, shipbuilding, iron and steel and coalmining.

And each of these industries today is the subject of massive cutbacks in employment from the pressures for 'rationalisation' and productivity that are part of the attempts to make British industry more competitive.

The economic downturn of the mid-1960s produced conditions that were potentially explosive. Unemployment climbed to the half-million mark. Inflation began to bite.

### DISARM

Balance of payments problems plagued the Labour government. The reply to this, started by Labour and continued by the Tories, was to assist the rationalisation of industry on the one hand, to ensure profitability, and to attempt to disarm the labour movement on the other.

We had 40 per cent investment grants, 23-35 per cent building grants, regional employment premiums and the 1969 Industrial Expansion Act (plus the Tories' 1972 Industry Bill) which gave special aid to firms like UCS. The other prong of the attack was incomes policy, productivity deals, earnings-related benefits and the Industrial Relations Act.

*In spite of the supposed powers of government to intervene in the economy both Labour and Tory were unable to solve the basic problems of profitability and declining regions. Unemployment climbed to one million, the development areas bearing the brunt of this.*

by Murray Armstrong

The industrial areas of Scotland at present have unemployment levels of 7-8 per cent. Inflation continued at an increased level. People continued to leave the regions—Scotland loses 200,000 people every five years through migration.

The case of UCS is the problem of Scotland and other declining regions seen through a magnifying glass. To compete with the world shipbuilding industry UCS had to be baled out repeatedly by the government and finally reorganised.

Similar 'reorganisations' have taken place in other basic industries in Scotland. In the coalfields production fell from 16 million tons in 1963 to 11½ million tons in 1971. But output per man increased a third while the total number of miners employed fell by 24,900.

In the Scottish sector of the steel industry the number of steel furnaces fell from 80 to 74, blast furnaces from 11 to six, between 1963 and 1970. But steel production rose in this period from four million tons to five million.

Now BSC has announced its plans to close most Scottish steelworks—10,000 jobs will be destroyed by 1978 and only two mills will remain in Scotland: Ravenscraig and Clydesdale Tubes, Mossend.



On the dole in Glasgow: government policies have added to the toll

The depressed areas can only suffer greater depression. The working class has to bear the burden of financing regional policy through taxation and this burden can only increase.

The great 'oil boom', acclaimed by the press to be the saviour of Scotland, cannot solve the basic problems of regional decline. The oil industry, like the petro-chemical industry of Grangemouth before it, will provide much capital and few jobs.

At the moment all that the oil industry is achieving is the inflation of land prices on the east coast. Similarly the establishment of the car industry in Scotland by government inducement did nothing to solve the unemployment problem.

### ABSENCE

In the mid-1960s sections of the Scottish working class saw the answer to their problems in support for the Scottish Nationalist Party. This development was a combination of the failure of the Labour Party and the absence of an alternative socialist organisation.

*A Scottish 'national republic' is clearly an impossibility in the face of concentrated ownership and multinational firms. The only answer for Scotland and the other development areas is the creation of a society where production is democratically planned by working people, where industry is located according to people's needs instead of the demands of the profiteers.*

## The fight back against scourge of unemployment

FOR more than a year now, male unemployment on Clydeside has not fallen below 10 per cent and currently one man in 12 is out of work.

The UCS struggle played an important role in encouraging workers to challenge the employers' right to impose redundancies, but the potential of that fight was never fully developed. The leading stewards made no attempt to lead the movement that sprang up in a general campaign against unemployment.

The culmination of the struggle at UCS, embodied in the dangerous Marathon agreement, reflected the rightwards drift of the workers' leadership. Jimmy Reid has spoken recently of North Sea oil and the Hunterston steel project as providing the opportunity for 'the Scots to achieve a regeneration of their economy'.

This is a perspective that ignores the effects of Common Market entry and basic developments in the British and world economies and fails to prepare workers for future struggles in defence of their jobs.

The principal contribution of the Scottish TUC to the fight against unemployment has been to ignore the resolutions passed annually calling for campaigns for nationalisation and resistance to redundancies. Instead they have organised a 'Convention of the Scottish People'.

This jamboree attracted the active support and participation of the chairman of the Scottish Tories, representatives of the CBI, Scottish Nationalists, the Labour Party and the Communist Party. Its sole achievement will be to disorientate

workers politically.

The fight against the Industrial Relations Act has been hindered by the failure to maintain an active local Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. When the five dockers were jailed in July, although many Clydeside workers were on holiday, few of those who remained came out on strike.

These events not only underline the continuing degeneration of the Communist Party in the area where it has most strength nationally, but also shows the growth in numbers of militants outside the party.

Currently in the West of Scotland, 3000 bakery workers are on unofficial strike after rejecting a national wage agreement accepted by their union. More than 1000 barmen and barmaids, organised by the TGWU, are on strike over a wage and hours claim and are picketing breweries.

Glasgow Corporation buses are gradually disappearing from the streets as a strike of 700 maintenance men takes effect.

These disputes show that, despite large-scale unemployment, workers are still prepared to fight, including sections not traditionally noted for their militancy.

Clydeside workers know only too well what unemployment and poverty mean. They will not permit a return to the 1930s, but their willingness to fight could be misdirected into nationalism or religious sectarianism as the struggle intensifies. Socialists cannot afford to make concessions to either.

Peter Bain

**THE BRITISH PRESS  
& NORTHERN IRELAND  
EAMONN MCGANN**

**18 IRA cross border  
to stir Belfast riots**

IRA behind riots  
in N. Ireland

FIVE KIL  
BY ULSTER

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# We need planning for

# TORIES

## JOB TOLL HITS

**SOUTH WALES** is an area noted for its trade union militancy. Its traditions are some of the best the working class in Britain has.

Time and time again the miners' union has led the struggle against the coal barons and the National Coal Board in defence of conditions and for higher wages, culminating in the 20 per cent increase won earlier this year. And the NUM is in the lead too over the present attempt by the Tories to force up rents, taking the side of the tenants in South Wales against the Tory rent robbers.

The tradition in South Wales is a fighting tradition but in recent years it has been weakened. The region has always suffered higher unemployment rates than the rest of the country, due mainly to the prominence and decline of the coal and steel industry.

In 1964, when the Labour government came to power, unemployment in Wales was about 20,000. By January 1972 it had reached nearly 56,000—a rise of over 150 per cent.

In South Wales as a whole unemployment is running at 5.2 per cent. In the central mining valleys it is 6.9 per cent and in individual areas it is even higher—Morrison 7.5 per cent, Ferndale (Rhondda) 9.1 per cent, Merthyr Tydfil 7.5 per cent, Tonypany 9.7 per cent and Tonyrefail 9.6 per cent.

Even in the 'prosperous' areas like Neath, Swansea and Newport, unemployment is still above the national average of 3.0 per cent.

Big business in Wales is clearly worried about the situation. Government growth rates of 4% per year are not sufficient to stop rising unemployment.

This coming winter they predict 5.3 per cent unemployment rates but that is only if there are no more redundancies in coal mining and the steel industry. With the British Steel Corporation plans to close substantial

## VALLEYS S. WALES

by Tony Goodchild

sections of their works in Wales, notably at Ebbw Vale, Newport and Cardiff, and the NCB talking of further closures, the prospects are bleak.

In 1971 only 6000 new council houses were completed in Wales compared with nearly 10,000 in the private sector. At the same time nearly half the houses in Wales were built before 1918, reflecting the old industrial concentrations in the valleys and areas like the Swansea Valley.

### Surrender

Now there is the attack on council and private tenants with the Tory 'Fair Rent' Act. In South Wales the councils at Cwmbran, Machen, Merthyr Tydfil and Ystradgynlais are still holding out against the Act and refusing to implement.

This is in the face of almost total surrender by the Labour Party on the issue.

In spite of the Labour Party, tenants all over South Wales have been organising in large numbers to fight the Act. In Pontypridd a delegate meeting of 48 tenants' associations, representing tenants from Llanelli to Newport, 11 NUM lodges, two AUEW branches and two

EEPTU branches voted for meetings throughout Wales to call on trade unionists to withhold the rent rises.

The NUM is already pledged to industrial action if anyone is evicted or victimised as a result of the Act and in Merthyr local trade unionists in the pits and factories are also pledged to industrial action.

The Rent Act is the immediate battle facing workers in South Wales but in the next few months the fight against redundancies will become more important. The steel industry will be 'rationalised' even further with large scale redundancies at Ebbw Vale, Newport and Cardiff. This is bound to have an effect on the coal industry and the current NCB plans for further 'rationalisation' nationally will inevitably mean more loss of jobs.

It is impossible to predict how this struggle will go. Occupations and sit-ins have so far not caught on in Wales as a means of struggle in defence of jobs. They cannot be excluded as a possible form of struggle in the coming months.

The miners' victory has left its mark in South Wales. Out of that strike a Joint Unions Committee covering Swansea, Neath, the Neath Valley and up to Aberdare, was formed and is developing towards a Council of Action. It has already organised on the issue of Fine Tubes, and the Rent Act.

## MOTORWAYS BEFORE HOMES

GLASGOW's position as one of the most socially deprived areas of Great Britain is unlikely to change much in the next few years. Its conditions are a testimonial to the priorities of a capitalist society.

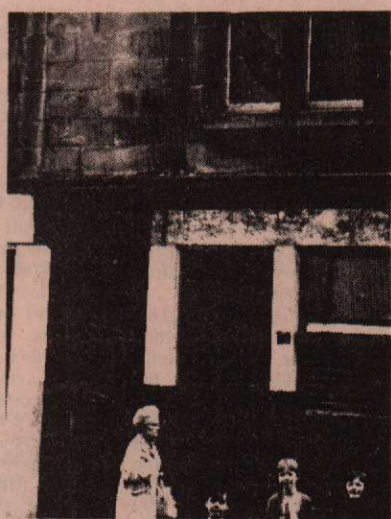
Last month their Labour-controlled corporation's own planning department confirmed what workers in Glasgow know anyway—that the living conditions in Glasgow are among the worst in Britain. The statistics alone are shocking enough.

Glasgow has the highest death rate in the country, 11.8 deaths per 1000 population is the national figure. In Glasgow it is 13.2.

Infant mortality is the highest too: 23 per 1000 compared with 18.5 nationally. (These figures are from the annual abstract of statistics and the Glasgow Medical Officer of Health's Report, both for 1970 and 1971—the most up-to-date figures).

Cancer deaths are more common and the incidence of TB, bronchitis, scabies, rickets, and other socially caused diseases are among the highest in Britain.

This situation is coupled with what is admitted to be Glasgow's biggest problem—housing. The MOH report looks at houses which are below standard. Under his classification on 31 December 1970, 81,896 houses (about 25 per cent) were substandard. 31,606 houses have only an external lavatory and 76,211 are without a



A Glasgow slum: 81,000 houses are classified 'substandard'

bath (32.7 per cent).

The Planning Department Report also found that overcrowding in Glasgow is SEVEN times the national average.

On average the corporation has been building about 4000 houses a year. Pleas have been made for money from the government, pledges made, concern expressed, but the facts are that Glasgow is no more being planned for the needs of its inhabitants than before.

Side by side with the dilapidated,

half pulled-down schemes, are Glasgow's largest monuments—the motorways. A huge programme of development has been carried out. An estimated total of £70 million (at present cost levels) is to be spent over the next eight years in building still more miles of motorway.

Glasgow is scheduled for twice the annual amount of motorway mileage as London, yet it has half the car ownership per head of population of London.

Glasgow has only half the amount of public transport of London, yet the corporation's priority is not to expand buses and trains but to develop the motorway complex, a complex that will involve knocking down 500 houses in the Maryhill area.

So the corporation's response to the statistics about Glasgow's appalling conditions was not a decision to throw resources into housing and sanitation. In fact the head of the planning department recommended that house building should be stopped so that other 'amenities' could be built.

In the face of this record it is clear that Labour corporations are more responsive to the demands of big business than the needs of ordinary people.

Jennifer Ross

## Che Guevara: the myth begins to fade...

CHE GUEVARA was murdered, 24 hours after being captured by the Bolivian army, on 9 October 1967. His death was ordered by the Bolivian President, Barrientos, and, almost certainly, by the President's American 'advisers'.

After his death Guevara was the object of a massive cult. Books, films, badges, posters and advertisements portrayed him. He was compared to everyone from Robin Hood to Jesus Christ, and used as a recruiting slogan for radical youth movements.

Who was the man behind the myth?

Born in 1928 in Argentina, Guevara trained as a doctor, then travelled widely in South and Central America. He saw at first hand the terrible poverty of those who had come to the towns but had failed to find work and were condemned to live in festering slums.

In 1954 Guevara was in Guatemala. The democratically-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz was putting into practice a rather moderate land reform programme.

This involved expropriating 400,000 acres of uncultivated land belonging to the American United Fruit Company. The two Dulles brothers—respectively US Secretary of State and Head of the CIA—had close connections with United Fruit, and as a result an armed invasion was staged which overthrew the Arbenz government.

Guevara realised that the only way to fight US imperialism was gun in hand. He was delighted to get the chance to join the guerrilla expedition to Cuba led by Fidel Castro which landed in December 1956.

### Took power

But the group was soon reduced to fewer than 20. At first they faced isolation and hunger—Guevara's colleague Camilo Cienfuegos used to cook cats for food.

But three years later—thanks to patient work among the peasants, the total corruptness of the Batista government, and the non-intervention of the US—they took power.

Guevara summed up the lessons of the Cuban Revolution in this way: 'Firstly, people's forces can win a war against the army. Secondly, we need not always wait for all the revolutionary conditions to be present; the insurrection itself can create them. Thirdly, in the underdeveloped parts of America the battleground for armed struggle should be the countryside.'

This sums up Guevara's greatness—and his weakness.

Guevara knew that a revolutionary who wants to change the world cannot rely on the impersonal forces of history—he must be a man of action. But great revolutionaries like Lenin and Trotsky went beyond this to a scientific analysis of the social forces that could and would take such action.

### Tragic failure

In Guevara there is will in abundance, but little analysis. As a result the rest of his career was tragic failure.

The Cuba which Castro and Guevara took over was a poor and backward country, whose economy depended on the export of sugar. Early attempts to develop industry failed, and 10 years after Castro came to power Cuba was more dependent on sugar production than it had been under Batista. Russia had replaced the US as the main customer—paying somewhat lower prices.

As a result Guevara found himself forced to put into practice policies he may well have found alien to his revolutionary feelings. Since the workers of the towns had played no role in creating the new regime, it was hard to involve them in the economic plan.

In foreign policies the choices were equally limited. It was Guevara who told the Cubans that Trujillo—the vicious Dominican dictator—was 'now our friend', Guevara who told the Organisation of American States in 1961 that in return for a non-aggression guarantee Cuba would promise that 'not one rifle will leave Cuba... not one weapon will go to another country'. It was Guevara



Guevara: a doomed gesture

who signed the agreement to bring Russian nuclear missiles to Cuba.

Guevara's attempt to relive in Bolivia the days of guerrilla glory was a courageous gesture doomed from the start. Bolivia is so high above sea-level that most foreigners find it hard to breathe there, so it was not congenial territory for a 39-year-old asthmatic.

More important, the guerrillas failed to get any base among the peasants. The Barrientos dictatorship was vicious enough, but it had not reversed the land reform of the 1950s, and Guevara's group began to learn the peasant language, Quechua, only some months after beginning their campaign. The guerrillas remained isolated, and defeat was inevitable sooner or later.

In the five years since Guevara's death a lot of illusions have died too. The guerrillas who tried to follow Guevara in Bolivia were routed, and nowhere else in Latin America has guerrilla warfare in the countryside borne any fruit.

### New lease

The urban guerrillas of Uruguay, the Tupamaros, achieved some spectacular publicity, but they too seem to have been smashed. Meanwhile reformism has had a new lease of life on the continent, with Allende's regime in Chile and the 'left-wing' military government in Peru.

Castro has toured Chile urging strikers to return to work, and Guevara's perambulating public relations man, Regis Debray, has found a new client in Chile's free-mason president. When principle is dismissed as dogma, anything goes.

The Latin American working class has still shown its strength only briefly—in the Argentinian general strike in 1969, and in Bolivia in 1970.

But this has been enough to show the dangers of the guerrilla strategy. In Bolivia, the brother of one of the dead guerrillas told an American journalist: 'If the 100 or so armed guerrillas had been in La Paz in October, instead of lost in the jungles, the revolution might not have stopped with Torres.'

As the Latin American revolution develops, Che Guevara may remain a source of inspiration—but he will not offer a model to imitate.

IAN BIRCHALL

## Strikes

by Richard Hyman

Price 50p, postage 5p

FROM

IS BOOKS,  
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London E2 8DN

# people not profits

# Safety scandal: these men are 200ft up...

THIS new steelworks is costing £230 million. The safety equipment for the men in our picture who are painting it is costing nothing for they haven't got any—though they are working on narrow girders 200ft above a floor strewn with heavy machinery.

This is the scandal of British Steel. The Anchor project at Scunthorpe is a prestige project, will have the largest and most modern oxygen furnaces in Britain, and is intended to bring the nationalised steel industry into the forefront of world competition after years of neglect. Yet safety conditions are appalling.

When BSC chairman Lord Melchett took two coachloads of foreign VIPs to visit the site for this monster steel plant ten days ago, they were met by a demonstration of banner-waving shop stewards, protesting that behind the brightly-coloured paintwork lay a tangle of chaotic and potentially fatal working conditions.

They had been frustrated in their attempts to impose elementary safety requirements on the managements of BSC and their main sub-contractors Redpath Dorman Long. Then their anger flared when they saw the hazards being cleared and the floors swept spotless—to make a way for Lord Melchett and the visiting brass-hats.

## Walked by

Shouldering aside the attempts of a security guard to stop them, they made their way to the reception floor with a list of 80 major hazards to life and limb drawn up by stewards in the BOS plant and Medium Section Mill alone. Melchett, merchant banker and son of Sir Alfred Mond, munitions manufacturer and founder of the ICI empire, walked by in disregard, but several foreign visitors paused, asking for translations of the banners.

One BSC manager complained bitterly that the men could not have chosen a better time to point out to the world the shortcomings of BSC.

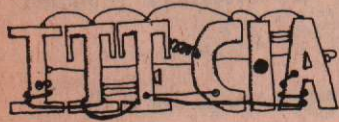
Behind all this lies a record of appalling management and design work and construction done on the cheap. Safety has been the first thing to be sacrificed.

Five men have been killed on the Anchor project since March 1971, and there have been more than 200 serious accidents.

Two of the men who died were industrial painters. Three hundred painters work on the site, employed by J D Tighe and company. These men work up to 200ft up, and their equipment consists of single reinforced sections of narrow staging, without railings, on a couple of scaffold bars lashed to girders.

Many of the unused scaffold bars lying around the floors are apparently intended for the use of the painters in constructing safe platforms for painting roof sections and columns. But

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Painters at work on roof beams at the Anchor steelworks site, Scunthorpe. No safety stages or cradles are to be seen

## by PETER INGHAM

scaffolding is a skilled trade, and Tighe's will not employ the men to do it.

The painters work on a piecework system which allows no time or payment for putting scaffolding round a job, so the painters, often inexperienced, taken straight from school or the dole queue without training, are sent out into the roof spans with merely a plank for access. No approved staging, no cradles, no safety ropes, no bosun's chairs, no safety nets.

If any painter joins UCATT, the building workers' union, and tries to do anything about these conditions, he is sacked.

So far the union has done nothing for these painters. Only the militancy of the Redpath Dorman Long stewards has kept their conditions from being even worse.

Work for the men on the ground is no safer. The safety stewards' report on the BOS plant concluded that it 'is a death trap to every person working in it. Safety is just not in operation.'

The most frequent hazard is the unused steel stacked on the various floors of the plant—piping and pipework, scaffolding and steelwork, often badly stacked in working areas.

This is the responsibility of Redpath Dorman Long (RDL), who are clearly exposing men to danger by skimping on properly organised stockyard space at ground level.

Hazards are also caused by the way components are moved from one level to another. The main structure of the BOS plants is not, it seems, designed with enough permanent and temporary goods hoists, for flooring already fastened in place is frequently dismantled to allow components to be hoisted through.

The floor plates thus removed are simply put back loose, ready for the

next lift—or simply left open. On the conveyor level, a floor nearly 200ft up, an access hole 12ft square was merely roped off with pieces of red string.

Two other holes at the same level, each big enough for a man to fall through, were loosely covered with circular wooden barrel tops. They were only slightly larger than the holes they covered—if a man came across one of these in poor light conditions, or tripped, it could cost him his life.

These inadequate and penny-pinching hoisting methods mean that large numbers of portable winches are often scattered around the floors. Sometimes materials are lifted from the main aisle of the building by conventional cranes and swung on to the different levels, either manually or with block and tackle.

Once this risky process had been accomplished, components would be hauled across the floor, often across the loose floor plates, by winch—with the constant risk that a snag could cause floor plates, components and men to fall below.

## No rights

In one area of the BOS plant an overhead gantry crane, eventually to be used in steel production and capable of lifting more than 100 tons, is used to lift construction components into place. This involves more than a few problems: where the load may only be 30cwt, its hook alone weighs five tons.

Although the crane's lift is nearly 170ft, communication between ground and the driver on the gantry was by the archaic method of klaxon and hand signals. Yet nearly all management personnel on the site are equipped with portable radio telephones.

On questions of safety, the RDL stewards have no rights of representation for workers employed by other sub-contractors, and scarcely any for their own men. The fortnightly safety meetings are purely consultative.

Procedure requires the stewards to go to the RDL safety adviser, who is then required to approach BSC, who then take it up with RDL. Nobody knows where the buck stops. To make matters worse, RDL is a wholly-owned subsidiary of BSC, so any costly extra safety innovations add to the cost for BSC.

As for the safety rules in the Factory Acts, the inspector lives 40 miles away and visits the site every 12 weeks.

So far the BSC response to the stewards' complaints about hazards has been obstructive and complaisant. They will not allow improved consultation by establishing a works council.

To get even the slightest and most common-sense improvement, the men have to use industrial action. A half-hour sit-in in the cabins secured the installation of safety telephones.

BSC refuted charges of excessively bad safety conditions which appeared in the local press by claiming that the accident 'cumulative frequency rate' for July was 0.99 compared with the construction industry average of 2.75. In other words, only five men have died on the Anchor site while the industry's average would have been 15—hardly much of a defence.

The stewards are now starting a campaign to have the site cleaned up and to have access roads cleared. As is the practice in power station construction, they intend that any materials found in an access area will be removed and impounded, to be returned only when the sub-contractor has paid the labour costs of the removal gang, whose sole job will be to keep up the access roads.

The day after Lord Melchett's specially-made private road into the heart of the BOS plant had opened, a man fell from a floor in another part of the site. The ambulance could not get within 50 yards of where he was lying injured.

IT IS only a matter of time before a disaster which could kill thousands of ordinary people is caused by the use of chemicals or explosives which could be used instead by road.

Middlesbrough is the centre of the giant Teesside steelworks, one of the most immensely dangerous corrosive, explosive, and toxic sites in the town. It is a miracle that a crash involving one of the giant blast furnaces did not occur last week.

But it is unfair to say that the Tory government does not intend to do something about this problem. It does—it intends to make it worse.

For Middlesbrough is one of the railheads that the Tory government and its Department of Environment are actively considering closing down. This would force even larger quantities of lethal loads on to the accident-prone road transport system.

True to form, the Tories are ready to waste life to cut back on the supposed burden of financing British Rail—a system of transport perfectly equipped to isolate dangerous loads from both people and other vehicles, and convey them under strict regulation to their destination.

The Department of Environment proposals which envisage the axing of Middlesbrough as a railhead are contained in a confidential 'Blue Book' whose details were revealed in the Sunday Times.

The document suggests that £9 million could be saved by putting 250,000 extra passengers and 180,000 tons of extra freight on to the roads every day and shutting the lines they can no longer use. Railway route mileage would be reduced by 1980 to 6700 miles, one third of what it was 12 years ago.

Station after station would be closed down and the regions with the most severe economic and social problems (the Highlands of Scotland, Wales, the South West of England and Teesside) would be almost totally cut off from access by railway.

And 21,000 railwaymen would be tossed on the scrapheap by 1980 on top of the 26,000 whom British Rail, with full union co-operation, is already planning to sack by the same date.

## Savage

The Tory Minister of Transport, John Peyton, and his pals at the Department of Environment have pointed out that the 'Blue Book' is only one of a number of alternative plans which they have prepared. It is, they say, the most savage.

But degrees of savagery matter little. What is important is the absurdity and deceptiveness of this whole approach to the movement of people and goods. Even the most superficial, critical examination of the so-called savings and the balance sheet on which they are drawn shows that the savings are an illusion and the books are fiddled.

No account is taken of the vast quantities of state funds needed to pay for 50,000 redundancies.

A ludicrous figure of £125,000 a year extra is lodged to cover the increased road maintenance costs which would arise from shoving 60 million extra tons of freight on the road system. This is an absurd and outrageous understatement and fully in keeping with the benevolent treatment successive governments secretly dole out to the powerful bosses' roads lobby.

Lord Beeching, the genius responsible for the last amputation job on British Rail, said last week that the new plan is exactly what he proposed eight years ago even after he had shut half of Britain's railways.

The driver of this acid-carrying tanker died when he opened the cap. The Tories plan to divert more dangerous chemicals on to the roads long before there is a serious disaster killing dozens?



rep  
LA  
FL

The purpose of this dangerous road is the aim of success of forgetting to social and economic roads.

No one would be applied then 50,000 closed down does not just. Any government game would be

Ba

British Rail try to balance the total capital of the system rolling stock, areas and the



# to murder the railways...

town like Middlesbrough is the scene of a major disaster. It will be caused because dangerous goods travelling in complete safety by rail are going to be carried by road. Dozens of lorries carrying loads of highly toxic or inflammable materials travel in and out of Middlesbrough. These vehicles have not yet unleashed a major disaster.

**NEWS  
IN  
VIEW**

Report by  
**MURIE  
LYNN**

of the first Beeching to boost wasteful and inefficient transport. And this is the new operation. The new venture depends on calculating the immense economic disadvantages of

talks of uneconomic the Beeching criteria individual road units, miles would have to be because traffic volume by keeping them open. which tried such a ridiculed.

**Finance**

by law is required to the books. It must pay the cost of the operation from start to finish, track, signalling, service like! British Rail must

pay massive interest on capital borrowed.

Roads are required to do nothing of the kind. The state and local authorities simply pick up the bills for all road construction in this country. No interest is levied. The funds are simply made available.

Signalling and other forms of traffic control are thrown in free too. There is no British Roadways Board to count up and pay the fantastic cost of police, fire and ambulance services, the huge hospital bills which arise from the anarchy of road travel.

## Subsidy

If such a British Roadways Board did exist then in 1967 total income from purchase tax, licences and fuel tax would have been around £1200 million. Total expenditure (on new roads, lighting drainage, accidents, congestion, damage to health and amenities) would have been £3200 million.

This means that in 1967 a massive £2000 million public subsidy was necessary to keep the road system going. This is about five times the total annual cost of the whole British Rail system from which the Tories are determined to extract £9 million of illusory savings.

The case for railways is unanswerable. Your chances of getting killed are 50-times worse on the roads, of getting injured 1000-times greater. Railways are almost totally pollution free and they will never cause a holocaust in Middlesbrough's main shopping centre.

London's Victoria tube line can handle 50,000 people an hour on its two tracks. A motorway capable of moving this volume of traffic would have to have 12 lanes, taking up 30 times as much land.

The Tory moves against the railways come at the time when more and more serious knowledge is emerging on the hazards of motorway transport. But having completed one round of motorway contracts and finding that these are already overloaded 60-70 per cent of the time, the road mob are planning and scheming for twin M1s, M6s and a duplicate 'Spaghetti Junction'.

In Birmingham, the city which has devoted itself most fully to building roads, it is recognised that it has all been in vain. Even now the city engineer is desperately looking into



British Rail's Advanced Passenger Train, designed to travel Inter-City at 155mph: luxury for businessmen is all that will be left if Tories axe ordinary commuter lines.

mass transit systems—like railways—for some relief.

And in many countries real progress away from the madness of the roads is being made. Japan is currently engaged in a £13,000 million programme to revitalise the railways. High-speed track with trains travelling at 150 miles an hour are being installed and stopping stations are situated no more than one hour's drive from the population centres.

## Extras

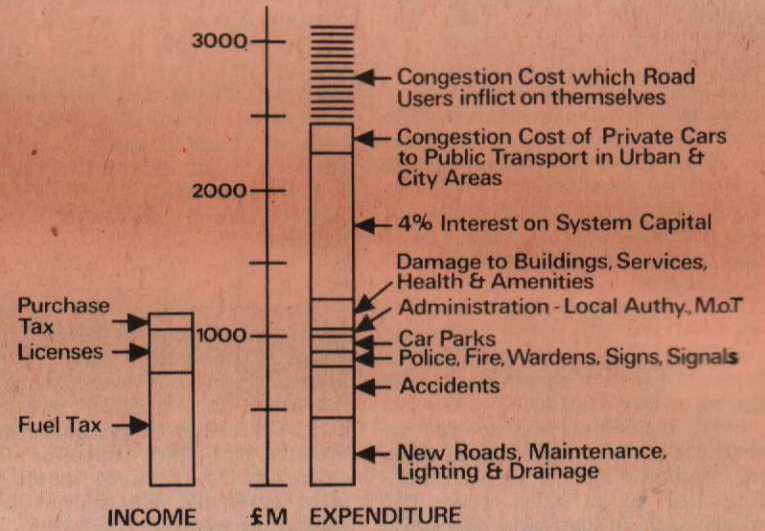
The Tory operation is a fine expression of what capitalist 'freedom' is about.

The road haulage and construction boys will have a handsome time. The 16,000 extra cars and 600 extra buses will produce £20 million juicy extras for the car industry. And lots of lovely railway land smack in the middle of towns will be up for grabs for the property speculators.

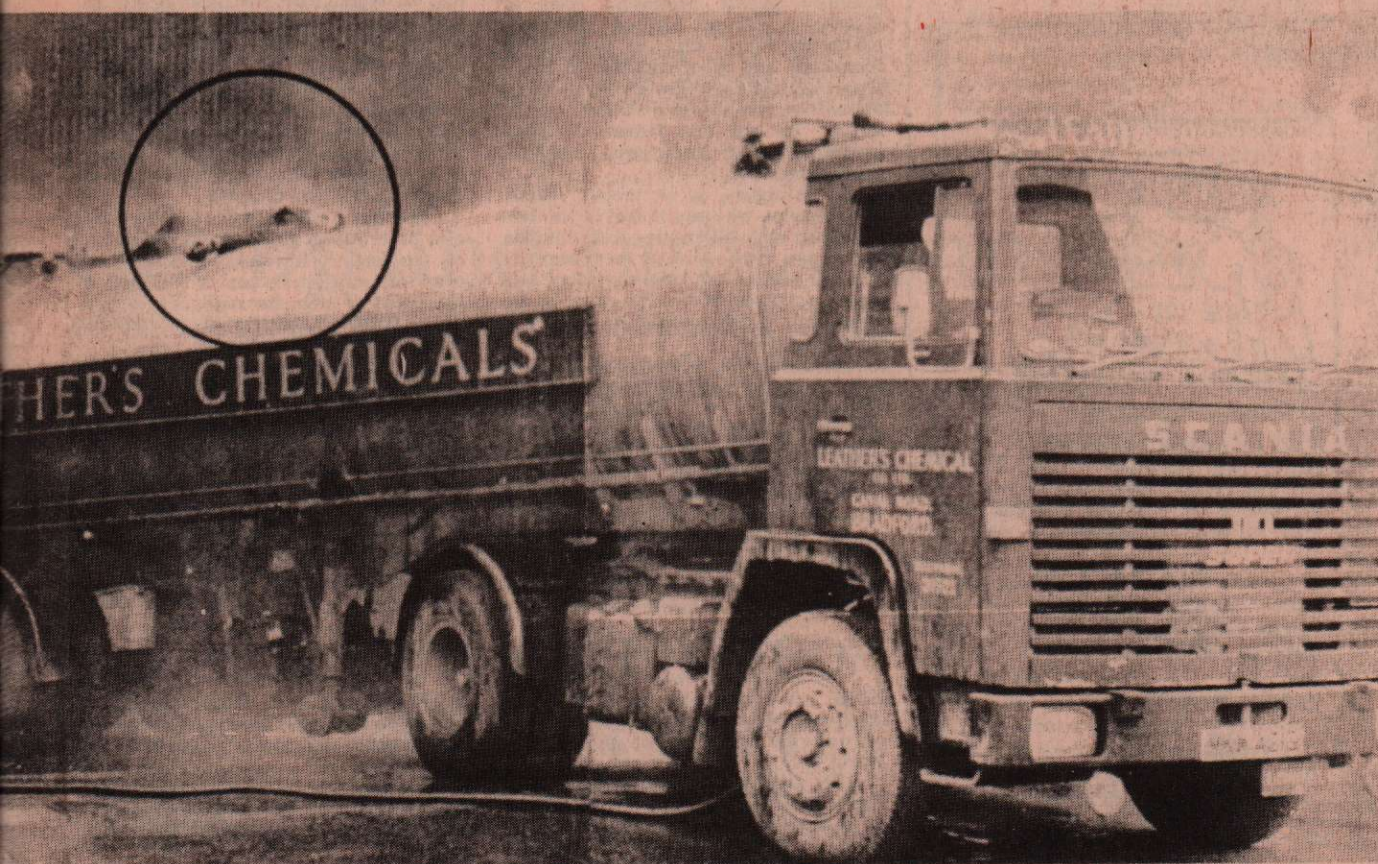
It is true that while the fantastic developments in rail technology (hovertrains, high speed trains linked to local, publicly owned feeder systems) could provide the basis for genuine free, fast and highly organised social system of transport for everyone, the new technology, implemented will be used to boost unemployment.

This is where the real values of a class of people whose newspapers bleat about workers standing in the way of progress are exposed as sheer hypocrisy and lies. They have raped and ravaged what is, 100 and more years after its invention and development, the most sensible and efficient method of transportation.

And while they waste £1.25 million a week on Concorde they employ vast teams of so-called experts to find a way to shave £9 million a year off the cost of railways.



If a British Roadways' Board existed, its accounts in 1967 could have looked like this diagram. If the operating statute was the same as a railway, then more money would have to be found for fences, bridges and higher quality maintenance.



## International Socialism 53

Sit-Ins: The Experience



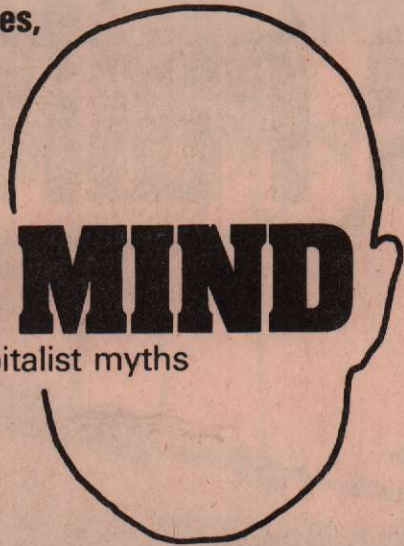
Lessons of the Sit-in  
Decline of Reformism  
Chile: Time for decision  
'Marxist' Left in India  
The Fourth International

October issue now out: 20p, or £1 for a year, from IS JOURNAL, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

'On the Fourth of July, conservative American ladies, utterly opposed to revolution today, celebrate the violent overthrow of a government'

# OUT OF YOUR MIND

Duncan Hallas on socialist ideas and capitalist myths



FEW WORDS in the English language are more overworked than the word 'revolution'.

Press and television speak of revolutions in this and that almost every week. A change in the administration of tax and welfare payments is greeted as a revolution.

Even a new washing-up liquid was recently billed as a revolution in pot washing. Such 'revolutions' are evidently thought to be desirable.

Revolutions in society, great upheavals involving the destruction of an old order and its replacement by a new, are, on the contrary, most undesirable according to the official wisdom of our rulers and those who speak for them. Maxims such as 'revolutions never change anything' are known to everyone.

Curiously enough, adages like this are only applied to revolutions in society, that is, to radical changes in the relations between people between rulers and ruled. Nobody suggests, for example, that the rotary piston internal combustion engine, also announced as a revolutionary advance, will not really change anything.

Apparently, technological 'revolutions', real and imaginary, are welcome, but the idea that corresponding social revolutions are necessary is looked on with horror.

Or rather they are looked upon with horror for the present and the future. For, of course, all the great powers in the world today are the product of revolutions. Not just Russia and China but equally the USA, Britain, France and, in a different way, Germany and Japan.

## 'Respectable'

As Rosa Luxemburg once put it: 'Every legal constitution is the product of a revolution.'

Every major power structure that exists, every major ruling class, came into existence by the revolutionary destruction of an older order. The further back in the past, the more 'respectable' the revolution.

Each year, on the Fourth of July, extremely conservative American ladies, utterly opposed to revolution today, gather under the auspices of 'The Daughters of the American

## That over used word revolution

*Revolution' to celebrate the violent overthrow of a legally established government.*

There are those who argue that, whatever may have been true in the past, revolution is now unnecessary or impossible, at least in enlightened and allegedly democratic countries like Britain. All necessary changes can be made, bit by bit, without any radical and fundamental transformation of the established institutions.

Insofar as these arguments are put by defenders of the capitalist system they can be dismissed as special pleading. In its day the middle class in Britain stood for and achieved revolutionary social and political changes. Having done so, and now reaping the fruits of power on the basis of those changes, it naturally does not want the working class to follow its example.

But there are also some who call themselves socialists and even communists who take the same point of view.

Around the turn of the century the pioneer 'revisionist' of the German Social Democratic Party, Eduard Bernstein, wrote a book which was translated into English under the title Evolutionary Socialism. Bernstein argued that the transition from capitalism to socialism would take place gradually, was indeed taking place as he wrote.

The growth of giant firms, itself a result of capitalist competition, was introducing more and more planning into the system. At the same time 'the political struggle for reforms will lead to a progressively more extensive

control over the conditions of production... as the rights of the capitalist proprietor will be diminished through legislation, he will be reduced in time to the role of simple administrator'.

The job of socialists, he said, is simply to push the process forward by pressing for those reforms that are in line with the 'progressive' tendencies in capitalism itself. So, gradually, almost without people noticing it, capitalism will be transformed into socialism.

*It is obvious enough to us today that Bernstein and his supporters were confusing real and important changes within capitalism—the passing of classic 'free enterprise' into monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism—with the passing away of capitalism itself.*

What Bernstein and his numerous imitators did not take into account was the question of power, of which class controlled the giant firms and the state that was increasingly forced to intervene in the economy.

## Majority

For, of course, socialism is not simply a question of economic planning. Hitler's Germany had a planned economy of a sort.

Socialism is a question of the emancipation of the working class, of the destruction of capitalist class rule and its replacement, as Marx said, by the rule of 'the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority'.

Such a change is a revolution by definition. When socialists speak of social revolution, as opposed to other forms of 'unconstitutional' change such as military coups, they mean the replacement of the rule of one class by the rule of the working class.

There may be room for argument about the methods open to establish workers' power and to construct socialism. There can be no argument at all that the transition is a revolution which will transform society from top to bottom.

*To suppose that it can be achieved by piecemeal adjustments is like supposing that a horse and cart can be changed into a motor lorry by tinkering with it.*

## BOOKS

# REVIEW

## Back in the fold?

COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND REVOLT, by Herbert Marcuse, Allen Lane £2.

HERBERT MARCUSE is almost the sole survivor of a group of marxist thinkers in Frankfurt, Germany, who were otherwise eliminated by the Nazis.

He was lucky to escape to America where he continued throughout the Cold War era his now solitary work of marxist scholarship.

The extreme isolation of his position flavoured his writing with a deep pessimism and growing doubt about the possibility of working-class revolution. His writings portrayed instead a system which had permanently overcome its inbuilt problems and a trade union movement which had been bribed away from its own socialist traditions.

And he believed modern methods of propaganda were now so effective that they could hoodwink the entire population about what was really happening. Marcuse's picture was quite similar to the bleak and hopeless world of George Orwell's book '1984' and for not dissimilar reasons.

But his newest book, Counter-revolution and Revolt, published this week simultaneously in London, Boston and Toronto, reflects the worldwide revival of revolutionary politics.

Now he argues that, although the organised left is still small, its prospects are better than ever before because modern capitalism is forcing more and



Herbert Marcuse

more people into conflict. He shows how the revival of calls for workers' control, for national independence and for women's liberation are not just demands for alterations in the present system but require for their real satisfaction a new, socialist form of society.

This book, written with a new fluency and passion, marks Marcuse's return to the revolutionary cause.

But much of what he so elegantly and at times pompously argues is, in fact, revolutionary common sense, giving the book a certain whiff of socialist mutton dressed up as theoretical lamb. He argues carefully against premature cries of 'Fascism', saying instead that the American ruling class is increasingly frightened and is attempting to make sorties against social groups which might present a revolutionary threat in the future. To call this fascism is, quite literally, not to know what you are talking about.

So he argues, as we would, against those groups who say that it is too late to defend our still-existing freedoms. He also claims that socialists are hampered by their own outmoded phraseology and jargon, a problem of which most of us are aware, but which is easier to point out than to remedy.

He also insists, as would any socialist not completely bamboozled by the parliamentary or Peaceful Road distortions, that the socialist aim is a complete negation of capitalism, not its modernisation or humanisation.

But it gets quite annoying when Marcuse discovers, apparently from a group of Italian intellectuals, that workers' councils are an essential part of government in a truly socialist society, or when he quotes Time magazine to

prove that workers go on strike.

And he still seems, deep down, to have real doubts about the most fundamental socialist tenet, that the working class are capable of both overthrowing this society and creating a new one. This leads him, for example, to favour an interpretation of labour statistics which suggests that there has been a corrupting upward movement of ex-manual workers, rather than the more sensible explanation that what is really happening is a reduction of formerly middle-class work to working-class level.

The latter part of the book contains a less interesting essay on the marxist approach to nature, a favourite Marcusean hobbyhorse, in which he reverts to his old habit of never using a four-letter word when a 16-letter one would do instead.

But the final essay, on marxist aesthetics, is wide-ranging and exciting, moving effortlessly from Brecht to the Jefferson Airplane and back, and returning to the controversies about art breached in Russia after the Revolution and Germany before fascism.

However annoying and probably revisionist too, there's a certain joy in reading a marxist born in 1898 who is still so intellectually alive. And there are even two attempted jokes.

DAVID WIDGERY

## The tree of tyranny

THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN, by Christopher Hill, Temple Smith, £5.

THE English Revolution is the one we usually forget—unless it's in the future, that is. The one in the past was, after all, so dreadfully middle-class.

Yet no revolution so far has failed to contain the seeds of future revolutions, and while the upheaval of 1640 created the wage labourers and the property rights for developing capitalism, many would have taken it very much further.

The subtitle of Christopher Hill's book is Radical Ideas during the English Revolution. The ideas he writes about are largely those of the men and women who were being uprooted to create the new working class.

They were on the receiving end of the injustice and brutality of the new rule of property, and rebelled against it with an insight into its workings that was to be lost for 200 years afterwards.

For them the revolution was not going far enough. They challenged the right to power not just of the king and nobles, but of the new middle class too. Why should the levelling stop at King Charles' head? 'That top bough is lopped off the tree of tyranny... but oppression is a great tree still.'

They challenged the rule of law: 'The rich, covetous oppressing men, who oppresseth the poor, they have the only power to choose law-makers, and they will choose to be sure such as will uphold them in their oppression.'

They challenged the right of property, often reaching so far ahead of their time almost to the labour theory of value: 'No man can be rich but... either by his own labours, or by the labours of other men helping him. If other men help him to work, then are those riches his neighbours' as well as his... Rich men receive all that they hath from the labourer's hand.'

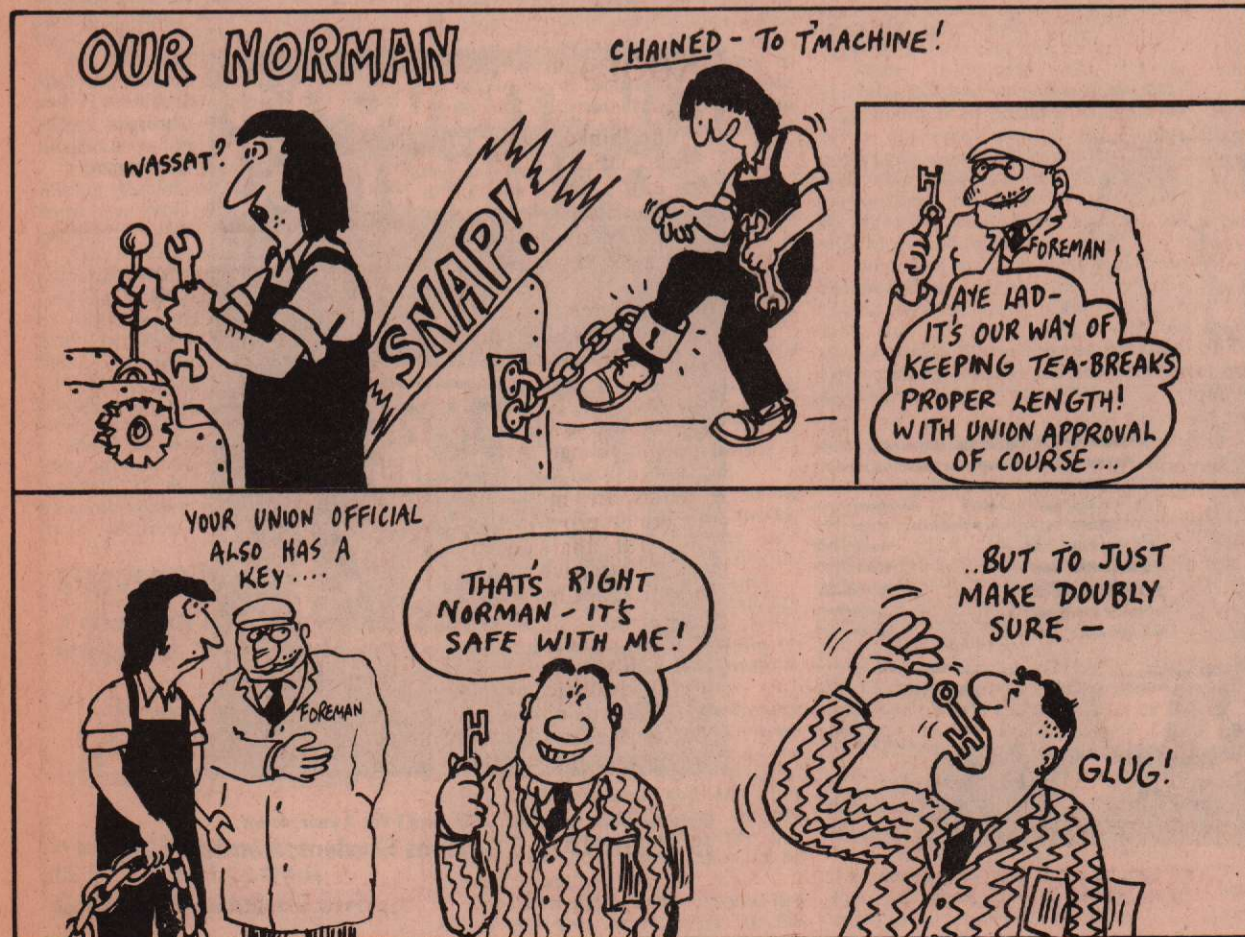
They challenged the 'truths' of religion, seeing that the church was largely a paid servant of state power whose function was not merely to guide men to heaven but also to keep them in subordination here on earth.

And this is where things become a bit of a bore, for so much of the radicalism of the English Revolution was glossed over with religion. Instead of speaking of the rights of man, the radicals preached of 'the spirit of Christ within us' and 'the truth of individual revelation'.

The seeds of future revolution were everywhere buried under the forms of religion. Christopher Hill does a good job digging them out for us, but this is not an easy book to read—for we've got to stand there and watch all the digging.

But if you've got the patience and are not put off by academicism (one chapter alone suffers from 219 footnotes), this book is well worth reading. I'm sure your local library will be able to afford the £5.

PETER MARSDEN



## BOOKWORM'S EYE VIEW

HERE are two books, newly in cheap paperback, to stem the winter offensive of patriotic drivel about the Second World War.

Len Deighton's novel Bomber (Pan Books 50p) provides, in a reconstruction of an RAF bombing raid, the first novel of war in the machine age. His humans, German and English, peasants, engineers and public-school twits, are all at the mercy of the weapon technology they have created as the raid goes slowly and murderously out of control. And

Deighton's heroes, working-class pilots who try to understand and protest against their respective war machines, are brushed aside too.

It is the first realist novel where the machines actually have more personality and more power than the humans who make them.

Angus Calder's two-inch thick The People's War (Panther 90p) brilliantly reconstructs social life in Britain during total war from a near-marxist viewpoint.

## REVIEW

INTERVIEW/POP

JOHNNY  
IN  
FULL  
SPEIGHT

JOHNNY SPEIGHT is the bloke who made it. He's 52 years old, has a big house in North London, has a big office which he shares with Spike Milligan, Ray Simpson and Alan Galton (of Steptoe and Hancock fame) in the Bayswater Road.

When you go in the entrance hall you find a cheque, drunkenly written, hanging in a glass frame. Next to the cheque, which is made out to Spike Milligan, is a notice which says 'In Case of Bankruptcy, Break Glass'. There is little risk of bankruptcy in the Speight household.

He was born in Canning Town, East London and left school at the age of 14. His father was a scraper.

'Father couldn't do dock work as such because he hadn't got the right connections—my first experience of the class system. He was a scaler, a casual labourer in the docks.'

## Irony

'That's the worst part of dock work. You scale the ship when it comes in and clean out all the tanks. He couldn't be a docker because to be one of those you had to be in the clique. You had to have a docker's ticket. Which is why I haven't got a lot of sympathy with the dockers when they are trying to fight Midland Cold Storage.'

There's a lot of irony about Speight. He's been accused, in this paper and many others, of being a racist. But he isn't. What one can say of him is that his politics very much reflect his own background: a kid from Canning Town who made it big, has turned himself into a kind of elitist who would do credit to the Harold Wilsons and Edward Heaths of this world.

Speight's university was the army. It was there he started to read George Bernard Shaw. 'Shaw was alive—almost every day there was some comment of his in the paper and I thought he was a comedian like Tommy Trinder. I thought I must catch his act some day.'

## Get-up-and-fight Lennon

SOME TIME IN NEW YORK CITY—John Lennon and Yoko Ono

JOHN LENNON and Yoko Ono have produced an outstanding album. While Paul is writing the score for the latest James Bond picture, and the rest of his pop contemporaries are groping for the next trend (or revival) Lennon is writing the rock'n'roll music of our times. It won't win him universal acclaim.

Several record reviewers were distressed by this intrusion of politics into the domain of fun-loving pop. The record companies are plainly not eager to promote this kind of music. The LP's release in Britain was held up six months, and the defaced British Army recruiting poster is missing from the sleeve.

The BBC and Radio Luxemburg have displayed their enthusiasm for such music by banning almost every track.

This response is scarcely surprising. The album's target is the system

Nigel Fountain  
talks to the  
creator of  
television's  
Alf Garnett

'And then I was in the army library one day and I saw this shelf full of books by Shaw and I thought, Christ, he writes as well! Shaw made me think I'd be a writer and I sold my drums and bought a typewriter. I was right according to Shaw and everyone else was wrong.'

It was around 1952 that Speight joined the Communist Party for a six-month period and at the same time became involved in the Unity Theatre, the Camden Town-based theatre group which still produces left-wing plays and entertainment. He was not impressed.

'I was in the CP for six months, mainly with Unity Theatre. They had a writers' group there and I got exasperated with them. The writers' group used to sit up in the roof sharing one typewriter and despised by everyone else.'

## Crap

'They seemed a bunch of idiots. They couldn't run a street meeting let alone the government. They would sit there and explain to me that Shaw couldn't write and that [Noel] Coward couldn't write. They are entitled to say that they didn't like them but not to say that they couldn't write.'

'Warren Mitchell [who plays Alf Garnett] went to Unity but on the



Speight (left) with Warren Mitchell: a deep pessimism about the future

theatre side they were better. They had some good actors there and Warren told me they did a couple of good reviews but he told me one of them and I still thought it was a load of crap.

'Attempting to write for Unity was more like preaching, preaching to the converted. They would put a play on that it was so obvious that it was thumping a big drum at you. To transfer those ideas to TV you have to put a suit of clothing around them.'

## Pressure

Speight went on to write a variety of plays which made little money. His first success was with the comedian Arthur Haynes with whom he did some memorable shows in the late fifties until Haynes died.

Speight's great breakthrough with *Till Death Us Do Part* came when he wrote one episode for Comedy Playhouse. Didn't Speight feel any pressure when he tried to put the series through the BBC?

'No, I think the BBC is very much maligned. It is a very marvellous broadcasting service. The reason they have so little politics is that the writers can't write it.'

What lies at the root of *Till Death Us Do Part* and was clear throughout my interview with Johnny Speight is a deep pessimism about the future of

mankind and the way that the working class in particular can change it.

'The world has been going Garnett's way for donkey's years, ever since they crucified Christ 2000 years ago, because, unfortunately, they are the mass. The majority is, unfortunately, always the winner.'

'I don't think that the human race has progressed after 2000 years, not mentally or philosophically that is. To me there have only been two major philosophers, Plato and Nietzsche. I don't regard Marx as a philosopher. I regard him purely and simply as an economist and the greatest that ever lived but he had no philosophy for putting it right.'

'Plato didn't either, but Nietzsche did. His philosophy went along with evolution. Of all of them Nietzsche could be proved right especially in his thing that a superman will take over in 500 or 100 years hence, if we last that long.'

His views are a strange mixture. He could talk about dockers holding the country to ransom. At the same time he would say that he agreed completely with strikes for further wage increases.

## Roots

'I think a docker is quite entitled to fight for what he thinks is right, to get his share of the national cake. He has to fight to get his food and his shelter and his education. And even then education and so on is just to fit them out to take their part in capitalist society.'

But he refuses to agree that strike action opens up questions in people's minds which cannot be satisfied by cash alone. 'To me this is not socialism. Socialism has to change people first, right down to the roots. I don't think people change through strikes.'

'All wage claims are marvellous because people are improving their own conditions but that doesn't necessarily mean a better world. I'm sure that it is evolution not revolution that will do it.'

His socialism is the socialism of the early Fabians, the Fabians of 50 years ago who were still idealistic in their own strange way. This even comes out in his soft spot for Stalin. Like the Webbs, only less gently, he believes 'Stalin had a job to do and he fucking well did it. The workers couldn't run that country or this.'

But Johnny Speight believes that Stalin and Trotsky should really have joined forces: 'They'd have made a

marvellous team.'

He believes that in any society 'the top brains must be allowed to run it, but they must run it for the benefit of the rest. That's what Mao is doing and although he has different problems from the Russians, he's doing quite well out there. At least they all wear the same and the Communist uniform is really quite smart. We change our fashions all the time which is all right if you're like me and can go down to Harrods and buy a coat whenever you feel like it.'

Speight's enthusiasm for Nietzsche and Shaw are part of a strand of elitist socialism which is totally divorced from both the practical struggles of a class-conscious trade union militant on one hand and the totally sold-out Harold Wilsons of this world on the other.

His socialism is a socialism which died in this country 40 years ago and lives on in odd individuals. It combines deep distrust of the working class with an even deeper distrust of the upper classes and mixes extreme sentimentality with a belief that everyone is only in it for themselves.

Although he is impressed by working-class leaders like Wal Hannington and Nye Bevan, who he has heard talking politics and telling jokes, he doesn't have any hope about socialist trade unionism as a whole. It's a funny but a very sad world.



Price 37½p, plus 6½p postage

**IS BOOKS**  
6 Cottons Gardens  
London E2 8DN

TONY TAIT

# 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'.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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 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 restriction.

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 man'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.



# THE UNIONS

The aim of this regular feature is to develop an analysis of developments in the trade union movement in order to help those

fighting for militant policies. We begin with a debate on the role of union officials and the policies of the International Socialists.

## 'Ultra-left' attack

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS would undoubtedly claim to be at least broadly based on the teachings of Marx, and in particular, Lenin. Yet you persistently advocate the major mistakes that Lenin (particularly in 'Left-wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder') stated were prevalent among young and inexperienced socialists and, therefore, must be combatted.

Marx and Lenin advocated that any real socialist must soberly and factually attempt to analyse any given situation to determine which policies would be most likely to advance the immediate interests of the exploited class and enable socialists to promote their ideas among the exploited class, in particular the working class.

While workers can spontaneously build organisations—for example, trade unions and tenants' associations—to advance their immediate interests, socialist ideas do not arise spontaneously among workers but must be introduced to combat capitalist ideology, which is prevalent among workers as a reflection of the capitalist society in which they have been born and lived.

This dual approach inevitably means a subjective assessment by socialists and, therefore, possible mistakes of analysis and, unfortunately, all too often the acceptance of less than 'pure revolutionary policy' conditioned by objective circumstances and assessment of the level of political consciousness of the working class.

### The 'so-called lefts'

The International Socialists reject such a complex approach by simply putting forward their subjective 'revolutionary' desires as a policy without any objective analysis or assessment of political consciousness. If these policies are not adopted by the working class then the blame can be laid on trade union leaders, whether right-wing reformists or 'so-called lefts' who are holding back 'rank and file workers' from real militant struggles against capitalism.

This attitude was reflected in two articles of 23 September, one by Dave Peers on the election of a new GMWU general secretary, the second by Raymond Challinor.

Peers referred to the Morning Star's comment that 'the support of progressive members of the union is likely to go to Mr David Bassett' which is only a suggestion of the best choice of candidates in the view of the Morning Star and nothing else—ie, no implication that this alone will alter the character of the GMWU. Peers states that 'Only the rank and file movement

will restore the GMWU to the membership'. If this means a fight for rank and file control of the trade union movement through periodically elected committees and full-time officials, this of course is the policy that the 'so-called lefts' have been advocating for years. But does it also mean that the International Socialists would agree to their members being elected as full-time officials and, if so, how can we be sure that they will not become 'so-called lefts'?

Raymond Challinor refers to militancy in general and, in particular, against the Industrial Relations Act as 'the last thing union leaders want' and their desire 'to restrain the rank and file to muffle their protests and keep them within limits that do not endanger the system'.

He adds: 'Union leaders, like the government, see that shop floor militancy constitutes a threat to them... the union leaders have no desire to make swingeing changes to redistribute the national income radically.'

On what basis has Challinor the arrogance to suggest, for example, that AUEW full-time officials with a life-time of militant activity as shop stewards, convenors, members of district and national committees which determine policy, become non-militant when they are elected on their publicly-stated militant record and policy as full-time officials, subject to re-election?

This illustrates the fundamental fallacy of the International Socialists' position because, if taken to its logical conclusion, it can only mean, as Lenin pointed out 50 years' ago, that working-class leaders of either political parties or trade unions would inevitably be non-militant and non-socialist because the militants would either not contest for election or, having succeeded after contesting, would by some magical formula be converted into non-militants or non-socialists.

If I am wrong, would IS please state whether it is contended that:

1. Socialism would be achieved in Britain without socialist MPs (IS members or others) being elected?
2. Without a majority of British people being won for a socialist policy (with or without first having elected any socialist MPs)?
3. Are IS members permitted to contest for full-time office in a democratic trade union such as the AUEW where all policy is determined by members working at the trade? If so, when elected, would they implement the policy of the district committee and national committee in accordance with AUEW rules or would they implement their own policy even if in conflict with that of the members, whether militant or non-militant?—BOB WILLIAMS, 'so-called left' union official, Oldham, Lancs.

## NEED FOR SOCIALIST IDEAS IN THE UNIONS

Roger Rosewell, Socialist Worker Industrial Correspondent, replies:

BOB WILLIAMS' letter raises a number of points. I will attempt to deal with them briefly. First, let me reply to his questions:

1. Yes, socialism might be achieved without there being any socialist MPs. The International Socialists have nothing in principle against contesting parliamentary elections, but we do not believe that socialism can be achieved through parliament.

Parliament is not the place where the working class demonstrates its real strength. A recent example proves the point.

Although in 1970 the Tories won a parliamentary majority, 11 million people voted Labour. But the Labour opposition proved itself quite powerless to prevent the passage of the Industrial Relations Act, despite an enormous amount of huffing and puffing.

In July of this year five dockers were jailed under the law. Did the 11 million votes received by the Labour Party secure their release? Of course not. On the contrary, it was the magnificent response of the dockers and the solidarity action of other groups of workers that freed the five.

In terms of parliamentary election 45,000 dockers count for fairly little but by using their industrial strength they constitute a force no government can ignore. It is this force—the working class using its industrial power—that revolutionaries seek to influence and lead.

2. The International Socialists certainly do not support the idea of a small group of people trying to seize power on behalf of an indifferent or even hostile working class. On the contrary, we believe that socialism can be achieved only when the working class itself takes control of society.

Within every workplace and trade union our members fight to raise the political and

organisational level of the working class struggle with this goal in view.

It is precisely because we believe that socialism can be achieved only by the mass action and involvement of the whole working class that we reject the so-called parliamentary road. For under the parliamentary system the mass of workers are supposed to be passive and not intervene in political life except for a few minutes every five years when they cast their votes.

We do not believe that the mass of workers should sit back and wait until, some fine day, 50 per cent plus one of the population vote for socialist MPs. The working-class movement can struggle against capitalism in the here and now and in the process build forms of democratic control of that struggle far superior to the parliamentary system.

### MILITANT

3. Yes, members of IS are permitted to stand for elected trade union offices on a clear programme drawn up after proper discussion with other members. Once elected, they are bound by the democratic decisions of the union.

But that cannot be the end of the matter. The job of revolutionary trade unionists is not only to be bound by majority decisions. We have also to press continually within the union for militant policies and to vigorously oppose all policies we believe to be wrong.

And in cases where the policies laid down by the union conflict with the interests of the working class, it is necessary for our members who are trade union officials to oppose and defy such policies.

For instance, if the TUC agrees to co-operate with the Tory government in holding down wages, it will be the duty

of trade union officials to DEFY that class collaborationist policy. We do not support the left wing passively, accepting the domination of the right wing. Officials should fight any class collaborationist policy and appeal to the rank and file to defend them against disciplinary action from the right-wing leadership.

One final point. Bob Williams asks how Ray Challinor can suggest that militants can be transformed into non-militants when they are elected to full-time office?

Here are two examples that provide an adequate basis for such a statement. Bob Wright, the AUEW 'left-wing' executive council member for the North West and Midlands, sits on the joint CBI-TUC conciliation service. Does Bob Williams think he is correct to do so?

Hugh Scanlon decided not to vote against breaking off the TUC talks with Heath. Is Scanlon right or wrong?

Perhaps Bob Williams can explain how the joint conciliation service with the CBI and the talks with Heath are not examples of 'non-militancy'. If so, I would like to hear him.

Many people quote Lenin's words about ultra-leftism, but give them a quite different meaning to that intended by Lenin himself.

When Lenin criticised some tactics as 'ultra-left' he did so as leader of the Bolshevik Party which had led a revolution in Russia and was consciously trying to spread it to the rest of the world.

When Bob Williams employs the same term, he does so in a quite different way, to mean that revolution itself is 'ultra-left' and that the parliamentary road, which Lenin despised, is the correct one. Had he lived 50 years ago, Bob Williams would probably have described the revolutionary party of Lenin and Trotsky as 'ultra-left'.

### THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

#### SCOTLAND

Aberdeen  
Cumbernauld  
Dumfries  
Dundee  
Edinburgh  
Fife: Dunfermline/  
Cowdenbeath  
Glenrothes  
Kirkcaldy  
Mid-Devonshire  
Milton Keynes  
Northampton  
Nottingham  
Oxford  
Redditch  
Rugby  
Telford  
Warley  
Wolverhampton

#### NORTH EAST

Bishop Auckland  
Durham  
Hartlepool  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne  
South Shields  
Spennymoor  
Sunderland  
Teesside E  
Teesside W

#### NORTH

Barnsley  
Bradford  
Doncaster  
Grimsby  
Halifax  
Huddersfield  
Hull  
Leeds  
Ossett  
Scarborough  
Selby  
Sheffield  
York

#### NORTH WEST

Barrow  
Blackburn  
Bolton  
Crewe  
Kirkby  
Lancaster  
Manchester  
Merseyside  
Oldham  
The Potteries  
Preston  
Salford  
St Helens  
Stockport  
Wigan  
Wrexham

#### MIDLANDS

Birmingham NE  
Birmingham S  
Coventry  
Dudley  
Leamington and  
Warwick  
Leicester  
Loughborough  
Mid-Devonshire  
Milton Keynes  
Northampton  
Nottingham  
Oxford  
Redditch  
Rugby  
Telford  
Warley  
Wolverhampton

#### EAST

Basildon  
Beccles  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Colchester  
Harlow  
Ipswich  
Leiston  
Lowestoft  
Norwich  
Peterborough

#### GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton  
Bexley  
Camden  
Chertsey  
Croydon  
East London  
Enfield  
Fulham and  
Hammersmith  
Greenford  
Hackney and  
Islington  
Harlesden  
Harrow  
Hemel Hempstead  
Hornsey  
Hounslow  
Ilford  
Kilburn  
Kingston  
Lambeth  
Lewisham  
Merton  
Paddington  
Reading  
St Albans  
Slough  
South Ealing  
Tottenham  
Walthamstow  
Wandsworth  
Watford  
Woolwich

#### WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath  
Bristol  
Cardiff  
Exeter  
Gloucester  
Llanelli  
Mid-Devon  
Neath  
Plymouth  
Swansea  
SOUTH  
Ashford  
Brighton  
Canterbury  
Crawley  
Eastbourne  
Folkestone  
Guildford  
Portsmouth  
Southampton

# Distorting the facts on Six Counties

JOHN NEWSINGER's attack on your Northern Ireland correspondent, Mike Miller (21 September) is based on complete ignorance or complete distortion of the most basic facts about Northern Ireland.

Firstly he writes 'there is no Machiavellian Tory plot to keep Ireland partitioned'. That may be true today. It certainly was not true fifty years ago, when the Six County statelet was set up.

The whole history of Northern Ireland for the last 100 years has been a history of the landowners and industrialists of the area working hand-in-glove with a major section of the British ruling class to encourage religious bigotry among the Protestant population.

The Unionist Party is, after all, the same party as our own Conservative Party. Indeed, until not so long ago, the Tory Party in England went under the same name.

Newsinger goes on to write that 'The Protestant community considers itself to be British not because it is pro-imperialist but because of the historical development of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the British economy.'

What nonsense this is. The whole of Ireland was an 'integral part of the British economy' until the 1930s. It is increasingly so again today. And the Catholics in the Six Counties are operating in the same 'integral part of the British economy' as the Protestants. So this fact alone cannot explain the support for British rule by the Loyalists.

What is lacking from Newsinger's account is the fact of discrimination in Northern Ireland, the fact that the better jobs and houses have traditionally been distributed as patronage by the pro-British political machine of the Orange Order. The result is that unemployment among Catholics is about twice as high as among Protestants, that it is marginally easier for Protestants than Catholics to get council housing, that in the past areas like Derry City that were overwhelmingly Catholic were ruled by Protestant, Unionist councils.

The Loyalists have always regarded one of their 'rights' to be the right to political domination over the Catholic population. And the Protestant workers have identified with the instruments of this domination—the police, the army, imprisonment without trial, the pogroms—because of the marginal privileges it has brought to them.

Both Newsinger and many of the Provos seem to think that this situation is really in the interests of the Protestant workers. Newsinger draws the conclusion that therefore the Six Counties should remain part of Britain and, presumably, that the British Army should remain there to protect the Protestants' 'rights'.

The Catholic sectarian element among the Provos draws the conclusion that in the long run the Protestants must either accept incorporation into a 32 County version of the present southern state or be driven into the sea.

Revolutionary socialists reject both these conclusions, because we reject their common premise. The Protestant workers suffer just as much as the Catholics from exploitation by British and Belfast-based big business. Despite their marginal privileges over the Catholics, they put up with wages and conditions that most workers in Britain would not tolerate.

They cannot fight these conditions without at some point clashing with the forces of the British state. They cannot really begin to solve the fundamental problems that face them without uniting with Catholic workers to smash the state machine in the Six Counties, including the RUC, the UDR, the Unionist Party and the Orange Order, and driving the British

## LETTERS

Letters to Socialist Worker must arrive first post Monday. Write or type on one side of the paper only. Keep letters to about 250 words. Letters may be cut for space reasons.

Army out.

The point is that, precisely because they have been discriminated against, the Catholic section of the working class has come to a confused awareness of the need to smash the existing political structure while the Protestants still identify with that structure. This presents enormous problems for many revolutionary socialists in Ireland.

But it is no solution to such problems to put on the red, white and blue tinted glasses of the Loyalists. Newsinger's attempts to do so merely lead him to deny the most fundamental features of the Irish situation.—STUART MORGAN, London N16.

### Trotsky

JOSEPH LOSEY'S film *The Assassination of Trotsky* is a work of fiction. It is not obligated, any more than is Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, to be 'true' to reality. The reality of the film is wholly constructed—it is a fictional reality.

Rather than concentrating on that fiction—the patterns and structures which the film text establishes—Paul Foot, in his review (21 October) mistakenly subordinates that fictional text to some external historical 'truth'.

The film when measured in this way is found to be wanting. 'By forsaking the main political area of their political subject, Mosley and Losey have succeeded in creating a character precisely opposite to that of Ramon Mercader.' This may be so, but it is quite irrelevant to an understanding of the film.

It is very worrying to encounter such a realist and philistine view of art in a socialist paper. Films are seldom if ever direct reflections of the 'world' and to demand that they ought to be (in the idealised manner in which Paul Foot appears to make that demand) is nothing less than a reactionary call for socialist realism.

Indeed, if Losey's film is to be thought reactionary, as Paul Foot suggests it is, it would need to be thought so for the 'bourgeois realism' which it practised—its acceptance of the established system of depicting reality.

In fact, it is Paul Foot, not Joseph Losey, who subscribes to such established depiction. Losey, to a degree, subverts that

## Too many misses won't make a hit

WHY did Socialist Worker last week not report or comment on the confrontation between the Ulster Defence Association and the British Army?

This is an event of the highest importance and Socialist Worker had several days before the printing date to at least comment on it. This is not the first time that Socialist Worker has lagged behind events in its reports. Among others there was the prisoners' revolt.

How are readers to know what the IS attitude to these events is if they are ignored by the paper?

In the advertisement for the 16 page paper last week you wrote that the bigger paper means 'more news, more pictures, more facts, more politics to arm you in the fight against the Tories and their system.' I hope you live up to your promise!—TREAD (TGWU), Dunfermline, Fife.

● There is nothing more upsetting than putting a paper to press late one night then waking up the next morning to find that a major news story has broken and you cannot cover it. It is a problem that plagues all weekly papers and Socialist

depiction in the text of the film. Foot condemns the subversion.—SAM ROHDIE, London N1.

### Violence

BOTH during and now after the building workers' strike, the employers have sought and got a great deal of press coverage for their allegations of violence and intimidation used by the strikers. They have kicked up blue murder about the necessity to enforce the law on picketing.

Little or nothing is said about the brutal beating up of Mike Shilcock, the Birmingham building worker or the air gun shots at pickets on the WC French/Balfour Beatty site at Beckton in London. And the press which supports the building employers calls for tough anti-picket laws, has nothing to say about the each and everyday law breaking carried out by the big construction firms. These include breaches of the Factories Act and Construction Regulations, the widespread though illegal use of the lump, the numerous cases of price fixing and corruption.

The hypocrisy of the press becomes clearer to me almost every day. When I first started reading your paper it was just after the killing of the Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games. I must admit to being absolutely horror struck by this sad turn of events.

But I knew absolutely nothing about the plight of the Palestinians, and am grateful for what your paper did to put this information into the hands of militant workers and socialists.

These days as we get report after report on the Aldershot bomb trial, it is interesting to note that the repeated fascist bomb attacks in Italy don't rate a mention in the press while some hi-jack of a plane is on the front page. Last Sunday the fascists bombed a train carrying 900 trade unionists to the depressed South of Italy to show their solidarity with workers and peasants.

And it is apparently all right to kill diplomats when you do it with planes and men with uniforms, as the Americans now admit they did with the diplomat at the French government offices in Hanoi. Still, that's best suppressed as well. Don't let up in exposing the lying hypocrisy of the so-called free press.—BILL SWANSON, London N22.

## RAYMOND CHALLINOR



FIFTY YEARS AGO a small group wended its way through the East End of London. To the accompaniment of a band and led by the corporation mace-bearer, the procession carried a banner saying 'Poplar Borough Council marching to the High Court and possibly to prison'.

It was, in fact, to prison. Thirty-one councillors refused to obey a law introduced by a reactionary Tory government. It would have further increased the sufferings of the people of Poplar. So they were held to be in contempt of court—and sent to Brixton jail.

But the impact of their stand had massive repercussions. Other councils were prepared to follow their lead.

The government had a vision of local government throughout large parts of the country being paralysed. It capitulated and withdrew the Act. Poplar had won.

But today the situation is very different. Where those courageous councillors had backbones, their modern counterparts have merely marshmallow.

The typical Labour councillors of today gain their spiritual inspiration from Poulson not from Poplar. They would far rather have sweeteners from speculators than surcharges from auditors.

In Northumberland alone, 300 representatives on local authorities have benefited from Mr Poulson's generosity. In the neighbouring county of Durham, our good friend Alderman Andrew Cunningham sat as chairman of Felling UDC's housing committee for six years.

Angry and puzzled ratepayers there wonder why architects' fees for council flats are a quarter of a million pounds more than they cost for similar projects in some other places. They cannot see any merits in design that could account for this colossal difference.

But the people of Felling have not seen the flats from the best angle. They look remarkably beautiful when viewed from the air, particularly if you are flying off on a holiday paid for by Mr Poulson.

### AB Heath

IN A RECENT SPEECH, Edward Heath said it was wrong for people to believe that they could pick and choose, deciding what laws they would obey and which they would break. Every Act of parliament should be complied with, he claimed.

But, alas, the government does not set a good example. The proposals it placed before the CBI and TUC in their present series of discussions would lead, as The Economist pointed out, to the gap between the wages of men and women remaining as big as it is at present.

Is Mr Heath saying that the Equal Pay Act, 1970, should just be disregarded? If he is, then he is taking the same line as successive governments have adopted towards the disabled.

A Bill parliament passed a generation ago stipulated that all firms should take a certain percentage of disabled workers. Although employers have disregarded this Act—for example, 39 out of 43 employers in Teesside openly admitted they were breaking the law—no government has ever made a prosecution.

Let the disabled languish at the labour exchanges with no prospect of work while bosses increase their profits by employing only the fit and able-bodied—no Tory government would interfere with this violation of the law.

### Royal ride

WHEN STUDENTS at Stirling University showed discourtesy to the Queen, they were behaving in a fine British tradition that dates back to 1649. It is even said that some of those who attended the execution of Charles I were drunk at the time.

But be that as it may, the habit of showing contempt for the monarchy—a belief closely associated with the socialist principle

## Oh! for the days when Labour men had backbones

that nobody should be permitted to inherit wealth and privilege—has a long history.

In the First World War, the King went to visit the troops on the Western Front and unfortunately made an unscheduled departure from his horse. Far from commiserating with His Majesty on his painful loss of dignity, it inspired a journal called *The Socialist* to burst forth into poetry:

*When the King went forth to war,  
God only knows what for,  
He cheered his men to the ghastly fray  
(Through a telephone eighteen miles away)  
And he fell on the field of war!  
He was picked up terrible sore  
(For he stuck in the mud with a pig-like grunt,  
When he fell off his horse at the back of the front)  
And he groaned oh! lor! oh! lor!*

### Obscene

IN THE PAST few months I have seen a number of photographs of nudes that I consider to be obscene. Three in particular caused me distress.

The first showed naked Vietnamese children, crying and fleeing in fear, after they had been showered with napalm. The second displayed the body of an Irishman. It was scarred with the effects of torture, burns and bruises caused by British soldiers.

And the third appeared in a medical journal—the thin, emaciated body of an old-aged pensioner. These, to me, are examples of obscenity, not the sort Lord Longford talks about.

His Lordship, however, has nothing to say on such matters. He does not protest about the Vietnamese war.

He is silent at the present time when the British government, one of the largest producers of napalm, refused to even send a representative to a United Nations committee which is considering outlawing the diabolical substance.

He has never joined a protest march against British brutality in Northern Ireland. Nor has he even participated in a campaign to increase old-age pensions substantially, so that the thousands of old people who cannot afford sufficient food and heat will not die of hyperthermia this winter.

Lord Longford's campaign is a smokescreen, a distraction from the real issues. Instead of being so concerned about the fleshier parts of the female anatomy, he should devote his time to attacking the real evils in society, the powerful life-denying forces that exploit people in Britain today.

But Lord Longford is not the type of man who is likely to do this. For he is known to regularly frequent a house of ill-repute. I mean, of course, the House of Lords.

## BOOM OR BUST?

The crisis in the aircraft industry

'The huge sums of money being spent on Concorde will only serve to save a few hours for businessmen or to carry on pleasure trips a tiny handful of privileged people. We have to ask what sort of society refuses to spend even a small amount of money providing a reliable and efficient bus service for ordinary people while at the same time wasting millions on Concorde.'

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# Solidarity link by car plant strikers

SHOP STEWARDS from the Britains Group British Leyland assembly plants in Dublin applied this week to join the British Leyland combine committee.

This move is the direct result of a week's tour of the Midlands car plants by Barney Morris, secretary of the Britains shop committee, to raise money and solidarity for the five-week-old official strike at the company's six Dublin plants.

The strike aims to win an increase in the bonus rate, and a major bone of contention is the procedure agreement. This was signed in 1947, and is completely pro-employer, allowing the boss to change track speeds or lay men off with just one hour's notice.

On Monday management started to get really tough. All 800 workers were sacked.

This is where international solidarity is a powerful weapon. Britains assemble British Leyland cars from parts made in the UK. The fight against the sackings can be strengthened with a move from

British Leyland workers in this country to black any further movement of parts or fully-assembled cars to Ireland.

Barney Morris has visited almost every British Leyland plant in the Midlands and Oxford and a few other car plants too.

He told Socialist Worker that he had been well received and was amazed at the strength of shop floor organisation in the Midlands plants. In Ireland, shop floor organisation was still weak, with the employers insisting on dealing with full-time union officials, he said.

## Low pay

Dublin carworkers are members of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, a part of the British Transport Union. They showed international solidarity during the 1971 Ford strike in Britain, when a £2 levy was imposed on all members of the Dublin carworkers branch and raised more than £6750 for the Ford

workers.

Last week Barney Morris addressed a meeting of Coventry Trades Council where delegates voiced concern at the low rates of pay in the Dublin car plants, approximately half of Coventry basic rates.

The British management of Ford is already using the low wages and high productivity in Irish car plants as a stick to beat its employees in Britain.

Britains and British Leyland have just made an agreement with the Japanese car giants to assemble Datsuns and Toyotas in Britains' Irish plants. Now Ford UK has said that it cannot possibly meet its workers' current pay claim, not least because of future stiff competition from Japanese cars assembled in Ireland.

The strike could well turn into a long battle. Since there is no social security in Ireland, the 800 strikers depend exclusively on £5-a-week strike pay.

Donations and messages of support should be sent to Barney Morris, Secretary of the Britains' shop committee, c/o Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union, 112 Marlborough Street, Dublin 4.

# BLOW FOR SIT-IN MEN

LONDON:—Workers at British Leyland's AEC bus and truck assembly plant in Southall rejected by a small majority pleas from local union officials last week for a vote in principle for strike action to back workers occupying the B L Thornycroft factory in Basingstoke.

This was a blow to the workers at Thornycroft who have unanimously rejected a 'compromise' settlement and voted to continue their struggle into its 11th week. They are fighting the proposed sale of Thornycroft to the Eaton Corporation of America, which would mean a quarter of the workers would be sacked.

Thornycroft and AEC have much in common. Thornycroft make gearboxes for buses produced at AEC. Until recently AEC were on a four-day week. Despite this the management began stockpiling gearboxes so that at the start of the Thornycroft sit-in AEC management had 800 gearboxes in stock, two months supply.

But it is now only a matter of days before the first AEC lay-offs are announced.

Not only that, but there are persistent rumours at AEC that Lord Stokes' axe will take its next swing in the direction of the Southall plant.

Stokes has said he intends to make a saving of £25 million. The Thornycroft deal, if he can pull it off, will save him £9 million altogether so there is still another £16 million to be found.

In any event those workers at AEC who have been encouraged to believe that lack of militancy and co-operation with management is a passport to a secure future should note carefully the price the Thornycroft workers paid for 'co-operation'.

For last year, after their strike in response to large-scale sackings, the management promised in writing that 'the company agrees that in the event of redundancy there must be consultation at local level.' There was no such thing. Thornycroft workers have learnt beyond a shadow of a doubt that placing trust in management simply lines workers up for the labour exchange.

It is a lesson that AEC workers refuse to learn at their peril.

## Round one to the boss

BIRMINGHAM:—Management at British Leyland, Longbridge, began to make significant progress in their attempt to bring in Measured Day Work. Agreement has been reached with a negotiating committee, elected by the shop stewards, on mobility and transfer of labour and on lay-off payments.

The agreement is a slight improvement on what management originally offered. But it is no better than deals made at other British Leyland plants, and is worse than some of them.

No report back has been given to the stewards of the pieceworkers and it seems that the committee is happier in a pub with management than on the shop floor with the workers.

## Dunlop men strike to save jobs

WATERFORD, Ireland:—Workers at the Dunlop factory are on strike to prevent a management attempt to make a third of the workforce redundant.

The first sign of trouble came earlier this year when the manager left. But the managing director of Irish Dunlop then assured workers that they had 12 months work in hand. Long before the year was up the company called on the Waterford stewards to negotiate redundancies.

The workers refused to accept this, and voted overwhelmingly for strike action. The union, the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, which is the Irish section of the British Transport Union, backed the move.

The strike is particularly important, as redundancy is now the biggest problem facing workers in the South of Ireland. One worker in 15 in Waterford has been made redundant in the past year.

Dunlop are also threatening redundancies at their Cork plant. Yet they feel flush enough to give £20,000 a year to the British Conservative Party.

Messages of support to Dunlop Strike Committee, c/o ATGWU, Waterford, Eire.

## Stand-by ban by social workers

SOCIAL workers are the only people who work all day and night for a week at a time without any extra pay. They have to be available at their homes at nights for instant action to admit mentally sick people to hospital, to receive children and old people into local authority care, to escort runaway kids back to approved schools.

But they are refusing to put up with these conditions any longer. Social workers in at least 23 areas in the North West have joined others in six London boroughs who have banned these 'stand-by' duties until their claim for £4 for each 12-hour session is met.

Negotiations have been deadlocked for months, with the employers refusing to recognise the principle of the claim.

The authorities are spreading stories about the 'callous' behaviour of social workers in refusing to work under such conditions. But it is the authorities who are callous. Rising unemployment, poor housing and the soaring cost of living cause an increasing strain on everyone—and these are the ultimate causes of the overworked social services.

Social workers have recognised this by involving themselves in struggles like that against the Housing Finance Act. Other trade unionists must support their fight for decent working conditions.

# White-collar workers hit by Heath's £2 deal

by Mike McGrath (CPSA)

WHITE-COLLAR civil servants are the first group of workers to suffer from Heath's two-quad deal.

While the TUC tries to wheel and deal its way to a settlement with the government, civil servants are once again being used as the scapegoat for government policy.

The Heath proposals have been translated into practice in a way illustrated by a recent Civil Service department circular. This says that 'to give effect to the government's proposals . . . they would not enter into any new commitments to

increase rates of pay or allowances until further guidance is given.

The mass white-collar union, the Civil and Public Services Association, which has 186,000 members, should be taking the lead in the fight to defeat this attack on living standards. But instead a circular has been issued by general secretary Bill Kendall full of choice quotes such as: 'The CPSA national executive committee has no objection in principle to the idea of a prices and incomes policy if the terms are fair and realistic.'

All trade unionists in the civil service should be pushing for branch meetings to reject these monstrous directives of both management and union. But socialists in the civil service will be aware of the relative backwardness of many members as well as the new-found militancy of many, the latest being the Social Security workers.

The way to achieve the leadership we need is by the patient and systematic building of a rank-and-file organisation that will weld together the advanced sections and make them effective nationally. Only by doing this will we be able to stop these wretched compromises that the civil service unions are making with the government.

## Buses stopped

HULL:—The corporation transport fleet came to a halt on Monday when 200 maintenance workers struck in support of their claim for an extra £6. The men are among the worst paid in the area, with craftsmen earning £22 and labourers only £17. At a meeting the men voted to continue the strike despite pleas from union officials to return to work while the corporation considered the claim.

## IS NEWS

THE International Socialists' Fight the Tories Campaign got off to a great start in Yorkshire last week.

IS has played a prominent part in tenant struggles throughout Yorkshire. Last week those in Dodworth in Barnsley, Goole, Norfolk Park in Sheffield, Wingfield-Rockingham and Kiveton Park in Rotherham, Ferrybridge and York showed real signs of developing a rare head of steam.

The campaign got under way in Leeds with mass leafleting and paper sales on three large estates. Andreas Nagliatti spoke at well-attended meetings of the newly-formed IS societies in Hull and Leeds Universities.

The high point of the week was the tour of Paul Foot, the first since he joined Socialist Worker. He spoke on the subject of corruption and was enthusiastically received by 250 people at York University and by 80 people at another meeting at York, by 70 at Leeds College of Education, and at Kellingley Miners Social Centre, Knottingley—the first IS public meeting organised by the new Pontefract and District Branch, where 150 local people turned out. The tour has resulted in more than 20 applications for membership.

Bill Message, regional secretary said: 'This has been a marvellous start to the campaign. The prospects of a real breakthrough for IS in the next month are really tremendous.'

# WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive by first post Monday or be phoned Monday morning. Charges are 5p per line, semi-display 10p per line. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Invoices cannot be sent.

## MEETINGS

DES O'HAGAN, just released from Long Kesh concentration camp, will be opening a Birmingham Clann na hEireann forum on 'Ireland—the way forward', Digbeth Civic Hall, Mon 30 October, 8pm. All welcome.

THE FIGHT AGAINST LOW PAY IN EAST ANGLIA Sunday 12 November, 7.30pm Labour Club, 59 Bethel St, Norwich

ANTI-INTERNMENT LEAGUE DEMONSTRATION Sunday 12 November Assemble Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch) at 2pm, to march to Trafalgar Sq FREE ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS! BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND NOW!

LAMBETH IS public meeting: Unemployment and How to fight it. Speaker: Chris Harman. Wed 1 Nov, 8.15pm, South Island Library, South Island Place, Brixton.

IS TEACHERS' MEETING: Sat 5 Nov, 10.45am, at 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. All IS teachers should attend or send apologies.

CAMDEN IS is holding a public meeting on Tue 7 Nov, 8pm, at the Kentish Town Library, Kentish Town Rd, London NW5. Speaker: Chris Harman, on the Russian Revolution. All welcome.

BEXLEY IS public meeting: Chris Ryan on The Early Labour Movement, Thur 2 Nov, 8pm, at The Royal Oak, Spital St, Dartford, Kent.

FINE TUBES CONFERENCE: 28 Oct, in Birmingham. Coach leaving London 7.45am from Pancras Rd, by Kings Cross station. Return fare £1.25. For further details contact Mike Caffoor at 01-739 1878 (day).

WORLD'S END STRIKERS' SOCIAL Friday 27 October King's Head, Fulham (next to Fulham tube) Music, booze, 30p entry Extension applied for All proceeds to the strike fund

## NOTICES

WOMAN'S VOICE number 2: no more copies available. Money must be sent in now for copies sold, or copies returned please. WOMAN'S VOICE number 3 out on 1 Nov: orders now please to: Woman's Voice, 90 Mountview Rd, London N4.

GIRL REQUIRES ROOM IN MIXED SOCIALIST FLAT Phone Sandra at 01-459 4295

THE WORKER Newspaper of the Socialist Workers' Movement in Ireland October issue now out

Special article on Republicanism 7p per copy including postage, £1 for 25, from Kevin O'Doherty, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

CARWORKER Rank and file motor workers' paper Issue no 10 now out Special feature on sit-ins Eight pages, 5p per copy, orders of 12 or more post free. Write to CARWORKER, 214 Roundwood Rd, London NW10.

UNIQUE XMAS PRESENT? Chinese choir and orchestra perform The Internationale: long play record, 33rpm, 37p (post free). Send to DV, 16 Belmont Court, London N16 5QD.

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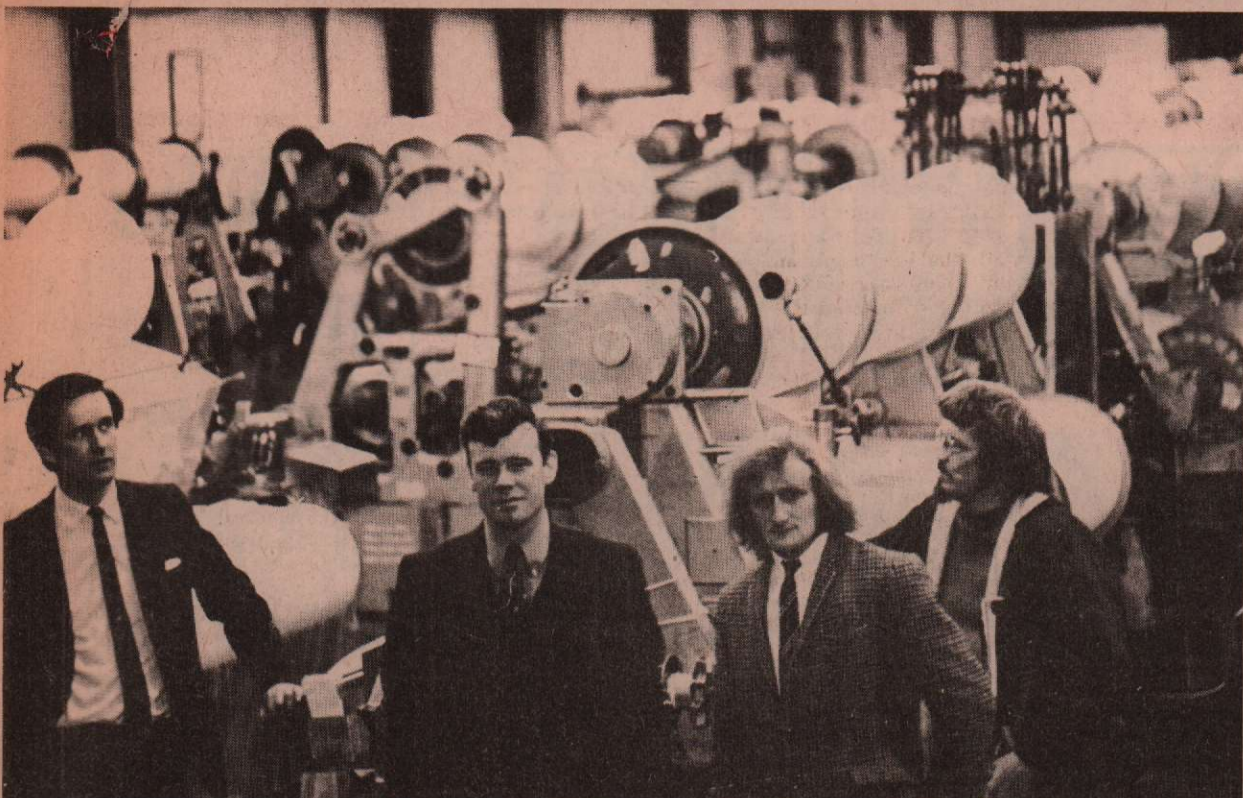
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analysis of the struggle against the Tories and the bosses



Some of the workers who have been occupying the Gainsborough Cornard factory in Great Yarmouth for the past seven weeks: Dave Arnold, convenor (left), and Peter Dye, one of the stewards (second from right) are seen here with Derek Calvert of Lowestoft International Socialists and Gordon Collins of Lowestoft Claimants Union. The workers are determined to prevent the owners, Carrington Viyella, from shutting the factory. Dave Arnold recently gave an account of the occupation to a meeting of the local IS branch and thanked IS branches throughout the country for their messages of support and donations.

# TORIES REFUSE 'STEP N' PLEA

by Dave Peers

**TYNESIDE:**—The seven-week-old strike of boilermakers at the Swan Hunter shipyards took on a new importance last Friday when the Department of Employment refused to allow its conciliation officers to intervene in the dispute.

Boilermakers president Dan McGarvey had asked the department to step in after the pay talks broke down, but his request was turned down by Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan in the light of the continuing series of discussions at Chequers.

It is not often that the conciliation services' mask of 'neutrality' is so clearly exposed for the world to see. The boilermakers have refused management offer of an immediate £2 increase, plus a further £1 in July. The offer goes beyond the new £2 norm the government is trying to impose on wages—so the conciliation.

Once again the Heath administration has revealed its masterly grasp of the class struggle. Whatever doubts and hesitations may have existed among the strikers about the success of their claim have now been removed. The boilermakers are out to win, and no Tories are going to stop them.

In fact the £4.70 claim, based on the rise in the cost of living since the present agreement was signed 18 months ago, is modest. If Swans were to concede the full claim, the Tyne men would still be several pounds a week worse off than boilermakers in the Swan Hunter yards on the Tees.

More important, they would still not have caught up with the rise in the cost of living. Because of tax and other deductions, a 16½ per cent increase in the cost of living needs a wage increase of 23 to 24 per cent just to keep pace.

So even an out-and-out victory on the original 16½ per cent claim will not restore living standards to what they were.

McGarvey's attack upon the Department of Employment is also a diversion to distract attention from his own role in the strike. Until last week McGarvey and the union executive were saying that there could be no further offer and no negotiations until the strikers returned to work.

Now McGarvey has declared the strike official and placed himself at the head of negotiations. His motives are obvious: if he had not intervened Swans would have been forced to deal directly with the stewards, which would have removed all the authority that the executive still has. His move is a fundamental challenge to the stewards who have led the strike so far.

A clear victory for the boilermakers will encourage workers everywhere to ignore the £2 a week wage limit on wage increases which is the centrepiece of the new Tory incomes policy.

## HOW HOUSE PRICES HAVE ZOOMED

THE Tory vision of a property-owning democracy is receding as the result of free enterprise in housing. Figures given by Julian Amery, Tory Housing Minister and slum landlord, last week show that in the past two years prices of new private houses rose by an average 37 per cent and second-hand houses by 45 per cent. In some regions the rise was more than 60 per cent and in some cities prices doubled.

At least part of this rise is due to the prospect of doubled council rents and Tory sales of council houses.

In Harlow New Town, where the whole town is up for sale by the government-controlled development corporation, people who bought houses six months ago at £5100 have been re-selling them at £10,500 each.

# Rent rises: Tories set to move in

THE Tories are taking action against the 'rebel' Labour councils who have not yet implemented the 'Fair Rents' Act.

Last week they sent a letter to 15 Labour councils in England and Wales telling them that unless they raise their rents within a month they will be in 'default'. This means housing commissioners will be sent to take complete control over the council's housing.

Similar letters have been sent to the 23 Scottish councils who have refused to implement the Act.

Within the next few months tenants in these areas can expect their rents to be raised and their councillors stripped of any control over housing.

Tenants' organisations in these areas must now plan to meet the housing commissioners with a rent strike. Rent strikes are certain to follow in many of the towns and cities and in some areas plans for a total rent and rate strike are being made.

## STRIKE PREPARED

**OLDHAM:**—The tenants' association is putting final touches to its plan for a partial rent strike from 13 November, when tenants face a rent rise of 90p.

The Labour-controlled council first hinted it might refuse to implement the Act, then applied to the government for a nil assessment, and has now completely surrendered to the Tory government's demand.

Tenants have anticipated this sell-out for some time and the association expects the overwhelming majority of the town's 14,500 tenants to refuse to pay the increase. Street and block committees have been formed on the large estates, and 80 per cent of tenants have signed a pledge to refuse to pay the increase and plans are being made to picket rent collectors and offices.

Tenants in the neighbouring district council areas of Royton, Failsworth and Lees have already faced their increases and 70 per cent are refusing to pay.

**SALFORD:**—This week a tenants association was formed on Trinity Estate—the last of the major estates to be organised. About 80 people attended the meeting.

Eddie Hough, an Engineering Union convenor, described the rebates scheme as a complete con from start to finish, and a Labour councillor expressed solidarity with the tenants, saying he was disgusted with his own party and as a council tenant would be withholding his rent.

The meeting voted unanimously for the new association to campaign on the estate for a partial rent strike.

**GLASGOW:**—In this area of high unemployment and declining industries tenants can't afford to pay the present rents. Last year, the city had to write off £12 million in rent arrears. 21,000 tenants were already on rent strike—of a sort!

The Labour-controlled Glasgow Corporation voted in April not to implement the 'Fair Rents' Act.

Their decision was influenced by the approaching municipal elections—and by tenants' militancy. The corporation also published a pamphlet, The Tory Housing Bill—and how it affects YOU, urging tenants to support them in their resistance.

Meanwhile tenants and trade unionists got together. In March, the Trades Council and the Council of Tenants, a federation of 21 tenants' associations, organised a joint conference to pledge support to tenants in their fight.

They followed this with a mass demonstration on 22 April, with 2,000 tenants and rank-and-file trade unionists from Rolls-Royce, UCS, Colston and Weir's. Typically, the local press reported a demo led by Pastor Jack Glass, the Orange leader—and ignored the tenants' struggle.

Shop stewards from Hillington Industrial Estate called a meeting on 29 July. Two hundred delegates attended, representing 25,000 workers.

Labour's schizoid dithering was revealed again in August. The City Labour Party, the Town Council Labour Group, the Trades Council, and many tenants' associations, held a delegate conference.

Stewart, Hillhead Labour councillor, made the startling remark that we should recognise the unfairness of the Act, but also sympathise with Labour councillors who don't want a clash between the local authority and central government.

Tenant delegates left the meeting in uproar.

So far, the council has maintained its defiance of 'fair rents'. But the Secretary of State, Gordon Campbell, will step in to run the housing department if the Tories decide on counter-measures. If he intervenes and raises rents, the corporation have said they will stand back and let him.

Tenants can expect the Labour opposition to crumble. The Tories will try to isolate as a 'test case' an important council like Glasgow and force it to back down.

## We'll back you, miners promise tenants

**WALES:**—Miners in South Wales have promised to back tenants threatened with eviction with industrial action, their delegates told last week's meeting of the South Wales Federation of Tenants and Residents at Pontypridd.

'The response will be as solid as that in support of the Pentonville Five,' said one delegate.

The federation has called for a rent strike as the only effective way to defeat the Act. Nearly all the tenants' associations represented reported that their areas were either on rent strike or were ready to meet increases with a strike when they come.

The federation has also organised a mass demonstration in Cardiff for Saturday 28 October. Lodge bands, trade union branches, tenants' associations, Communist Party and International Socialist branches are expected to give strong support.

In YSTRADGYNLAIS, delegates from tenants' associations and trade union branches demonstrated outside last week's council meeting. They cheered when they heard that the Labour-controlled council had decided to stand firm on its policy of not implementing the Act.

A telegram was sent to the meeting from the Neath, Aberdare and Swansea Joint Unions, a rank-and-file organisation which was formed during the miners strike and which now has a considerable following in the area.

'The joint unions,' the telegram read, 'representing 10,000 workers, declares full support for the stand of your council against the Housing Finance Act and in the interest of the working class calls on you to continue the struggle.'

The leader of the Labour group, Councillor Ben Davies, said afterwards that in his view the Act, along with the Industrial Relations Act, represented 'a vicious and systematic attack on the wages and living conditions of working people' and he called on local tenants and trade unionists to organise against it.

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# FIGHT THE TORIES campaign

**NEATH:**  
Wednesday 1 November, 7.30pm  
Neath Town Hall  
Speaker: Paul Foot

**SWANSEA:**  
Thursday 2 November, 7.30pm  
Dynevor School Hall  
Speaker: Paul Foot

**GLASGOW:**  
Saturday 28 October, 11am  
Typographical Halls, Clyde St  
Speakers: Tony Cliff and Frank Campbell

**HARROW:**  
Wednesday 1 November, 8pm  
Victoria Hall, Sheepcote Lane  
Speakers: Roger Protz and Ross Pritchard

**NORWICH:**  
Wednesday 1 November, 7.30pm  
Kier Hardie Hall, St Gregory's Alley  
Speaker: Laurie Flynn

**EALING:**  
Thursday 2 November, 8pm  
The George and Dragon, Uxbridge Rd, Southall.  
Speakers: John Palmer, Mike Caffoor, George Peak (UCATT) and Ian Morris (AUEW) plus Mr Oligarchy's Circus

**ENFIELD AND TOTTENHAM:**  
Wednesday 1 November, 8pm  
The meeting room,  
Edmonton Swimming Baths,  
Upper Fore St, N18  
Speakers: Duncan Hallas and Roger Rosewell

**CUMBERNAULD:**  
Sunday 29 October, 7.30pm  
Lesser Town Hall  
Speakers: Tony Cliff and Peter Bain

**STIRLING:**  
Tuesday 31 October, 7.30pm  
Temperance Hotel, Falkirk  
Speakers: Frank Campbell and George Kelly



I would like more information about the International Socialists

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More news on pages 14 and 15:  
 The Rents Battle: full round-up  
 Tories spurn Tyneside appeal  
 Car fight in Ireland  
 White collar workers hit by £2 deal

# Socialist Worker

## BIG POWER CRISIS IS LOOMING

by Colin Barker

A MAJOR CRISIS is looming in the electricity supply industry. Manual workers have put in a claim for £5.50 across the board, a 35-hour week and an extra week's holiday and the Transport Workers Union has called this week for an overtime ban in support of the claim.

And the technicians' union, the Electrical Power Engineers' Association, is getting more militant. Its Midlands members are working to rule and EPEA staged a one-day token strike among headquarters staff on Thursday.

Both manual and technical workers face an employer, the Electricity Council, noted for ruthlessness. Last year the Generating Board increased its sales by 10 per cent while cutting the number of manual workers by nearly 7 per cent.

Electricity is nationalised. In other words, the Tory government directly controls wages and salaries.

And, along with other 'public sector' employers, the Electricity Council has refused to negotiate on the claim until the Tories' £2 limit to pay rises has been won or lost.

### SQUEEZE

The electricity industry has set out its target for this year: it wants to raise profits (return on assets) from last year's 6.4 per cent to 7 per cent. Along with the government, it wants desperately to hold down pay and to squeeze more workers out of the industry.

Basic wage rates in the industry last went up by £2 in early 1971, as a result of the Wilberforce Report. Many workers have received larger rises than this but only at enormous cost to themselves: by agreeing to savage cuts in the labour force and worse conditions through productivity deals.

There is a new mood of militancy in the industry which could be organised for a major battle with the Tories. If the unions give the lead, the power workers could give the Tories another bloody nose this winter.

But that 'if' is important. The power unions have a long tradition of sell-out. Before the Wilberforce Inquiry, Frank Chapple of the Electricians declared that they would accept nothing short of £3. After the inquiry, they accepted £2 and called Wilberforce 'a good report'.

The power unions accepted—in fact demanded—the introduction of work-study and productivity dealing which have led to a loss of a third of the jobs in less than five years.

### VITAL

Power workers should be in no doubt that their claim is vital. They have the power, if they use it, to win their claim, and to give a fighting lead to other sections of state employees. If they are to win, they must demand:

- An all-out national battle for the full claim
- No more productivity concessions
- A fight for elected delegate conferences to decide on action, to ratify or reject agreements
- Solidarity with EPEA members if they take any form of action
- A major publicity campaign to inform other workers of their case



Wally Preston: tore into hypocritical newspapers and politicians

## 'Spineless' Labour slammed on race

SW Reporter

THE Labour councillors in Leicester are like jelly-ish-spineless and flabby,' declared Wally Preston, an AUEW convenor in the Manchester power industry and a member of the national committee of the International Socialists.

He was speaking to a packed meeting at Leicester University on Saturday that followed an impressive, 2000-strong march through the town against racism, the National Front and the surrender of the local council to the anti-immigrant lobby.

In a powerful speech that was warmly applauded, Wally Preston tore into hypocritical newspapers and politicians who had suddenly discovered there was a housing problem when a few thousand Ugandan Asians came to Britain.

He stressed that Britain had 11 million

people in slums, unemployment and poverty and these were products of the capitalist system, not immigration. He attacked Labour's pretensions to be an alternative to the Tories and said their policies were equally as reactionary and anti-working-class as Heath's. He ended with a ringing call to build a revolutionary party to smash the system responsible for the problems of working people.

Gurnham Singh, national secretary of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain said that Labour and Tories were 'sides of the same coin' and that Heath, Wilson and Powell were 'birds of the same flock—they fly together.' He called on Indian and Pakistani workers to fight with white workers to smash the government and build a socialist society.

Joe Whelan, a member of the miners' union, spoke for the Communist Party, and was loudly cheered when he said the miners had given the government a bloody nose.

Earlier, the march wound its way through the backstreets of Leicester to the city centre, winning an enthusiastic response from Indian and Pakistani onlookers. Organised by the Leicester Inter-Racial Solidarity Campaign, the march was made up of the Indian Workers' Association, Black People's Freedom Party, Trades Council banners, the Communist Party and the International Marxist Group.

The most impressive contingent was from the International Socialists. It made up two-thirds of the total march and the flying IS red banners came not only from Leicester and the rest of the Midlands, but from London, Canterbury, Colchester, Manchester, the Yorkshire region and from as far away as Bristol.

A few miserable fascists from the National Front heckled and jeered the march and tried to hand out their poisonous leaflets. But the magnificent solidarity of the marchers was a rebuff for those who

### PICKET LINES

THE eleven-week strike of 2600 workers at the Kirkcaldy and Glenrothes factories of GEC Telecommunications ended last week when a mass meeting in Kirkcaldy decided by ballot vote (1212 to 394) to accept the recommendation of union officials to return to work.

The 'new' offer was made at a meeting in York between management and union national and district officials. This seems to contain an improvement of 30p on the first offer but other alterations in the package on bonus and make-up mean no change for most workers.

WORKERS at the Press Association news agency in Fleet Street voted on Monday by 110 to 37 to stay out on strike against the victimisation of John Lawrence, a father of the chapel (shop steward). They are calling on printers to black all news and sports results from the agency.

The dispute began when clerical workers, members of the print union NATSOPA, discovered that a rise offered to them was a third of that being offered to higher paid members of the staff in the journalists' union. They struck in support of their claim and management then sacked their FoC, John Lawrence, for being 'in breach of his contract of employment'.

Members of other unions at the PA, with the exception of the NUJ, walked out in sympathy. And there has been sympathy action at the Exchange Telegraph agency. But the clerical workers have received less support from their own union. The secretary of the London Clerical Branch of NATSOPA, John Lewis, has told them to return to work.

YORK: Militant workers in the Rowntree chocolate factory were given a tremendous boost at their quarterly GMWU branch meeting when a motion was passed calling for the normal election of shop stewards in January 1973. Many Rowntree workers have become increasingly disturbed by the undemocratic behaviour of the shop stewards who accepted a productivity deal without any reference back to the shop floor.

Recently International Socialists members and sympathisers in the factory started production of a Socialist Worker bulletin explaining the nature of productivity deals and arguing for the need for more democratic control of the union. When it was discovered that the shop stewards, following a suggestion from management, had decided not to hold any further elections until April 1974, hundreds of workers learned this news from the bulletin.

They also found that the shop stewards are getting average earnings for 40 hours based on the previous year's earnings. This means that some of the shop stewards are getting £30-£40 a week—money which can usually only be earned on a seven-shift week plus overtime. As a result, more than 200 workers turned up to the GMWU meeting, usually attended by about a dozen workers.

EDMONTON, North London:—Workers in the toolroom and press shop at M K Electric have rejected a company attempt to fob them off with the government's £2 wage increase limit. They have unanimously agreed to continue an overtime ban and work to rule.

MANCHESTER:—Bryants' Dial House building site came out on strike last Friday after the sacking of 32 men. The rest walked out in solidarity. Bryants, notorious as a lump employer, have been holding up work on the site to provide an excuse to bring in the lump.

## Tribune group throws in the towel

SW Political Correspondent

THE Tribune group in parliament is still suffering from the shock of a stormy meeting in the House of Commons on 17 October in which Michael Foot, shadow leader of the House of Commons, announced his decision not to stand for the deputy leadership of the Labour Party against Edward Short.

Ten days later, in the most uneventful elections in the parliamentary Labour Party since Labour lost office, the right-wing ex-headmaster, ex-army officer Edward Short was elected unopposed.

As Minister of Education in the last Labour government, Short was a fervent supporter of corporal punishment even in schools for mentally-handicapped children. He was a Labour whip from 1955-1966, and an enthusiastic witch-hunter of the Left in the early 1960s. He is also a 'mild' supporter of Britain's entry into the Common Market.

Michael Foot stood against Short for the deputy leadership last March, and lost by only 29 votes. On the first ballot, Foot was only one vote behind. In every previous election since Labour lost office, Foot has harried the Labour right wing in the deputy leadership elections, proclaiming his and Tribune's view that the party can be won for the left through its democratic machinery.

Over the past two years, Michael Foot's star has risen higher and higher. His speech



FOOT: don't rock Wilson

at this year's Labour Party conference was greeted with an ovation the like of which had not been seen since Wilson's 'technological revolution' speech in 1963.

The decisive shift to the left at the conference has had some impact even on the parliamentary Labour Party. The signs were that if Foot had stood against Short, he might well have won.

Had he won, he would have been entitled as deputy leader to an ex officio post on the national executive. The vacant post from the constituency section would have been filled by Tom Driberg, a veteran of Labour's left wing.

With the election of Joan Maynard in the women's section and the inclusion of a Young Socialist on the executive, the overall result would have been, for the first time since Keir Hardie, a substantial majority for the Left on Labour's national executive.

Why then did Michael Foot not stand? He has given two reasons. First, he was doubtful of victory (as no doubt he was last March, or in any of his previous contests). Secondly, according to The Times of 18 October: 'Mr Foot maintained his original view that it would be inopportune for him to stand on behalf of the left wing and have a divisive effect on the party.'

Put another way, this argument reads:

DON'T ROCK THE BOAT

Or even

PLAY WITH THE TEAM.

The arguments used by the Right against the Left in the Labour Party for the past 20 years are now being used by the Left as an explanation for giving up the fight when it is most likely to be won.

According to the rules of the Tribune group, no vote was taken about Foot's decision, but judging from the speeches made only about a third of those present

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