

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



Ugly face of Toryism

EIGHT PAGES INSIDE ON THE HEATH RECORD

CLOBBER

THE TORIES...

or they'll clobber you



The dole queue grows

No, it's not a picture from the Hungry Thirties. It was taken inside a London Labour Exchange this week as hundreds of workers thrown out of their jobs by the Tories queued for their dole. It is a grim picture repeated in every town and city in Tory Britain. This is the future the Tories offer: unemployment, attacks on trade unions, declining living standards while profits and prices soar. We must give Heath and his robber band their marching orders next Thursday.

YES, that's the word for it: CLOBBERED.

If the Tories get back on 1 March, it will be Black Friday for millions of workers.

We've had nearly four years of Tory onslaught: Prices up by half as much again. Fewer council houses. Fewer schools. Weaker unions. Greater fortunes for the rich.

That's nothing to what they'll do next time. Phase Four will be worse than Phases 1, 2 or 3. Wages will be held down more rigidly, prices will soar higher than ever.

Of course, a Labour government won't have the answers to these problems. Of course, a Labour government will act to protect the Tories' fortunes. It will try to hold wages down while allowing prices to rise.

But a huge Labour vote will strengthen the unions. It will make it easier for workers to fight back against government wage control. A new confidence and militancy can be used to offset price rises with a massive wage offensive.

A Tory victory would demoralise the unions. It would weaken the workers' will to fight back.

That's the difference. Its crucial—perhaps the most crucial in any election since the war.

That's why every socialist, every worker must spend all the days before polling day shouting two simple slogans at work, in the home and whenever anyone will listen:

DEFEND UNIONS-VOTE LABOUR

General Election '74

KICK OUT
THE TORIESDon't be
fooledby Mr
Mini Tory

IF THE OPINION POLLS are right, there are a lot of people around who are so sick of the proved hypocrisy of Heath and Wilson that they are intending to vote for the unproved hypocrisy of Jeremy Thorpe.

The Liberals, it is clear, are picking up support from substantial numbers of workers who are disillusioned by Labour's record in government and Labour's inability to fight the election campaign.

But the truth is that the Liberals are a second Tory Party. Their anti-Tory talk covers up the fact that on all the major issues of the last government (and of the next) the Liberals line up one hundred per cent behind the Tories and their class.

They voted in favour of the Industrial Relations Act.

Taxes

They equivocated on the Rent Act, voting against the second reading but refusing to fight it in committee.

They oppose the Tories' wage freeze—because it is too generous and not enforced strictly enough. Their home affairs spokesman, John Pardoe, has consistently argued that the Tories should be 'firmer' with the unions. His party proposes an automatic increase in taxes for any workers who win a wage award above the government-imposed level.

They are for more 'free enterprise', which means less price control. They have no proposals to subsidise food prices, or to return to a cheap food policy.

They are against any increase in public ownership or control, especially over North Sea Oil.

All this is not surprising, since the Liberal Party has always been led by rich men and women with a 'conscience'. The money still pours in from property speculators and boardmen.

Wealthy

Last year for the first time the Rank Organisation—a traditional donor to the Tory Party—decided to give £5000 to the Liberals (compared with £35,000 to the Tories). This is known in boardroom circles as 'hedging your bets' by putting money on both sets of Tories.

The Liberal leaders are all wealthy businessmen. Mr Thorpe himself would have made a fortune if the dubious bank in which he was a director—London and County Securities—hadn't gone bust.

Jo Grimond, former leader is heir to an enormous family fortune made in the main from the sweat of Dundee jute workers. And John Pardoe, the hard-line wage-freezer is a director of an international metal trading company.

Almost all their candidates are drawn from the upper and middle classes. They are the playboys of politics who are not worth even a moment's consideration, let alone a vote.

Prices: Tory lies

exposed

...and City slickers boost inflation

EVERY TIME the attention of Tory ministers is drawn to rocketing prices, they retreat into blustering excuses about world prices—over which British governments, they say, have no control. It all happens abroad, they say.

The truth is different. World prices have risen—but they have been massively accelerated by speculation, in the City of London.

For 18 months now, speculators have been watching inflation and calculating that if they buy commodities—such as sugar, tea, rubber, copper, tin—and then wait for the prices to rise, they stand to make a killing. The trick is to buy 'futures'—contracting to buy, say, the sugar harvest of an estate in the West Indies in three months time for £170 a ton. By then, inflation will have pushed the price up to £220 a ton and the speculator sells at a hefty profit.

This speculation itself pushes prices higher. There are a lot of speculators after a limited amount of sugar, and as they try to outbid each other they push prices up. This, naturally, creates a spiral—for the faster prices rise the bigger the killing to be made from speculation.

The Tories claim the producer countries put up the prices. It has little or nothing to do with the specula-

tive prices on the London Metal and Commodity Markets, they say. But these countries refer directly to the commodity market prices before fixing their own prices.

The Tories claim the London markets account for only a small proportion of world commodity trade. Not so. Apart from the Chicago wheat exchange, London is the biggest and most influential in everything else.

Speculation

So if speculation takes off in London, it will trigger inflation through all the international commodity markets. Recently the Guardian reported that one dealer calculated that commodity speculation was directly responsible for between 30 and 70 per cent of the price rises.

A year ago average trading in cocoa 'futures' was seven tons. Today the average deal is for thousands of tons. That's a measure of the amount of money that has moved into the commodity markets. Little wonder cocoa prices have doubled. So has sugar. Other food prices have more than doubled.



GMWU national women's officer Pat Turner speaking at the conference. Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

Meeting on rights

LONDON: More than 500 women trade unionists met for a conference on Women's Rights organised by the National Council for Civil Liberties last Saturday.

Betty Harrison of the Tobacco Workers Union warned of the power of the forces against women's rights and paid tribute to the women's liberation movement for its success in raising the level of debate over the last few years.

The meeting broke into lively discussion groups on the Anti-Discrimination Bill, child care, protective legislation.

Later the meeting put questions to women trade union officials. They tended to gloss over the real problems and this led to an inhibited discussion. It was an important meeting, and a further involvement of rank and file trade unionists would improve future meetings.

Scots Nats want 'home rule' Toryism

by Steve Jefferys

THE SCOTTISH Nationalist Party is mounting one of its biggest ever election campaigns this year with candidates in 70 of Scotland's 71 constituencies.

Some workers have been confused by their militant-sounding language. They promise, for example, to give pensions of £25 for a couple and £15 for a single person and that there will be no income tax on family incomes below £2000.

The SNP believes that Scotland's oil will provide a bonanza to a separate Scottish economy that will mean Scottish capitalism will flourish. This is supposed to lead in turn to vast benefits for the Scots people.

Their case ignores several realities. First, Scottish capitalism hardly exists. More than 20 per cent of industry in Scotland is owned by American multi-national companies and more than half of the remainder is also owned by companies based outside Scotland.

Secondly, there is no evidence at all to suggest that the giant oil companies will surrender any sizeable returns to the producer countries without a major battle, and the SNP is strangely silent about whether it supports the idea of a major assault on the biggest capitalist firms in the world.

In fact such a revolutionary notion directly contradicts the SNP's promises of a wealthy capitalist economy.

Finally, when the SNP argues that only a strong Scots pound will end the housewives' nightmare of ever soaring prices the cloud-cuckoo element really shines through. The SNP seems to believe in prosperous capitalism in one country. But they

live in an international economic and social system. No country has been able to avoid its deepening crisis, however well endowed it has been with natural resources.

If the SNP were returned and a Scottish parliament was set up and elected a Scottish government, then that government would be driven by the same pressures that face every other capitalist government.

The SNP, which has been given money by millionaire Tom Keen, who also aids the fascist National Front, would attack the living standards and organisations of the working class in order to compete with its rivals.

Workers and trade unionists have nothing to gain and much to lose from voting SNP.

A vote for the SNP is either an indirect vote for a British Tory or a direct vote for a tartan Tory.

FOOD PRICES went up by a staggering 20 per cent in the past year, according to the government's own figures. It is the biggest increase in any year since the last war.

And all the signs are that prices will go up even faster in the months ahead, since the pace of increases has grown dramatically over the last few months.

The big business journal The Economist is already predicting that food costs will go up by another 15 per cent by Christmas. It has also shown that the maximum any worker can get from Phase Three—including seven consecutive 'threshold' payments—will not even cover that 15 per cent. This means 1974 will be another year of real wage cuts for workers.

The food prices scandal is damaging to the Tory election campaign. So the Tories have moved their cover up machine into top gear, repeating endlessly that it is all due to uncontrollable world market forces.

But The Economist has also put the lie to this. In its issue this week it shows that for manufactured food the rise since 1970 is even steeper when home grown rather than imported raw materials are used.

The government's pretence that food price rises are beyond their control is useful cover for their amazing generosity to the farmers, expressed in last week's massive £145 million Farm Price Review.

This was not due to be announced until after the election. But it was miraculously brought forward by a month. This quick change of tack followed growing threats from the farmers that they would switch their votes away from the Tories in the marginal rural constituencies.

Slaughter

The farmers, one of the most highly-organised lobbies in Britain, supplemented their electoral threats with forceful industrial action. Since December the number of dairy steers and heifers sent to be slaughtered has been pushed up from 32,000 in the week ending 29 December to a fantastic 56,000 in the week ending 19 January.

It is estimated that some 80 per cent of these animals were in calf when they were sent to the slaughter, showing the farmers' utter determination to create a milk shortage if their demands were not met.

If farm labourers were to engage in such tactics they would be charged with conspiracy, damage to property and cruelty to animals. But when wealthy farmers do it, there is not a murmur in the Tory press.

The farmers' brutal tactics have paid off handsomely. Last week's Farm Price Review gives them a splendid 3½p per gallon increase on milk.

And the increase is backdated for four months, making it a clear breach of Phase Two as well as Phase Three. The cost of buying the farmers' votes is a record £145 million, £40 million more than the cost of settling the miners' pay claim in full.

Exempted

The farmers' spectacular success in getting their milk price boosted has already been repeated in other fields. The main reason that the price of manufactured food has gone up more when home grown raw materials have been used is that the farmers were exempted totally even from the joke Tory price controls.

Results for the farmers have been magnificent. Their real incomes rose by 11 per cent last year and a mixed farm of a very modest 100 acres is now yielding its owner upwards of £10,000 per annum.

The result in simple terms is as follows. A calf which costs £37.75 to buy and rear ends up with a total retail meat value of £234.

And the farmer and his associates in the supermarket and slaughtering monopolies are not the only ones on the kill. At least 12 middle men are involved. By government regulation their cut always goes up by the same amount as the farmers.

Students fight police crackdown in Nigeria

by Martha Otito
SIX UNIVERSITIES in Nigeria have been closed down and students ordered to return to their home towns after violent clashes between students and police.

The trouble began at Ibadan where students and others were commemorating the death of Kunle Adepeju, a second-year agricultural student shot by police three years ago during a demonstration over university catering facilities. In 1972 and 1973 the anniversary had been marked by student processions and the laying of wreaths on his grave, even though a state of emergency was still in force and police permission had to be obtained for the processions.

This year, police permission for a procession was refused and the students agreed to go to the graveyard in buses. As they were getting off the buses, the acting police commissioner arrived in his Mercedes-Benz and ordered his men—who had taken up strategic positions around the graveyard—to shoot teargas canisters and molest the students.

Protest

In the clash that followed Kunle Adepeju's mother was beaten up at her son's graveside and her younger son was badly injured. One student was shot in the back and 150 people, including non-students and university workers, were arrested.

The students of Ibadan boycotted lectures in protest the next day and held a sit-in in front of the vice-chancellor's office. They demanded the release of all those arrested and the sacking of the police commissioner in the western state. The police moved in again on the students, injuring a reporter and his wife.

Students in other universities soon joined in the protest. At Lagos, students sacked a police station and held six policemen hostage. At Ife and Ahmadu Bello police stations were wrecked and set ablaze.

At Benin students mounted a blockade to keep police off their campus, but armed police moved in with orders to shoot on sight. The commissioner of police for the mid-west state accused the students of 'molesting members of the public and the armed police'.

Warned

The Association of University Teachers has protested over the police actions. The Nigerian head of state, General Yakubu Gowon, has dismissed the incidents as 'silly aggression' and warned that he 'would not tolerate' recklessness from any quarter. Gowon need not remind the people how much he can tolerate—they are in no danger of forgetting how he ordered his men in against the students three years ago.

Most students in Nigeria live in and closing down the universities forces them to go home, where they are dispersed and cannot organise. Along with all Nigerian workers, they are forbidden to hold meetings, talk politics, demonstrate or carry placards.

Nigeria is a rich oil-producing country where adults and children still starve to death. The cost of living has gone up 150 per cent in the last three years, while wages have risen by only 3 per cent.

The students have drawn attention to the fact that this state of affairs is maintained by police brutality and a reign of terror.

SOCIALIST WORKER

WHAT WE THINK



Wilson and Labour's pathetic election posters: no militancy, no punch

WHAT a pathetic apology for an election campaign the Labour Party has waged in the last ten days.

We have had Harold Wilson boasting about how tough he was with the seamen in 1966, how he 'stood up to the militants' who represented one of the most super-exploited sections of the British working class.

We have heard James Callaghan, the Chancellor of the Exchequer who put 'the defence of sterling' before full employment, pleading that social democrats are better fighters against 'extremism' than the Tories. We have seen practically the entire gang of would-be Labour MPs, protesting that they are the best defenders of the 'national interest'.

True enough, it began to dawn on Wilson and his advisers and public relations men that they could not outdo the Tories in red-baiting, that, purely from a vote-catching point of view, it was necessary to shift the emphasis to rocketing prices, falling living standards and even the profits of bankers and property speculators.

But the underlying theme remains. Labour 'unites the nation', the Tories 'divide the nation'. There is not a spark of working-class internationalism in the Labour Party's campaign, not even of the reformist 'help the poor nations' variety. There is not a spark of socialism in the Labour Party's campaign, not even of the reformist 'public enterprise' versus private profiteering variety.

Why not? Because deep down the Labour Party leaders are more afraid of arousing and mobilising working-class support than they are of another Tory election victory. They want to win, yes. But they want to win as 'respectable' alternative managers of the collective affairs of British capitalism. They are terrified at the very

Why Labour is afraid to fight

thought of being carried to power on a wave of mass demand for real social change.

Consider their reaction to the Tory claim that, assuming there is no economic growth this year, living standards cannot rise. They accept it and argue that, somehow, they will produce economic growth.

That is almost certainly nonsense. The prospect is that over this year there will be a real slump, that there will not only be no growth but an actual fall in output.

Supposing, as is likely, that output does fall. There are several tens of thousands of families in the 'affluent' Britain of today who have no home of their own, no place to stay apart from the notorious 'temporary accommodation' provided by local councils. Some lack even this.

There are also tens of thousands or more families with two homes or even three or more. There are actually more homes available in Britain than families to fill them. No one needs to be homeless. No economic growth is needed to provide homes for all. Only the enforcement of the rule that no one shall have more than one home while others lack any.

But that would be extremism, bolshevism, red ruin. No 'respectable' Labour Party leader would touch it with a bargepole. The fact that

there is **no** other way to solve the problem of homelessness is beside the point. The homeless must endure and be patient while the affluent enjoy their town houses and country 'cottages'.

Or take another case, the most obvious one. Miners are being offered a wage rise which, after stoppages, amounts to 47 pence a week for coal face workers and 91 pence a week for surface workers. In the face of what Harold Wilson himself tells us is an unprecedented rate of inflation they turned it down and went on strike for more.

Does the Labour Party come out in support of the (very modest) full claim? Not at all. Its spokesmen talk of 'special cases', relativities, conciliation and the rest. As to the rest of the working class the Labour Party says, in effect, accept a cut in real wages. Don't break the law. Accept Phase Three.

In spite of all this we say vote Labour and try to persuade your mates to vote Labour. Swallow your disgust and put a cross against the name of your Labour candidate. Is this inconsistent? We think not. The choice before us is a choice of evils.

A Tory victory means intensified union bashing and an intensified attack on working-class living standards and civil liberties.

A Labour victory does not mean socialism or even social reform. It does mean a government which, in the short run at any rate, will find it harder to impose Tory policies. And it means testing in practice, yet again, the claims of the Labour Party leaders. There is no other real choice.

**Vote Labour in spite of Wilson.
Vote Labour in spite of its policies.
Kick out the Tories.
Carry on the Fight.**

CORBRIDGE WORKS, CORBRIDGE CRESCENT, LONDON E2 01-739 9043/0185/6361

ILLEGAL RAID BY POLICE IN ESSEX

SW Reporter

A GLIMPSE of the grim reality behind the Tory 'law and order' campaign was on display in Harlow, Essex, last weekend.

Dave Lambert, a printer, and Harry Risebro, a local government worker, two members of Harlow International Socialists, were arrested at 1am on Saturday morning. They were carrying posters advertising a meeting calling for support for the miners and a vote for Labour.

They were carrying paste and brushes. The police assumed—correctly—that Harlow Town Centre was about to be flyposted.

The two IS members were taken to Harlow police station and held in the cells until 5.30am. Flyposting is not a criminal offence, merely a by-law infringement. It is not necessary to imprison offenders for this minor offence.

While they were in the cells the two were searched and an IS membership card discovered.

This apparently put a new light on the matter and the CID were called in.

At 2.30am two detective constables and a uniformed constable arrived at the house of Sue Lambert, wife of Dave Lambert and secretary of Harlow IS. They told Sue her



Sue Lambert and son: harassed

husband was under arrest and that they intended to search her home for 'subversive literature'.

When asked for their search warrant they said they did not need one as they had her husband in custody under suspicion of 'criminal offences'.

Hugh Kerr, chairman of Harlow IS

branch was called and arrived at 3pm with his wife Barbara. When he asked the police for their authority to carry out the search, he was told 'On the authority of Inspector Williams'. The police repeated that they did not need a search warrant.

In the course of their search they examined the bedroom of Sue and Dave Lambert's one year old son, waking him in the process.

Eventually the police left at 4.30 am, taking with them, without any legal authority, a two-foot high pile of newspapers, files, letters, address lists and minutes. The documents were returned 30 hours later at 11am on Sunday morning.

The police have no right to enter without a warrant. They have no right to remove documents in this manner.

It is clear that Mr Heath's 'reds under the beds' election scare is bringing the worst elements to the fore in places like the Harlow police force. As Harlow IS branch say in a press release: 'We can only believe that the police were concerned to harass our members, or were attempting to build up the secret files they undoubtedly hold on socialist organisations.'

Ammo for election battle

A USEFUL GUIDE to the Tories' economic record has just been rushed in time for the election campaign by Counter Information Services.

Called Unacceptable Face, it summarises the facts and figures of the last 3½ years and documents the Tory offensive on wages, the boom in prices and profits, and the government's performance on housing, taxation and North Sea oil.

The report shows how inflation was helped along by the consumer boom, fuelled with the tax reductions that the Tories started in 1970. Real wages in the first year of the freeze actually fell by 0.3 per cent while profits after tax and allowing for inflation rose 16.2 per cent.

Sharks

The report also looks at Heath's housing record, with home prices doubled, council housing down 40 per cent and the lowest total of new homes started since 1958. It quotes cases of builders' profits up seven-fold and building directors pay up 150 per cent. And the 'improvement grant' handout to property sharks is to continue.

There's more of the same on tax concessions—if you 'earn' £50,000 a year, the Tories have boosted your post-tax income by 70 per cent—and North Sea oil.

As a whole, the report concentrates too much on Tory-bashing without mentioning Labour's record. But it is useful information for the last few days before polling. Buy a copy to swing the doubters.

Unacceptable Face, 16pp 15p from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4—reduction for bulk orders.

Socialist Worker election issue

NEXT WEEK'S issue of Socialist Worker will not be printed until after the election results are known early on the Friday morning. All IS branches will be notified of special arrangements for distribution or collection of the paper that day, Friday 1 March. Please reorganise in advance all sales which would have been made on the Thursday or Friday.

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LETTERS



Labour to office

- but don't

kid yourselves

THE WHITE FISH AUTHORITY are campaigning for a 200 mile fishing limit for Britain. If they are successful, Britain will be the only country with the right to trawl for herring in the streets of Paris.

Now that might not appear the most important thing to be telling you during an election campaign and a miners' strike. But the whole insane idea of one 'nation' grabbing a bit of the surface of the earth, my home, for itself is a fundamental issue for all socialists.

Once you've accepted the idea of one 'nation state' competing with other 'nation states' then you must accept what that state has to do to protect itself.

The state I live in calls itself Britain. At least Ted and Harold call it Britain. I call it a shambles.

Now this state called Britain has laws to protect itself. It used these laws to try and convict myself and 12 others for picketing at Longannet Power Station during the last miners' strike. It has jailed building workers at Shrewsbury for picketing.

As the election draws closer we should remember this. We should vote Labour to get rid of the Tories. But we will do that knowing that the supporters of a 'nation state' will take our vote as a token that we too support the present state of things.

OK, let them rot in their confusion. But let us be clear—we vote Labour with no illusions in the parliamentary system. We vote Labour in order to make it a little easier to fight for a seizure of power by the organised working class.

If we do that successfully in Britain, I am quite sure the workers of Paris will be only too pleased to let us fish to our hearts content in the River Seine.—COLIN CAMERON, Glenrothes, Fife.

Under my bed...

HAVING READ about and seen on TV, Mr Heath's campaign, based on Reds under the bed, I have conducted an intensive search, but must confess to only discovering one harmless and much used gerry or potty as it is better known.

Now why you may ask, are a young married couple (24 and 20) without children (yet), using a gerry?

The only alternatives, (apart from going downstairs and outside to sit on a totally unhygienic, non-flushable, waterless, bury-your-own toilet) are unprintable and not in the interest of neighbourly relations!

In this age of technological advancement the fact that all six council houses in the village are without flush toilets, couldn't have anything to do with the consistency

We've seen the light. Let's get stuck in!



The miners strike—and the penny drops for more people.

WE ARE STUDENTS at the 'Grammar' school in Steyning and have rapidly changed our opinions in the last six months. From support of what we saw as a fair system of anti-inflationary policy I now feel it is totally biased against the workers.

It is blatantly obvious that those who 'have' continue to get richer, while the workers are trampled underfoot in one great stampede to increase production and profits.

We've got several mates who feel the same way, and in our spare time, since we are still at school we want to do something positive. The miners need a pay rise, not only to bring their standard of living to a necessary level but to symbolise the industrial strife which the Tory government have unleashed on us.

We have begun, though with incredible difficulty from our staunch Tory teachers and ever-typical Head Master, who feels we are undermining his mini-empire, to raise strike money. Can you give us support?

Where can we gain connections with other student mineworkers supporters? Can you send us, or enable us to get posters and leaflets needed to raise money for the Strike Fund? For Christ's sake help us get organised and do all we can to change the world.—MARTIN WALLACE, M COOPER, N MORRISON, Steyning, Sussex.

We've passed your letter on to the International Socialist Student organiser. You, or anyone who feels the same, and is a student should contact him—Simon Turner at IS, 8 Cotton Gardens, London E2.

of Conservative Council, could it?

I can hardly imagine the renowned gentlemen gagging over the cost of a sewage system, while the excuse of Conservative Government's spending cuts is there, readymade.

So I switch off my £16 black and white TV, go to sit in my secondhand car and think about the foreign holiday I've never had. I hope Mr Heath and, in fact, all politicians will spare a thought, not for me, but for the family of eight living next door.—H READ, Skenfrith, nr Abergavenny.

Solidarity

THE FOLLOWING resolution was passed at Norwich Transport and General Workers Union Branch.

This branch pledges solidarity with the National Union of Miners and offers fullest support and assistance if needed and where possible.—D WHITE, Norwich.

I HAVE BEEN asked by the members involved in the Scottish Ambulance dispute from the Edinburgh ambulance depot to convey to you their thanks for the interest shown by your paper in the national dispute. Your representatives in Edinburgh were virtually the only press to bother about our side of the story, and listen in detail to what the job is like etc. Or to try to get a true perspective on our pay and conditions.—A D SHIELDS, (Secretary 993 SAS [Edin] Branch, Confederation of Health Service Employees).

Let's get it right

IN POSTAL POINTS (16 February), Ron Murphy attacked a passage in one of my articles on the rank and file conference. In that passage I pointed out that Scanlon's opposition to the Industrial Relations Act had not been anything like strong enough. In his reply Ron says 'The AUEW played a key part in making the Act unworkable...'

Let us make our position totally clear.

We support and have always done so, the AUEW principled stand of non-co-operation with the Industrial

Relations Act. We condemn however, Scanlon's and the AUEW's EC policy of not giving a clear national lead in the struggle to stop the union being fined. Strikes in defence of the funds have, of course taken place, but have only been token ones, locally organised.

The end result has been that the AUEW has been repeatedly fined, and from the employers' point of view successfully so. Militants have found it increasingly difficult to lead their members out, on what seems to be only a gesture. The right wing's argument that it would be better to appear in court, and that the EC's position only results in fines has gained credibility. In other unions the left's position of total opposition to the Act has been weakened as a result. No one should be complacent on this score. We believe that with a nationally directed struggle the AUEW could have made the Act unworkable. They have not yet.

Think about it Ron. The Tories tried to jail pickets under the Act. After Pentonville they have not tried it again. The Act has been made unworkable in this respect.

How come they are still fining the AUEW? The Act may not be as unworkable as you think.—ANDREAS NAGLIATI, (IS Industrial Organiser).

Women: more to it

YOU SHOULDN'T have been uncritical in your review of the recent BBC-2 series Women at Work (26 January) or mesmerised by the novelty of seeing women wielding hammers, spades etc.

If we think that male workers are oppressed in such jobs we can hardly say that equal status for women would be completely liberating.

What the series asked was why are some jobs called 'women's work'? What psychological differences have to be overcome before women find a 'balance' between home and work which fulfils their potential?

The TV series didn't analyse women's role so much as deal with some of the anomalies in women's employment.

What we have to do is see through all the rubbish about the 'psychology' of women, and look at the political nature of women's oppression and the connection between women's liberation and revolutionary socialism. This is particularly important now, because when there is mass unemployment, women are the first to go.—SIOBHAN MOLLOY, Belfast.

YES BUT LOCALLY . . . I was so heartened to read Pat Stewart's letter (9 February) stressing that the issue of rising prices can be used to draw more women into the International Socialists. She suggests that IS could be much more effective for they can draw attention to local shops' profits, and advertise a day-time meeting on prices. It only needs a couple of women to produce such a leaflet and arrange the meeting. If no room is available it can be held in someones house with Mums taking turns to watch the kids who can be left in a bedroom. The follow-up to this can be through Womens Voice, or picketing the local shop where prices and profits are highest, and hopefully more meetings on other issues. If we want to introduce more women to our politics we must aim our propaganda more directly at them.—JENNIFER WATKINS, Manchester.

OF COURSE! . . . Please don't be so rude to the Kent Messenger! (16 February) Surely you recognise that their headline (GET UP AND WALK GRANNIE AND YOU'LL STAY ALIVE) is a call for a mass demonstration of pensioners' power!—KEN RUTTER, London W13.

MARX OR ANDREW CARNEGIE . . . Had to laugh at Kathleen Jones letter (16 February). To get the answer go along to an International Socialist meeting, Kathleen. You may be inspired, as I have been. Plenty of women, in there pitching, shoulder to shoulder with their men. It's grand to have my own paper—keep it good, accurate, clear-thinking, honest. I was in the Communist Party during the Second World War, our bible then was the 1848 Manifesto. Somewhere along the line they seem to have changed it to Carnegie's How To Win Friends And Influence People.—KEN HARDING, London NW3.

NATIONAL FRAUD . . . I was disgusted to read that with 50 candidates the National Front are 'entitled' to broadcasting time. . . . This organisation is a threat to the revolutionary potential and class consciousness of the working class . . . they must be stopped whenever they put their heads out of the sewer. The only effective means is by the broadcasting technicians withdrawing their labour so that the programme never reaches the air . . . Readers should jam the BBC and IBA switchboards with their complaints.—PAUL SUMMERS, Sheffield.

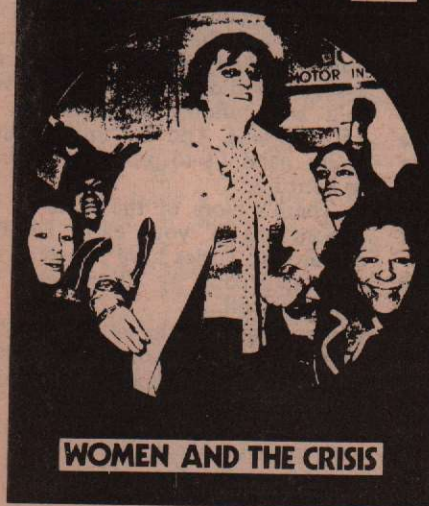
CENTRE POINT . . . As a result of the Centre Point Occupation 16 people are awaiting trial. They are on various charges including assaulting the police, obstruction, and threatening behaviour. We would like people who witnessed any arrests or the events leading up to arrests to get in touch with TIME OUT, 374 Gray's Inn Rd, London WC1. Box HH 100. Photographs which document the street action would be appreciated.

We are appealing also to the Centre Point Occupation group itself, who called for a mass rally, but then left the street demonstration—to contribute to our high defence costs. All public contributions will be gratefully received, and should be made payable to: Centre Point Demonstrators Fund TIME OUT, Box HH 100.—DEFENCE COMMITTEE FOR THE CENTRE POINT DEMONSTRATORS.

PAPES UNDER THE DRAPE? . . . Apart from the Reds who have 'infiltrated' the trade union movement, there are a number of other 'subversives' of quite a different hue getting in on the act. In the Civil and Public Services Association, I have knowledge of members of that extreme anti-communist body, Catholic Action who hold official posts. Others lining up for office come from Frank Smith's Moral Rearmament, from the Festival of Light, from the National Front and one who unashamedly wears the badge of the Conservative Association of Trade Unionists. With the current witch hunt for Reds under the beds in full swing the Blues in the queues are getting overlooked.—OSSIE LEWIS, Cheam.

WOMENS VOICE

Number 9
5p



WOMEN AND THE CRISIS

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'We are the moderates,' say the Tories. That is their election theme. It's not bad, coming from a party that represents the greed and grasp of the tiny minority that runs Britain for its own selfish reasons. In this special eight-page section,

Socialist Worker looks at the real, immoderate and ugly face of capitalism. At its lies, hypocrisy and double standards. At its vicious treatment of pensioners, school kids and black people. At the day-by-day systematic violence of Toryism. At

the graft and backhanders of big business. At their vile treatment of women as sex objects to be hired by the hour. And at the only real answer to it all: workers' power—a society where those who produce the wealth decide the priorities.



Ugly face of Toryism

Stark choice for old

folk: food or heat



A worried look as a pensioner goes shopping. This is not Mrs Buncombe, who was worried about official reprisals if her picture was published. (Right) Tory minister Joseph

PICTURE: CHRIS DAVIES (REPORT)

WHEN Sir Keith Joseph, the Tory in charge of health and welfare, dines out at The Savoy, he has to choose between La Tortue Claire des Iles en Tasse au Sherry or just Les Paillettes Dorees au Chester.

Mrs Buncombe, who exists on a £7.15 widow's pension in an Islington basement, has a simpler choice to make each week.

She chooses between food or heating. She has to decide whether to spend her pension in the shops or put it in her gas meter.

Each day of her existence she must decide whether she is to go cold or go hungry.

Mrs Buncombe has become used to this choice. She has become used to sleeping on her sofa because she can't afford to heat her bedroom.

Luxuries

She's forgotten the taste of fresh meat and doesn't even feel like it anymore.

'I've had to economise on luxuries since this time last year,' she says. The luxuries? Things like Horlicks, tinned sardines, an occasional portion of fish and chips, coffee, cake and biscuits. They're not even on the menu at The Savoy.

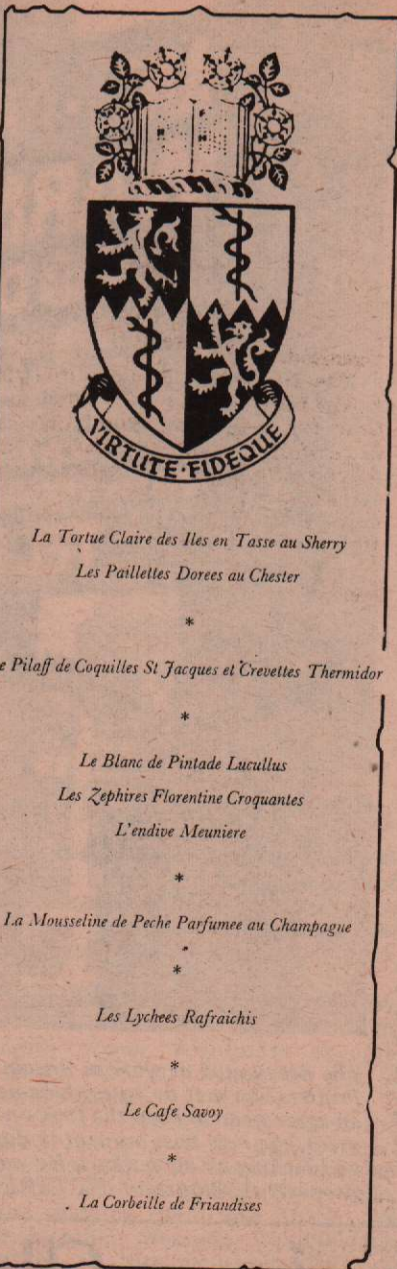
A Task Force survey found that Mrs Buncombe was feeding as much as £4.20 into her gas meter. The rest of her pension goes on basic foodstuffs.

To understand what Tory Britain really means, read to yourself Mrs Buncombe's budget. Imagine what it amounts to on a plate.

Bacon 60p, bread 26p, butter 11½p, cereal 8½p, cheese 17p, eggs 24p. 14½p for fruit drinks—that's a bottle of orange juice.

Dried and tinned fruit 10p, jam and marmalade 13½p, margarine 7p, sugar 19p, soup 10p, tea 20½p, vegetables 24p, washing powder 11p, soap and disinfectant 9p.

And every month, Mrs Buncombe's meals shrink a little on the plate. The foodstuffs she relies on have risen in price even faster than the average over 1973. Bacon went up 51 per



£8 a head Savoy dinner attended last November by Sir Keith

cent, eggs 48 per cent, margarine and bread 20 per cent. And every winter it seems a little harder to get rid of the dampness in her basement flat.

Strangely enough Mrs Buncombe has met the Minister. Sir Keith did

not come on a social visit. But after Task Force workers had sat on his doorstep in Mulberry Walk, Knightsbridge for a week, he agreed to be driven by Task Force organiser John Ingham to visit some Islington pensioners' homes.

The Minister took his hard Tory face with him. He told one pensioner that he had no right to smoke cigarettes and then complain.

When an old gentleman broke into tears, he snapped, 'Pull yourself together, man.'

But he did agree to investigate Mrs Buncombe's case, to make sure she was getting all 'she was entitled to according to our calculations.'

After a month, while the Minister investigated the gas meter rate and recommended an extra heating allowance, he wrote back that he 'very much hoped that this adjustment and the increased help which I am pleased the Supplementary Benefits Commission have been able to give will make it easier to manage her weekly budgeting.'

That increased help that the Minister had so generously arranged was precisely 55p extra social security a week.

Starvation

And this is what Tory Britain means too. The Minister in charge of welfare, one of the richest men in Britain, who thinks nothing of a nine guinea banquet at The Savoy, thinks a widowed pensioner in a damp basement ought to be grateful for 55p extra.

'He just refuses to admit what's staring him right in the face,' says John Ingham. 'The basic pension rates are starvation rates.'

But pensioners themselves are moving. They are tired of being iced on every politician's platform cake. They are tired of the TUC's crocodile tears.

They are bitter that official strike action, promised for 25 February, is being buried by the bureaucrats. But when the Lord Mayors and the do gooders are out of the way, pensioners are organising themselves politically and Pensioner and Trade Union Action Committees are mushrooming.

Their demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday for a £10 minimum single pension and £16 married pension will be an angry one.

Vicious

Unless an increase of these proportions comes very soon, pensioners will simply be unable to survive, let alone afford 'luxuries' like Horlicks or be able, as they desire and deserve, pay their way with dignity.

The bureaucrats who administer the Tory's modern poor law are actually more vicious than the skinflints of Dickens' time. At least the 19th century old could die in dignity.

Nowadays Sir Keith's department gives them just enough to stay alive, but reduces their life to a mere existence, where the sheer effort to stay warm and clean and not too hungry blots out everything else from life.

In 1971 Sir Keith expressed the Tory welfare philosophy rather well. He said: 'The new system of dental charges will give a financial incentive to patients to look after their teeth.'

I suppose he would be rather proud of the savings he has made on Mrs Buncombe's diet. Soup, cheese, tea and sandwiches don't give her much incentive to chew.

David Widgery

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Ugly face
of Toryism

The bosses' heavy mob

'PEOPLE stood in groups looking at the patches of blood and weeping. We had thought in the Bogside that we had become used to violent death. But there isn't a human experience which prepares you for what happened . . .

'There seemed to be bodies everywhere, bundles lying on the street and on the pavement.

'And all the while at the bottom of the street there were soldiers kneeling, rifles aimed, picking off anything that moved. Had the whole world gone raging mad?'

That quotation comes from Socialist Worker—an eyewitness account of Bloody Sunday in Derry, January 1972. The day when the British Army, under the direct control of the Tory government, opened fire on an unarmed demonstration. The day when 13 people were massacred.

A face of Tory Britain.

'The patient has multiple bruising. The injuries are in keeping with the patient's statement of having been punched in the abdomen, prodded in the ribs and side, and having been kicked in the knee and lower legs.

'Rafferty says he was assaulted, under interrogation, over a period of two days. He also says he was held over an electric heater until he lost consciousness. He is still in custody.'

'Suspects had what had become known as sensory deprivation treatment.

'Black hoods had been kept on the men's heads for several hours. They had been given only bread and water, kept standing facing a wall, kept without sleep for days, and subjected to continuous noise.'

The two quotations come from Granada TV's World in Action programme on torture in Northern Ireland. The second repeats the report of ex-Ombudsman Sir Edmund Compton.

A face of Tory Britain.

'Pickets on the gates at Horne's, the firm responsible for the threat to Briants, were attacked by the police on Thursday.

'In mid-afternoon police of the Special Patrol Group moved in, using



Soldiers, heavily armed with rifles, helmets, flak jackets, tear gas and armoured cars. People, unarmed and unprotected, their backs to the troops. A photograph taken in Derry on Bloody Sunday moments before troops shot 13 people dead.

by Nigel
Fountain

truncheons against the picket of printers and dockers, throwing middle-aged women against a wall and beating up anyone who fell into their hands.

'Even the local police officers who normally patrol the pickets, were astonished at the behaviour of the "heavy mob."—Socialist Worker 5 August 1972.

A face of Tory Britain.

In late February 1973 two young Pakistanis went down to India House in London. They were angry at the failure of the Indian government to return Pakistani prisoners of war. They were armed with toy pistols, and they entered India House, shouting.

The toy pistols were tiny imitations, the kind you buy at Woolworths, not replicas 'easily mistakeable' for the real thing as claimed by the Fleet Street press, the TV, radio and police.

The police arrived—in the form of another Special Patrol Group like the one the printers and dockers had encountered the year before. Only this time there were no truncheons. Special Patrol Groups are armed. The two teenagers were shot down, and killed.

Internal

The case didn't end there. At the end of the year three members of that SPG went before Stipendiary Magistrate K J Barraclough at Bow Street Court. They received citations for bravery and cheques.

Another face of Tory Britain.

Since 1970 the Special Branch, Britain's internal secret police, has nearly doubled in size. The Special Patrol Groups formed in 1964 have operated throughout London and elsewhere.

Young black kids have seen plenty of them. A meeting of Lambeth's Community Relations Council heard them described as 'hooligans and legalised thugs.'

When you read in the Daily Express, or the Daily Mail, or hear

Heath talking about the violent 'elements' in society, be very sure who they are. They aren't the people that Heath is attacking—workers, socialists, pickets fighting against this system.

They are the people employed by Heath on behalf of his bosses—the ruling class.

'Ulster terrorism usually requires soldiers to become policemen . . . We must pay more attention to our intelligence services. It would not be an exaggeration to say that our Special Branches have been in a depressed state at the beginning of every counter-terrorist campaign that we have fought. Our armed forces have not been able to operate effectively until these weaknesses have been cleared up.'

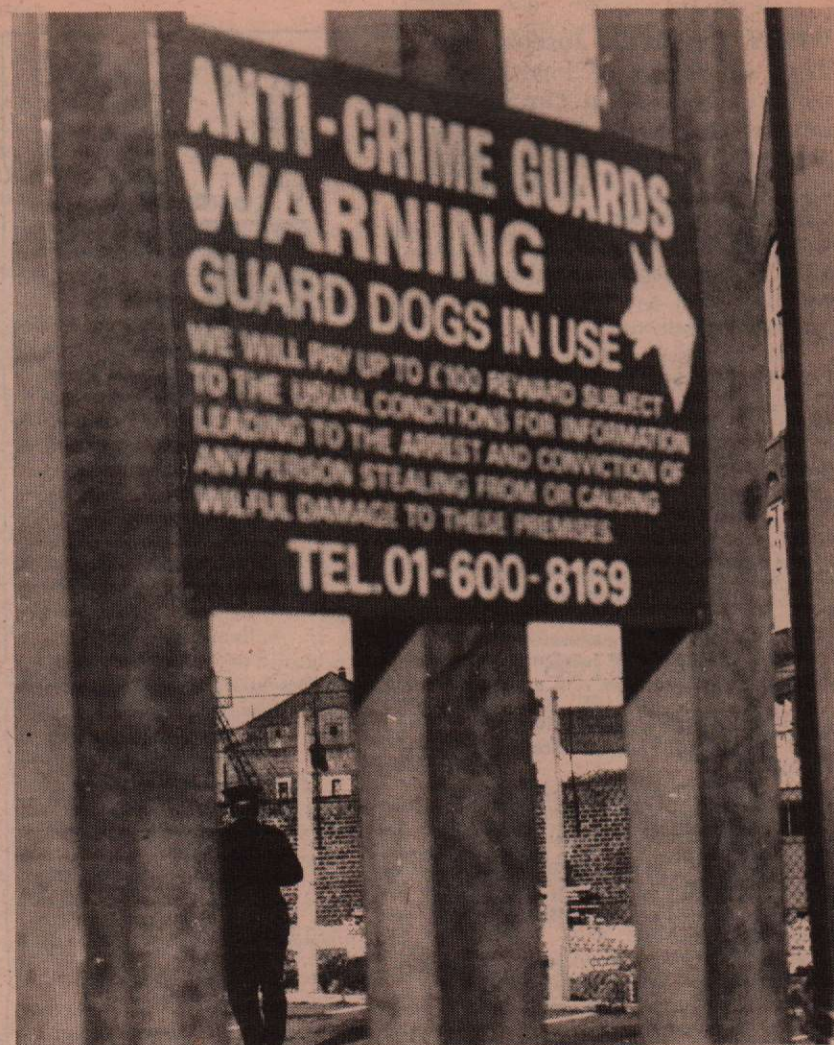
Attacks

So says the Conservative Political Centre's pamphlet titled In Defence of Peace. The authors, five Tory MPs, are allegedly referring to the problem of the IRA and similar organisations. But it is clear from the period since Bloody Sunday that the Tories are not just worried about 'urban guerrillas' and 'terrorists'.

The history of this Tory government has been a history of continuous attacks on the working class, attacks on living standards, on trade union democracy—physical attacks on workers on strike, the imprisonment of workers.

But as their attacks increase so does the response of more and more workers. So the Tories are driven more and more to by-pass their own laws, and rely on the weapon which lies at the very root of their rule, the weapon which established their class and which is always ready to hold it in power.

The real face of Tory Britain.



The heavy mob at work in Britain: The first attempt to close Briant Colour Printers was met by a year-long occupation by the 150 workers, followed by an agreement to keep the firm open. Three months after signing that agreement, the new boss brought in dogs and security guards, shutting the works and sacking all 60 workers. He wanted to sell the site for profiteering property development. PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

Mr Sydney Chapman

IN an article in the issue of Socialist Worker dated 2 June 1973, we stated that Mr Sydney Chapman, former Conservative MP for Handsworth, Birmingham, and now prospective Conservative parliamentary candidate for Handsworth, owned 3360 shares in the building

firm of Bryant. Mr Chapman has drawn our attention to the fact that he neither owns now nor ever has owned any shares in the company. We regret the error and apologise to Mr Chapman for any inconvenience caused him by the mistake.

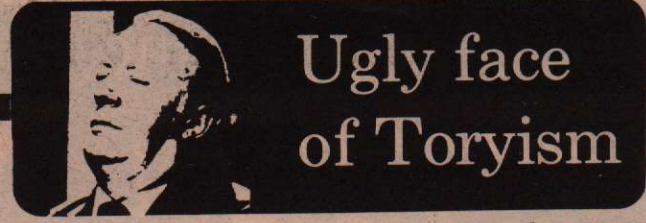
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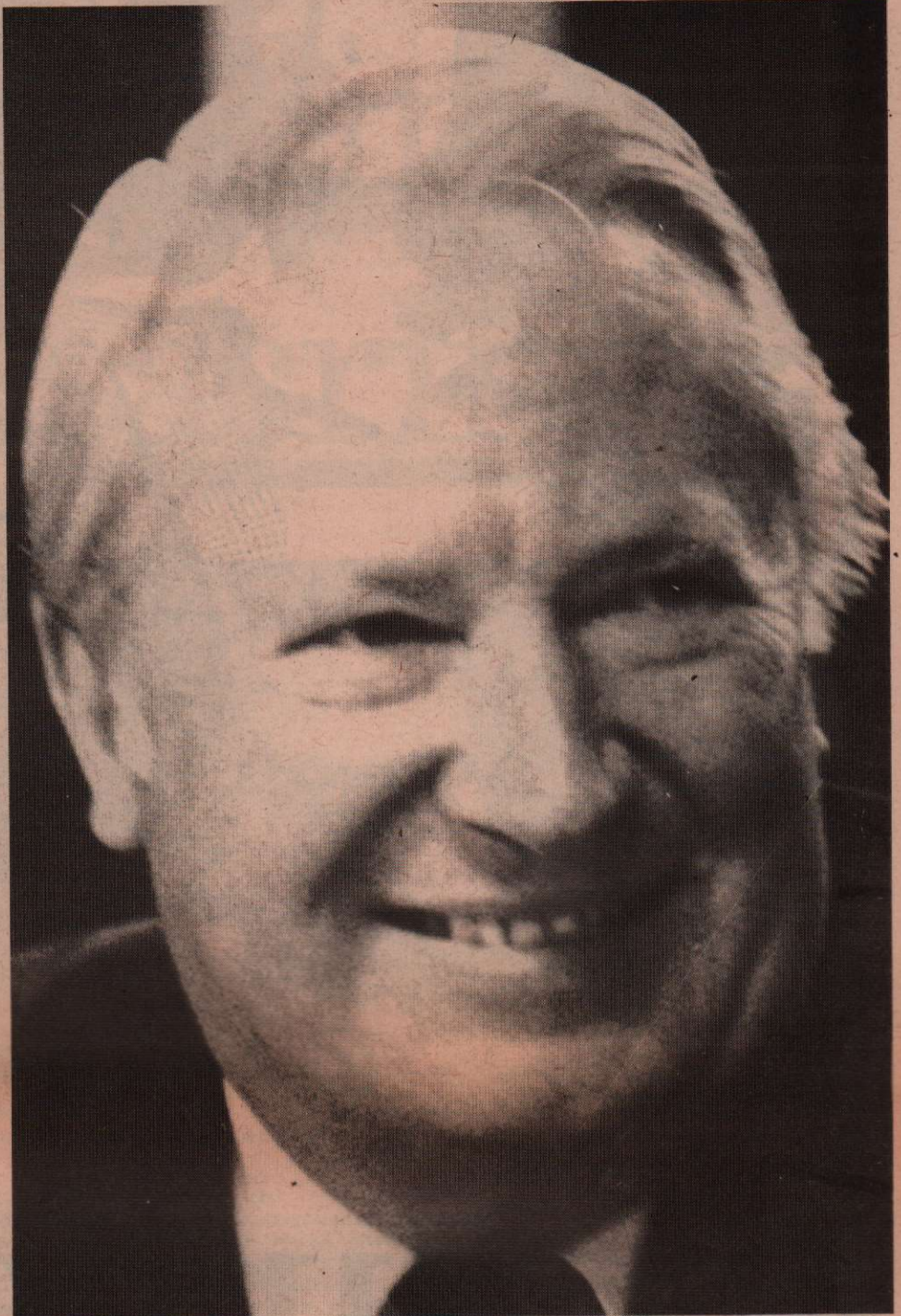
OPEN GOVERNMENT



Niarchos: attracted



Kitson and friend (right)



Ted, Tim and the £9m loan

MOST of the faces of Edward Heath are well-known: Heath the Puritan. Heath the Moraliser. Heath the Moderate. Heath, the Red-Baiter. Heath, the Defender of the National Interest. Heath, the Sacrificer.

Not so well known is Heath the Public Relations man for his friends' business interests.

This Heath is best illustrated by the hitherto untold story of the Prime Minister, Timothy Kitson, and the £9 million of taxpayer's money which found its way into the coffers of A & P Appledore International, a shipbuilding firm.

Private

Kitson looks at first sight like a typical Tory squire.

He has a lovely house at Northlerton in his constituency and the 400 acres necessary to qualify for a Tory candidature. His hobbies are 'shooting, hunting and horse racing'.

He was parliamentary Private Secretary to farmer Jim Prior when the latter was Minister of Agriculture.

Prior was so impressed with his fellow farmer that he recommended him to his old friend Ted Heath. So Heath took Kitson into his private office in 1972.

But Kitson is not as ordinary as he looks. He has what is known as a 'Shrewd business sense'.

Until shortly before the company went bankrupt in curious circumstances in 1972, Kitson was chairman of Briant Colour Printing in South London.

The 600 workers promptly took



with T H Rogmorton

over the plant and had to put up with almost constant surveillance and bullying from the police—almost as though someone from the top was anxious to put a stop to their 'work-in'.

Traditionally, parliamentary Private Secretaries to Prime Ministers don't accept boardroom appointments, but Mr Kitson is not a traditionalist.

On 15 June 1972 he joined the board of A & P Appledore International Ltd. The company had been formed early in 1971 by Court Line, the shipping giant, and Austin and Picksergill, Wearside shipbuilders, which in turn is a subsidiary of London Overseas Freighters.

The purpose of the giant company was to sell specialised technical expertise, especially in the building of small tankers. Its chairman is

Charles Longbottom, former Tory MP for York.

The company was an instant success, turning in a profit of £85,000 in its first 21 months. But the men in charge of the company wanted desperately to move in to the big time, and this meant establishing 'contact' with and impressing the world's top shipping magnates.

So John Young, managing director of Court Line, organised a tasteful little 'private lunch' at the Savoy Hotel.

Among the guests were Stavros Niarchos, the Greek shipowner and multi-millionaire, Fred Olsen, the Norwegian shipowner and multi-millionaire, and George Livanos, Niarchos' nephew, another shipowner and multi-millionaire.

It is not easy for small shipping firms to get three such giants in the business to one lunch party, but the real attraction for the magnates was the presence at the lunch not only of the charming Tim Kitson, but also of his boss, the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon Edward Heath.

Success

Heath listened approvingly as John Young filled in the details of the A & P operation, and openly touted for orders. He even murmured something about the 'best of British technology' in relation to his friend's company.

The lunch, from the point of view of A & P, was an unqualified success.

But Heath's government's generosity to Heath's private secretary's firm doesn't stop at a few polite words at Savoy lunches. Last year, A & P Appledore got the contract for advising on the building of Court Line's mammoth Pallion Shipyard

on Wearside.

The yard is costing rather more than £10 million, but Court Line will not have to pay out much of this. In November last year, Christopher Chataway, Minister for Giving out Grants to Industrialists, after a cordial meeting with the business colleagues of his boss's private secretary, announced a government loan of £9 million for the Pallion project.

If the money had been borrowed on the open market according to the

principles of free enterprise, interest rates would have been in the region of 14 per cent.

The Department of Trade and Industry will be charging Kitson and his colleagues a mere 8 per cent.

And all interests for the first two years has been 'waived'. In addition, the company is likely to get a regional development grant of £4 million.

As the Tory election solgan, only circulated in the City of London puts it: If you want to get ahead, get a friend of Ted.

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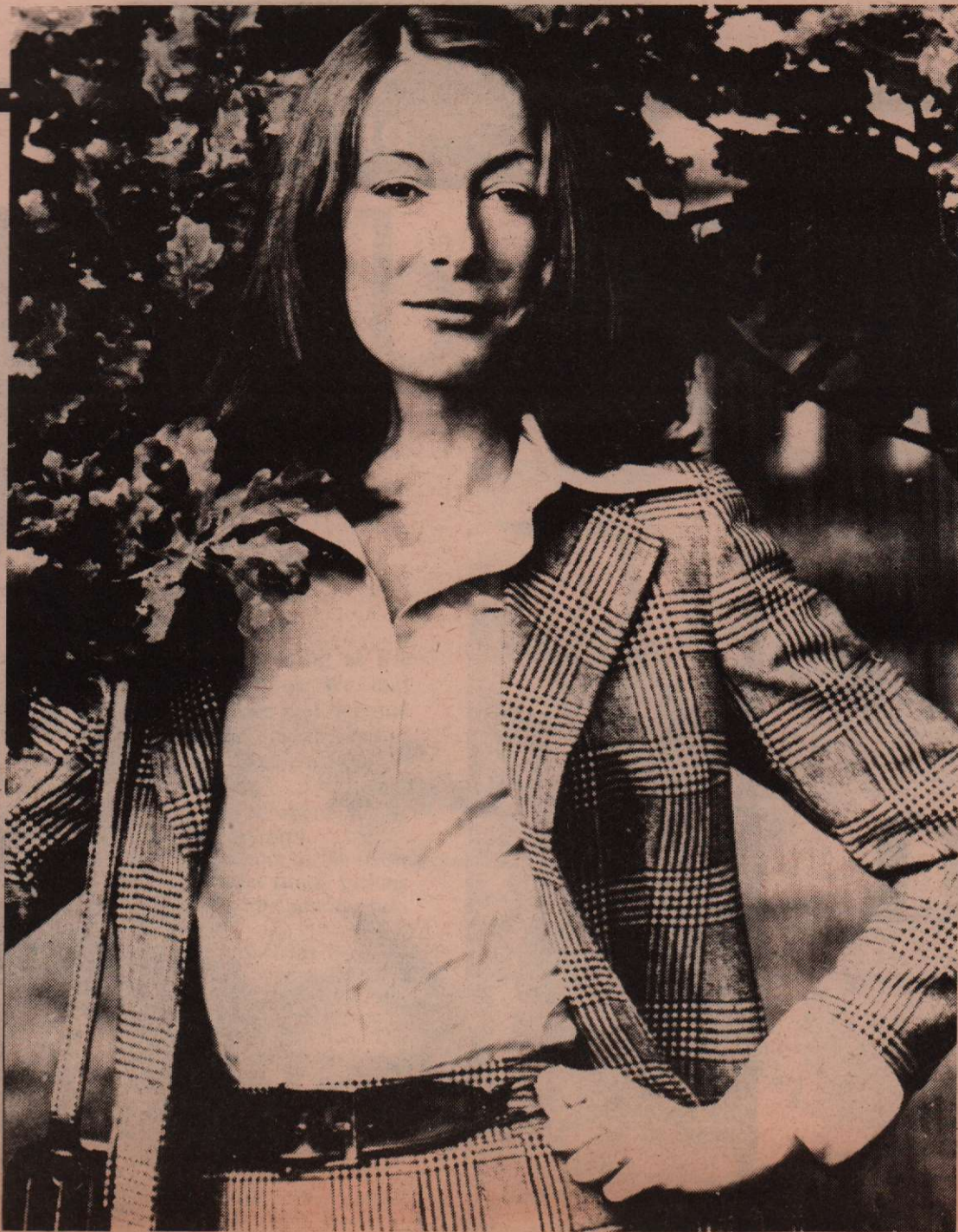
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Social Security for Strikers



a Socialist Worker pamphlet

Lunch guest who impressed the magnates



Norma: luckier than most when her car broke down

I, NORMA LEVY, the life story of the 'most famous whore in the world' was published last December* and was almost totally boycotted by the media.

No newspaper in Britain was interested in serialising it, although its contents would normally be regarded as juicy meat for serialisation.

W H Smith, who control about 35 per cent of the country's bookshops, refused to stock it. So did Menzies, Smith's main rival.

*Blond and Briggs, 50p

under the Torie

Norma Levy: life's better

The effect of these two refusals was to knock about 25,000 off the book's sale. Only one national newspaper published a substantial review of the book. What must have upset the booksellers most and the news-

papers was Norma Levy's frankness about the habits of some very respectable people.

The bulk of the book is taken up with her description of her various clients in high society, and their remarkable demands.

Some of her comments are worth remembering next time you hear a merchant banker, an industrialist, a lord or an American president talking about national sacrifices and Christian duty.

CLIENT NO 1, ALFRED: 'A man in his late fifties, six feet, grey-haired with a moustach... He was chairman of one of Britain's largest public companies.

Opened

'He bought me a beautiful house... he used to pay all my bills for the flat and the accounts he opened for me at London stores...'

CLIENT NO 2, DAVID: 'One of Britain's most successful merchant bankers. He kept talking about black leather trousers, whip fantasies, about girls dressed as French maids. He kept this up for about an hour and he gave me a hostess fee of £500...'

'I arrived at the Dorchester the following evening at 10.00 pm wearing my mink coat and carrying my portable chamber of horrors in a small suitcase...'

'Now what I want you to do', he said, 'is to put the whole outfit on, walk out of the Dorchester and just carry on walking down Park Lane.'

'What on earth do you want me to do that for?' I said,



Lord Jellicoe, the second Tory minister who resigned over Norma.

astonished.

'I just want you to do it to please me'. I changed into the outfit in the bedroom and... as I went out into the corridor, with him following close behind, I was relieved to see no one was in sight. We went down in the lift and it was obvious that he was very excited by the whole situation.

'Cross Park Lane and walk down past Les Ambassadeurs,' he hissed. On I walked feeling more and more ridiculous. Always there was the sound of his footsteps almost on top of me. I had got a few yards past the entrance to Les Ambassadeurs when his panting voice said: 'You can stop now, I'll get a taxi.'

'Just before the taxi arrived he handed me a large bulky envelope... as he pulled away I ripped open the envelope and couldn't believe my eyes. There in front of me, lay a mound of brand new £20 notes. It turned out to be £8000 in total.

'I kept my date for lunch

the next day, and I was five minutes late. He was one of those people who is terribly pernickety about people being punctual.

'Why are you late?' he greeted me. As an excuse I said I had trouble getting the car started. 'Right. You are to have a new car. What do you want?'

'Entering the spirit of the joke, I said: "A new Mercedes would do very nicely".'

'At the end of the lunch I had completely forgotten what was said about the car; I thought it was a joke anyway. Afterwards he took me into a Mercedes Benz showroom and made me choose the car I wanted. He paid for it by cheque and I collected it the following day.'

CLIENT NO 3, 'a titled man, with a large country house in Sussex', had a regular friend.

'On the table he had laid out a huge oak coffin surrounded by about 30 silver candleholders.

Coffin

'I had to take off all my clothes, except a white slip, and then climb into the coffin and lie there in my slip with my eyes closed pretending I was dead... He would very slowly light the candles and put them in the holders all round the coffin.'

The fee: £80.

CLIENT NO 4, 'A middle-aged English Duke... had apparently limitless money, and a never-ending sexual appetite and much too much time on his hands. I used to see him

about once a month in the company of... He never used to be three girls at a time frequently have them in a day with the girls each time.'

The fee for each three girls was £270.

CLIENT NO 5, of the top industrial country, was one of the rite clients. He was liked to be beaten, hard; humiliated a on...

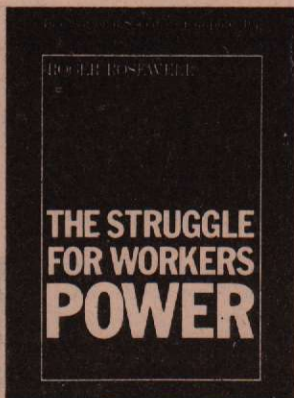
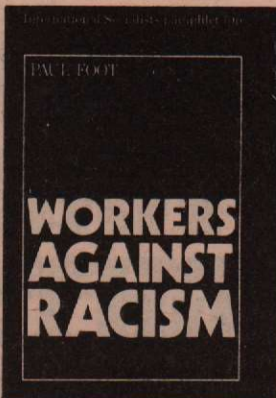
Norma Levy's father to the attention of Whitehouse who chief pimp at the Foreign Office and whose main aim was to satisfy the lust of the dignitaries, especially on royal visits.

Mr Whitehouse close liaison with madame, Jean Horn writes Norma, 'that was running a top operation as the prop most high-class call London in no way government department calling on her service they felt it was desirable.'

Among those fix Norma for the night Whitehouse were Soekarno, then President of Indonesia, a Middle East ruler and a Gulf Ruler.

Finally there was a famous client of Lambton, Minister of the Ministry of Defence.

Writes Norma: 'Tony was one of the who never liked the



Roger Rosewell's THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER is an outline of the policies of the International Socialists, the development and nature of modern capitalism—and the urgent need for a workers' party to overthrow it.

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Ugly face
of Toryism



Lord Lambton, the debagged minister. He and his class teach 'Christian morality'—and treat women and sex as just two more commodities to be bought and sold.

Mr Maudling on

'sacrifice'

IN FEBRUARY, 1967, Reginald Maudling hurried home from a business trip in Malta to write an article for The Times newspaper. The article bitterly attacked the Wilson government for lowering standards in modern Britain.

'When we survey the state of our society,' he wrote, 'can anyone doubt that this dwindling sense of personal responsibility and lack of personal involvement lie at the base of most of our most of our problems?'

At the time, Maudling had a number of responsibilities. He was deputy leader of the Tory Party, and the Conservative Parliamentary Party's spokesman on foreign affairs.

He still made speeches about the importance of sacrifice and personal responsibility in the House of Commons, but his main efforts were concentrated outside.

He was executive director at £240 a week for the merchant bank, Kleinwort Benson, a director of Dunlops for another £60 a week and a director of AEI for another £20 a week.

When AEI was merged with GEC, Maudling was removed from the board and promptly joined the board of the fork-lift truck manufacturers, Lansing Bagnall for £60 a week.

All this was not enough for Maudling's highly developed sense of personal responsibility.

Six months before writing to The Times he had joined the board of a company controlled by a Pontefract architect called John Poulson.

Maudling went all round the world for Poulson. He went to Saudi Arabia where he 'won' the contract for a £7 million hospital which was to be used exclusively by the friends, family and harem of the King.



Maudling: 'Britain needs a new sense of self-discipline'

Desert

He went to Abu Dhabi in the Persian Gulf, where he 'won' the contract for a ridiculous luxury palace in the middle of the desert for the amusement of Sheikh Khalifa, son of the Abu Dhabi ruler.

He went to Malta and fixed up another hospital on the island of Gozo. He flew first class around West Africa trying to sell Poulson's wares.

In 1969, Poulson's wife with half an aeroplane of Poulson's staff to Mexico City, where the party stayed in the very best hotels and ate at the very best restaurants for three weeks without winning a single contract.

Maudling joined the board of another of Poulson's companies for £2000 a year in 1967. Poulson paid for Maudling's other services by donating £22,500 to a theatre which Mrs Maudling was setting up in East Grinstead.

In 1969, Poulson's bankruptcy was becoming a bit obvious. So Maudling and his son Martin—who had been 'general manager' for Poulson at about £80 a week plus expenses—jumped off one sinking ship. But Maudling remained chairman of Poulson's overseas company right up until the general

election of 1970.

Meanwhile, Maudling's sense of responsibility led him elsewhere. In 1969 he was introduced to a notorious American swindler called Jerome Hoffman. Maudling and Hoffman got on very well indeed, and Maudling agreed to become president of a new and magnificent Hoffman 'enterprise'.

It was called The Real Estate Fund of America, and its chief object was to solicit money from gullible parasites in Europe, the Middle East and South America. Maudling used his powerful influence in banking circles to squeeze about a quarter of a million pounds from a Norwegian bank for REFA.

In July, when he heard the truth about Hoffman's past he resigned as president for fear of adverse publicity. But he clung on to 50,000 shares in The Real Estate Fund of America given him by Hoffman which Hoffman valued at £350,000.

Disabled

Maudling was still holding the shares when the Tories won the 1970 election and the first president of The Real Estate Fund of America and the first chairman of Poulson's ITCS Ltd was made Home Secretary, in charge of law and order.

He was desperately trying to sell the shares in November 1970, when he made a speech to the British Council for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled.

'Britain,' he said, 'has lost some of her pride. We need a new sense of self-discipline based on a pride in oneself and responsibility

and on the recognition of individual courage and achievement.'

A few weeks later, he was forced to renounce ownership of Hoffman's shares. For Hoffman was wanted for swindling in the United States and hundreds of idiots who had invested money in The Real Estate Fund of America were shouting for their money back.

Most of them never got it. REFA went bankrupt, and Hoffman went to American prison. Poulson went bankrupt too, and now he has gone to prison.

When police inquiries started into the Poulson scandal in 1972, Maudling was finally forced to

resign. Earlier this month he agreed to pay 100,000 dollars damages to some American investors in The Real Estate Fund of America.

Maudling never made the 'little pot of money for his old age' which, he once explained, was his real reason for teaming up with Hoffman.

But he is still very comfortable thanks to generous cheques from newspapers and television companies which are still employing him, almost once a week, to pontificate about the need for a 'new sense of national pride'.

Reginald Maudling will be standing for the Conservative cause in Barnet next week.

... kind of thing when we met. He always wanted something different. I think he just got a kick out of variety...

'He used to get a great kick out of talking about drugs and I think this was his dream world. I think he used to have the occasional smoke, but I am sure it never went further than that.'

Lord Lambton, apparently, was not the only Tory Minister who made use of Norma's services. After Norma and her husband fled the country when the scandal broke last summer, they were approached by journalists on The People.

Identified

'They produced a whole series of photographs of famous people, most of whom were government ministers. They wanted me to identify all those people who had been my clients. As the photos were produced I found that I knew quite a lot of them.'

That was too much for The People, which never printed any of the names of the men identified by Norma.

The Daily Mirror, The People's stablemate, got hold of a complete list of all Jean Horn's clients, but refused to publish any names, probably because it contained a number of well-known patriots in positions of some prominence in the newspaper field.

The conclusions from her story are a little too embarrassing for people who like to defend the wealth and privileges of a capitalist minority. As Norma put it herself:

'No one is braver than the British upper classes on any battlefield in the world, but the grapeshot of scandal sees them rushing for their boltholes in total disarray. The ranks close in support of hypocrisy and concealment.'

PAUL FOOT

Reggie's great fall...

(To the tune of Humpty Dumpty)

Reggie Maudling sat on a board.
Reggie's partner went down for fraud.
All the Queens Counsel and media men
Couldn't put Reggie together again.

IS BOOKS,
265 Seven Sisters Road
London N4

David Beecham's Rates for the Job

Cover price: 20p each. IS Books: 10 for 10p each + 12p postage. Over 10 copies 10p each post free.



A toolmaker at Jaguar's Coventry plant earns £50.92 for a basic 40 hour, 5 day week. For the same work Perkins Engines at Peterborough pay their toolmakers £29.51

What's your rate? And what's the best rate? This pamphlet gives basic rates for 16 jobs in over 50 different plants and industries. Invaluable in negotiations with management.



Ugly face of Toryism

Are you frightened to ask a policeman the time?

Do you fear the midnight knock on the door?

Are you the subject of police harassment?

Do you fear to collect your miserable pittance from the social security?

Are you liable to arrest if you are not carrying your passport?

Are you discriminated against at work or at leisure?



IF YOUR answer to these questions is yes then it means one of two things. You are either a black, second-class citizen of the Republic of South Africa, or a black, second-class citizen of Tory Britain.

Truth to tell the Tories inherited the Immigration Act from their Labour predecessors, but it required the special Tory viciousness of Robert Carr, a man with a totally unmerited reputation for liberalism, to institutionalise the harassment and terrorising of black people.

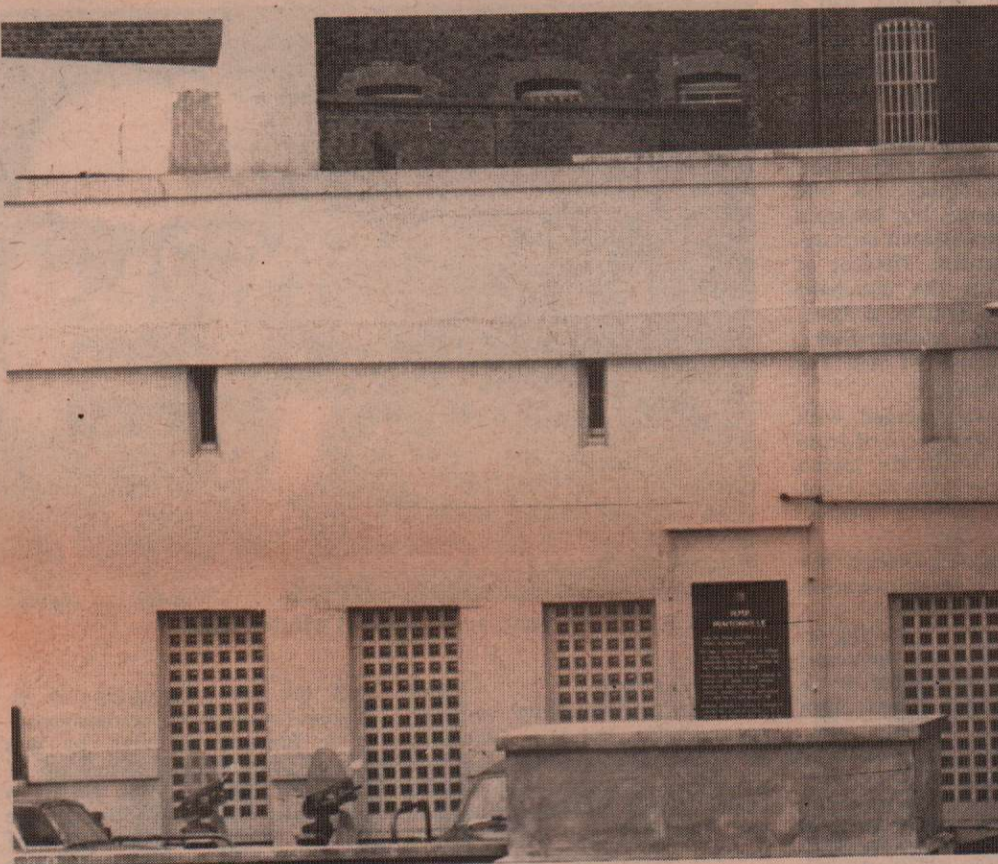
The 1968 Act was a harsh attack against black people. One of its provisions, however, permitted 'illegal' immigrants to become 'legal' so long as they remained here undetected for six months.

This situation was quite unacceptable to the Tories. So they set out to make illegal—retrospectively—that which had previously been legal—a situation that casts considerable doubt on Tory devotion to: 'Law and Order'.

Panic

The House of Lords, never slow to oblige in any reactionary venture, agreed that retrospective changes in the law were a good thing. At a stroke tens of thousands of black people were thrown into panic. Ordered, secure existence, for these people, became a thing of the past.

Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary for the Social Services, issued instructions to all the welfare agencies to demand passports from black people who applied for benefit. Despite a



Home Secretary Robert Carr and Pentonville Prison, where between 40 and 80 'illegal' immigrants are held indefinitely.

refusal by the Civil Service Union to accept these police duties, many blacks were deterred from applying for benefits to which they were fully entitled and for which they had paid taxes and insurance contributions.

Carr gave the green light to the police for a campaign of harassment.

In Bradford immigrant organisations reported that police were asking black drivers for their passports, as well as their driving licences, when stopping them for petty driving offences.

In Manchester police went to a restaurant and arrested two of the workers on suspicion of illegal entry.

In Sheffield Social Security officials were asking black claimants about their entry into Britain.

In Goddmaye, Essex, a 17-year-old Ugandan Asian girl asked a policeman how to get home. She was promptly bundled into a police car and held until her passport was produced.

At Kings Cross station, London, George Peake, a South African Cape Coloured and member of the International Socialists, was accosted by a policeman. 'You look suspicious,' said the policeman. 'Can I see your ticket and your passport.' George handed over his ticket, with the comment: 'I didn't know you needed a passport to get to Huddersfield.' The policeman's polite reply: 'Now then wog, don't you get stropky with me.'

In Southall families have been deserted by their menfolk, who are not sure if they are 'illegal' immigrants. In Gravesend mothers are frightened to go into hospital for fear they will be asked for their passports.

At any time there are between 40 and 80 'illegal' immigrants locked in Pentonville jail in London. There have been up to 180.

Last week Solomon Molumbo was deported to South Africa. He is unlikely to be admitted there. If so he will be returned to Pentonville to rot until the Home Office decides to deport him to another unwilling nation.

Veneer

The men in Pentonville are in a more favourable position than the many others in British jails. At least they are all together and have certain additional privileges in regard to letters and visits. Other black people held in Winson Green prison, Birmingham, and Ardingley Prison, Leeds, are restricted to one letter a week and to the normal prison visiting rights.

These men and women are held indefinitely, submitted to gruesome prison conditions and the inhuman, degrading process of shuttling around the world, rejected by nations unwilling to accept Robert Carr's deportees.

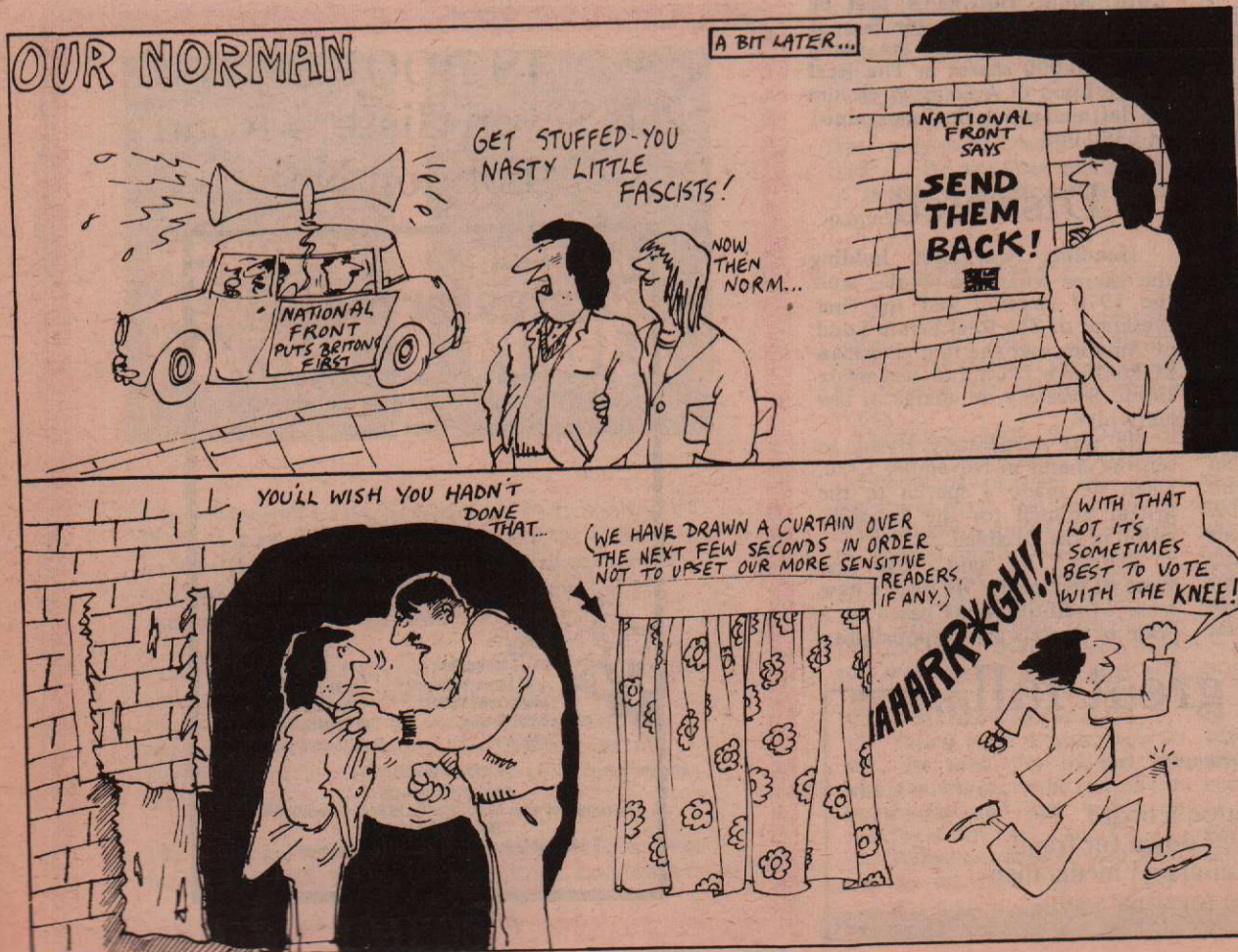
Tory Britain is a more and more racist Britain. The thin, stammering, liberal veneer of Robert Carr ineffectively masks the willing concessions to the Monday Club racists and their National Front allies, the Powellite lunatics of the Tory constituencies.

The war against racism will not be finished by this election, but the chances of organising a real fight back will be improved by removing the Tories, once and for all.

Forced

Satnam Kane worked for a garage in Southall. When £50 was stolen from the till, Satnam was, because of his colour, a prime suspect. Under police questioning, he confessed to the crime, was forced to take the police to his home and pay over his savings of £11.50.

Later the money was found. It had never been stolen. To this day the police have not explained how Satnam came to confess to an offence that had never been committed.



STORY: JIM HIGGINS
PICTURE: MIKE COHEN

EDUCATION



Ugly face of Toryism

School they set out to kill

THE YEAR 1971-72 was a year of torture for the Stewart family. The cause wasn't bereavement or some other natural disaster. Far from it.

Their worry was over their son Graham, then 13, now 15 and growing straight and strong. But what was up with Graham Stewart? It wasn't that he was lazy, a delinquent, a troublemaker, though some of his teachers and at least one School Board inspector said he was all of those things.

Graham was on the receiving end of an education system starved of funds and lacking any democratic control, an education system becoming ever more shambolic and damaging to those supposed to benefit. In September 1970, just after the Tories came to power, Graham started his secondary education at the Lennard School, South Ockenden, Essex. He and his mates did well and moved ahead into the second form. But in that second year something that could and should have been a benefit to all working-class kids was pushed through like a parcel through a letter box.

Comprehensive education came to South Ockenden. But thanks to the increasingly low priority given to education by a system whose central pre-occupation is the rate of profit it came without what was needed most.

Money was short. The teaching staff was below strength and badly paid. Equipment was lacking. New buildings on the necessary scale were an impossibility. So Graham's second year at secondary school became a disaster.

Even before it began the local government education bureaucrats decided to shut the Lennard School down. This was a heavy blow to parents who had spent years of their lives raising money to ensure that the Lennard School had some of the facilities the fags of Eton, the sons



The Stewart family: from left, Stan, Susan, Graham and Olive

of Harrow and their parents take for granted.

Olive Stewart, a fighter from the same mould as her husband Stan, former convenor of the giant Thames Board Mills at Purfleet and now SOGAT South Essex Branch secretary, takes up the story:

'We moved here in 1947 and since then the ordinary people round here mucked in to raise money to build a swimming pool for that school.

Waste

'My daughter Pat is 30 now. All the time she was at the school we raised money to build the pool. Then when Susan, now 18, went there we raised more money to cover it over and put in heating. Then as soon as Graham went there they decided to shut the school and the pool down.'

After a fight the school was reprieved and became an annexe to

Name: Graham Stewart					Name: Graham Stewart				
Term Ending 22 July 1971 Class 1c Year 1st					Term Ending 18 July 1972 Class 2c Year 2nd				
DETAILS OF THE REPORT					DETAILS OF THE REPORT				
SUBJECT	Marks Possible	Marks Obtained	REMARKS	Teacher's Signature	SUBJECT	Marks Possible	Marks Obtained	REMARKS	Teacher's Signature
Holy Scripture	A	VG	Excellent work	JB.	Holy Scripture	A	F	unsatisfactory - parents disappointed should be shown	JB.
Arithmetic	D	VG	classwork good, poor exam	SL.	Arithmetic	E	S	Satisfactory - but no real effort	SL.
Geometry									
Algebra									
General English	C+	VG	Capable of good work	SG.	General English	D+	F	Unsatisfactory	HR.
English Literature									
English Composition	C	G	very good	JB.	English Composition	E	P	most unsatisfactory. could be a substitute to others - needs parental approval	JB.
Geography									
History	B	VG	a good term's work	PH.	History	D	F	shows no interest	PH.
Science									
Handicraft					Handicraft				
Needlework					Needlework				
Domestic Subjects					Domestic Subjects				
Hygiene					Hygiene				
Home Nursing					Home Nursing				
First Aid					First Aid				
Music					Music				
Art	C+	VG	works with care	PS.	Art	D	F	lazy and awkward	MO.
Physical Exercises					Physical Exercises				
Shorthand					Shorthand				
French					French				
A good term, and a good year. JB. (class teacher)					Could soon be in serious trouble. PH. (class teacher)				

Graham Stewart's school reports for the two succeeding years—the education authority claims the difference between them has nothing to do with the shortage of teachers, overcrowded classrooms and lack of school facilities

the Culverhouse School. But the real reason it was kept open was because the education authority had severely underestimated the number of school places needed. Lennard became a funnel for first, second and third formers. They stayed there until there was room in Culverhouse itself.

Graham Stewart explains what happened in his second year. 'Everyone lost whatever interest they had. It was just a waste of time. The kids were away from school playing more often than they went.'

'I remember one day when six out of 35 in my class turned up.'

'We used to sit in classes without teachers a lot of the time. Or we had teachers nipping out early because they had to go over to the other schools to take a class. The kids went wild. And we detested authority, the people who went on about 'delinquents'. You used to be thinking: What right have they got to

take away our teachers and shove us around?'

'It was a disgrace,' says Olive. 'You could see Graham losing any interest at all, just going to pieces. His future was threatened. He was depressed and unhappy. We had to keep taking days off work to go down to school and try and sort things out. It's not every parent that can afford to take the days off.'

'The truth is that you get driven to consider paying to send your boy to a private school. I suppose that's what the Tories want you to do. But you are driven and I did suggest this to Graham. But he wouldn't have it. Young as he was, he wouldn't have any preferential treatment that would have singled him out from his mates.'

'Anyhow we eventually got him moved over to Culverhouse itself a bit earlier than the other kids. It's working out now. But he and the other kids lost a year's education because

of the penny-pinching and downright lack of concern about state education.

'I say it's better now. It is. But it's still bad. They're short of teachers yet.'

'And Graham has never been swimming since July 1971 when he got his bronze Amateur Swimming Association Medal. There's a pool just about to open on this estate, the second amenity they've been pleased to grant us in more than 25 years. The first was a golf-course.'

Graham has survived thanks to himself, his friends and his family. But the new comprehensive school which has emerged is now beset with other problems, the normal everyday ones of all state schools.

Problems

As Graham explains: 'My friend Richard wants to be a toolmaker. To get an apprenticeship he needs to pass the Certificate of Secondary Education in both metalwork and technical drawing. But at our school you can't do both—because of the teacher shortage. You can only do one or the other.'

Stan Stewart has plenty to say on the subject too. 'I've been to see them all about this, headmasters, teachers, education officers, the lot. One head—I almost had him in tears at what is going on. He said the Essex Education Authority had admitted that teachers' wages was the problem.'

'And what was the Tories' answer to that? A wage freeze which will make the situation even worse.'

'My father taught me to fight injustice, that's what our lives are for. In the 1926 general strike I was six years old. I remember them locking us in the school playground during the dinner breaks to keep us away from our own people—what they called "marauding bands of strikers".'

'Even as children we had a glimpse of what it could be. Round the Elephant and Castle where I was raised it was a rare event to eat properly, never mind have a bottle of lemonade. During that strike, the strikers just used to commandeer the strikebreaking R and W White's lemonade wagons.'

'The streets weren't running with blood. They were running with lemonade.'

Laurie Flynn

The Tory cuts: Who eats meat now?

THANKS to Anthony Barber and his Tory budget, Shropshire Education Authority has been forced to cut its planned spending on education this year by £900,000. The cuts include:

Reduction of protein in school meals	£ 50,000
Replacement of fresh milk by dried milk	£ 30,000
School redecoration schemes halted	£100,000
School furniture which will not now be bought	£ 60,000
Ending of swimming classes in winter	£ 20,000
Cuts in discretionary grants to poor children who need finance to stay at school after 16	£ 16,000
Cancellation of camping trips to Wales	£ 5,000

The Inner London Education Authority alone has had to axe the building of 32 new primary schools planned for 1974-76 as a result of the cuts. Most of the new building was to replace schools built before 1903.

Leeds Education Authority is considering replacing meat in school dinners with soya-based substitute KESP. Cold school meals are also likely two days every week.

Wolverhampton Education Authority is one of several looking into the possibility of extending next winter's school holidays and shortening the Easter holidays. The aim is to save £32,000 on electricity bills.

In the Times Educational Supplement of 28 December John Vaizey reported on the gloomy prospects for state education after Barber's

budget. On the opposite page the paper reported that the outlook for Direct Grant Schools, the state-subsidised, semi-private, fee-paying schools, was far from gloomy.

Outfit

Mr R St John Pitts-Tucker, secretary of the Headmasters' Conference, was quoted as saying that the Tory government would be giving his outfit an 11 per cent increase in their allowance for this year. Two-thirds of the direct grant schools' annual income of £27 million comes from the state.

Before the budget Birmingham Education Authority was definitely going ahead with building a replacement for the 80-year-old Osbourne

Junior School at Erdington. The cuts mean the scheme has now had to be cancelled.

It is not the first time rebuilding plans for Osbourne have been axed. Definite plans to rebuild were first announced in 1934. Since then the school has been on and off the list of scheduled projects as education spending has been slashed by successive governments.

Last week Princess Margaret and Lord Snowdon moved their 12-year-old son Viscount Linley to a new school. Exams were getting near and they felt that classes at his old school, £600-a-year Ashdown House, were too big. There were 15 to a class. At his new school, the even more expensive Millbrook House, there are more teachers and only eight to a class.



Ugly face of Toryism

ONE THEME runs through all Tory election propaganda. The country, they say, is in dire economic straits. We all have to make sacrifices. And that means pay claims beyond the Phase Three limit just cannot be afforded.

This argument the Labour leaders have utterly failed to answer. Yet it is nonsense from beginning to end.

Last year more wealth was produced in this country than ever before in history. Industrial output grew by more than 5 per cent and profits by 25 per cent. Yet workers' living standards fell by about 2 per cent.

If the wealth which flows to the very rich were divided among the workers who actually produce it, real increases in living standards would be possible.

In 1972, even before last year's profits boom, the total amount paid in rents, dividend and interest was £5271 million—enough to have increased the old age pension by half and to have given an increase of £2 a week to every wage and salary earner.

But the very rich get their high incomes not just from rent, dividends and interest. Most also get massive salaries and directors' fees. The redistribution of these would mean vast improvements in the lives of all workers, skilled or unskilled, white collar or blue collar.

In 1972 the people of Britain received a total income, after tax and after making allowances for industrial investment, of £39,360 million. That works out at £773 for every man, woman and child.

Before paying tax, the average family with two or three children would receive around £95 a week and every old person £15 a week. While most families have to live on less than half this figure, no workers should listen to any talk about 'What the country can afford'.

When politicians say the country cannot afford further wage increases, what they really mean is that those who control society cannot afford them.

Minority

Under capitalism, the well-being or otherwise of all of us depends on keeping happy the minority who own the wealth. In Britain today, 81 per cent of stocks and shares are owned by 1 per cent of the population. About 1500 men sitting in the boardrooms of 100 companies employ half the workers and control two-thirds of industrial output.

This small minority will not allow production to continue and will not put money into new industries unless guaranteed high profits. If profits are not to be had, they close down factories, sack workers, and impose short-time working.

In short, they operate a protection racket far more extensive than anything the Kray Brothers ever imagined.

The crisis now facing this country is part of a crisis which is developing in the capitalist systems all over the world. The cause is simple.

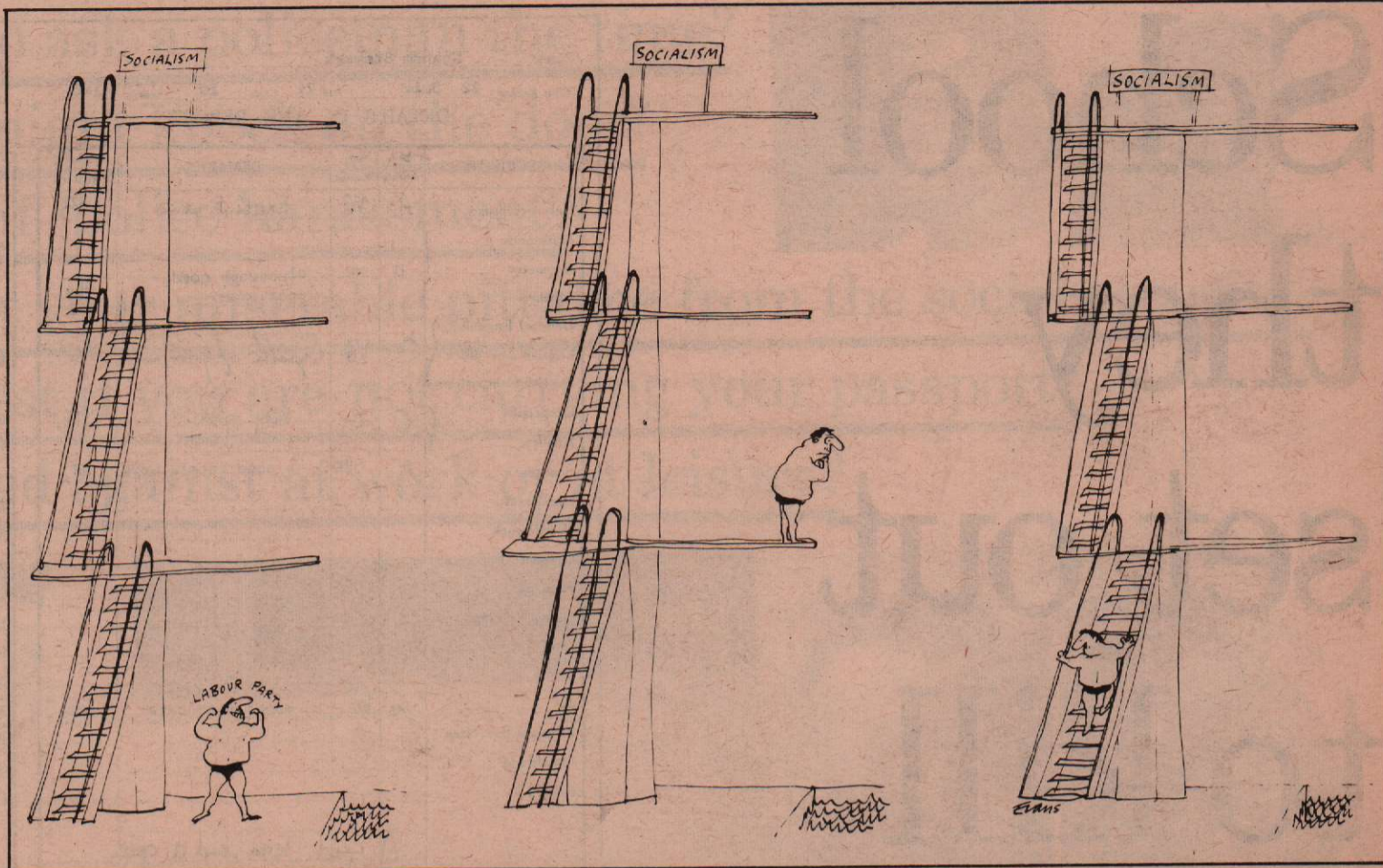
In the hell-bent scramble for profits, big business has caused shortages of key goods. As prices have risen, other businessmen have seen that a quick killing can be made by hoarding goods, so as to force prices up even more.

This is most obvious in the case of oil: not only the Arab sheikhs but the giant oil companies have been reaping undreamt profits. Shell's profits more than doubled in just three months last year.

Now suddenly, the owners of industry all over the world are frightened the upsurge in raw material prices will cut their profits. So they are refusing to expand production any more, pushing up unemployment, and demanding that governments use 'incomes policies' to cut living standards.

Governments that accept the capitalist system can do nothing to solve this crisis. The giant companies are big enough to escape governmental control. In the US the oil companies, for instance, have been able to force the government to

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE



All power to the workers!

'Workers, through their delegates, would then be able to ensure that the wealth they themselves produce is used for the benefit of all'

increase the price of oil by holding back supplies.

Because governments know they are powerless against these gigantic firms, they try to placate them by attacking workers' living standards. Harold Wilson dare not criticise the Tory record too strongly. He knows that if he is returned to power, he will be forced to behave as they do because he too accepts the big business system.

But there is an alternative to cuts in living standards, economic crisis and growing unemployment. It lies with a genuine socialist transformation of society. What would this involve?

Hardship

First, it would be necessary to take economic power from the 1 per cent who own industry now. That means nationalisation, but quite different from the way the Labour Party does it.

It would be no good nationalising industry slowly, one industry at a time. The moment the owners of other industries saw their position threatened, they would use their economic power to create massive hardship and opposition to the government. All would use the sort of blackmail we have seen the oil companies use in recent weeks. They would withhold supplies, shut down factories to create unemployment, move funds overseas to destroy the

value of the pound.

The only way to prevent this would be to nationalise all major industries simultaneously. At the same time, workers would have to step in to impose their control in every factory and office as the only way of preventing economic sabotage by the bosses.

But this could not be done while the army and police were left to operate as they do now. The officers in the armed forces are relatives and friends of those who own industry. They would move in, as happened in Chile, to stop a genuine workers' takeover. To prevent this, organised workers would have to build defence groups and encourage rank and file soldiers to turn against their officers.

Finally, such a movement could not be led by 350 or so MPs sitting in parliament and debating with a similar number of Tory MPs. It would require instead a leadership made up of delegates from every section of workers, trusted by the workers because they were continually subject to democratic control from below, and capable of co-ordinating into a single fight the separate activities of millions of men and women in thousands of factories.

On such a basis the grip of the ruling class on industry could be broken. Workers, through their delegates, would then be able to ensure that the wealth they themselves produce is used for the benefit of all.

Under such a system, there would

be no chance of men and women facing unemployment merely because a few people were not satisfied with the level of their profits.

There should be no doubt that workers are capable of running society in such a way. After all, at the moment most of the actual running of society and industry is done by workers—if you include such skilled workers as draughtsmen, computer operators, technicians, the lower ranks of the civil service, and so on. Under capitalism they are subject to the control of the owners of wealth, who have no skills—being experts only at shifting their money around and controlling the rest of us.

There is no reason why they should not be controlled, instead, by those who create the wealth.

Illusion

Of course, such a revolutionary change in society cannot happen until the mass of workers are convinced of the necessity for it and are prepared to fight to oust the old ruling class.

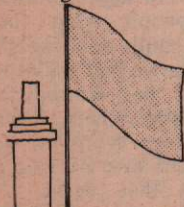
The majority of workers still do not see the need for such a fight. Many still have the illusion that if they only wait a bit, things will begin to get better without their needing to do anything themselves.

This illusion is going to clash more and more with reality in the months ahead, whoever wins the election. The problems facing workers are going to get worse, with continued attempts to cut living standards, attacks on the unions and picketing, growing unemployment, increasing poverty for the old.

What is going to be needed is the building of a revolutionary party—both to lead a fight back on all these issues and to convince large numbers of workers of the necessity of fighting for a real socialist alternative.

Chris Harman

Roger Kline's CAN SOCIALISM COME THROUGH PARLIAMENT? draws the lessons from the antics of the Labour Party, in government and in opposition, as reformers of capitalism, and argues what we can do to bring socialism.



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Finsbury Park, London N4

an International Socialists pamphlet 10p

ROGER KLINE

can
Socialism
come
through
Parliament?

10p plus 3p postage (10 or more copies post free) from



INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST NEWS

WHAT'S ON

AN ELECTION BLUNDER

CERTAIN small revolutionary groups are putting up candidates in the election, and in some cases have approached individual members of IS for support in their campaign.

The national committee of IS has decided that our policy in this election is to pursue our own independent anti-Tory campaign, and to push hard for a Labour victory. In these circumstances we do not give support to any candidates other than Labour candidates, even where the Labour candidate is an extreme right-winger such as Reg Prentice.

This is not because we are opposed in principle to revolutionary organisations contesting elections, nor

because we believe that a Labour victory will solve any of the fundamental problems facing working people—we are for a Labour victory because the government has chosen to fight this election on the issue of curbing the trade unions, and a Tory victory would give them the confidence to launch an intensified attack upon the right to organise.

For revolutionaries to stand candidates in such an election is simply a diversion from the main issues and constitutes a tactical blunder, which will not advance the cause of revolutionary socialism.

Print order hits 46,000 - forward to the 50,000

THE economic crisis, the election and the miners' strike have combined to push the sales and influence of Socialist Worker beyond the dreams of the most fervent IS optimist.

Last week 46,000 copies were printed, an increase of nearly 5000

in one week. All reports indicate that the vast majority of them were sold.

Selling has become much easier than ever before. A member of the C A Parsons factory branch of IS writes: 'Last Friday, a gate sale on the early morning shift sold 24 copies of Socialist Worker. Twenty more were sold outside the staff entrance

at 8.30am.

'Total sales in the factory were lifted from 70 to 120 at a stroke!'

The increase in sales and orders for the paper have been most striking in the mining areas. Barnsley branch have bumped their order up from 275 to 750, Edinburgh from 750 to a staggering 1400, Glasgow from 1400 to 3000, Dunfermline (a new branch) from 50 to 450, Keighley from 100 to 150, Dudley from 100 to 175, Canterbury and Deal from 100 to 250.

Relevant

Other increases show that the spread is right across the country, in new and established branches, in town and country areas. Here are some examples:

Exeter	125 to 225
Fakenham	70 to 150
Neath	100 to 225
Newcastle	650 to 950
Partington	75 to 150
Preston	25 to 100
Reading	125 to 225
Stockport	125 to 225
Sunderland	50 to 150
Barnet	150 to 300
Leeds	775 to 1400
Blackburn	125 to 250
Liverpool	650 to 1000
Luton	100 to 150
Coventry	500 to 750
Moss Side, Manchester	75 to 175

All the signs are that the orders and sales will be up again this week, the last issue before polling day. Every effort must be made to sell the paper *all through the week up to polling day*, since this week's issue will be highly relevant to the election. There are extra sales to be picked up on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of election week. Last year's IS conference set a target of 40,000 copies by next spring. We've reached that, so we must set another one: forward to 50,000.

Meetings & Notices

LATEST ISSUE of the Socialist Worker special for members of the Electricians and Plumbers Union now out. 3p, plus 3p postage from EPTU Special, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

WEST MIDDLESEX District IS Day School: 50 years of struggle. Speakers: Chris Harman on Lessons from the 1920s, and Tony Cliff on The Crisis, Saturday 23 February, 2.30pm, Park Hotel, Greenford Avenue, Hanwell, London W7. Fund-raising social afterwards: disco and band, booze and food, 8pm-midnight, bar extension—50p admission.

HACKNEY IS fund-raising jumble sale: clothes, books, records, etc. Saturday 23 February, 2pm, St Mathias Church Hall, Wordsworth Road (near Newington Green), London N16.

GRIMSBY IS public meeting: The Right to picket. Speaker John Carpenter (building worker convicted of picketing at Shrewsbury). Thursday 28 February, 8pm, Darleys Hotel, Cleethorpes. All welcome.

Victory to the Miners Kick out the Tories

NORWICH IS public meeting: Victory to the Miners! Speaker from NUM. Thursday 21 February, 7.45pm, Central Library, Norwich. All trade unionists welcome.

PADDINGTON IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories—victory to the miners. Speakers: Danny Phillips (Labour councillor for Church Street Ward, NW8, and a member of IS) and John Palmer. Thursday 21 February, 8pm, Seymour Hall (small hall), Seymour Place, London W1.

SOUTHWARK IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories—defend the unions. Speaker Roger Protz (editor, Socialist Worker). Monday 25 February, 7.30pm, Peckham Civic Centre, Old Kent Road.

WAKEFIELD IS public meeting: Support the miners—kick out the Tories. Sunday 24 February, 8pm, Queens Street Hall.

KINGSTON IS public meeting: Victory to the miners! NUM speaker. Tuesday 26 February, 7.45pm, Kingston Hotel (opposite Kingston station).

EARLESTOWN and ST HELENS IS public meeting: Support the miners—free the three. Speakers: Jim Clarke (NUM) and John Carpenter (convicted of picketing at Shrewsbury). Saturday 23 February, 12.30am, St Helens Town Hall.

WATFORD IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories—support the miners. Speaker Jim Nichol. Monday 25 February, 8pm, Trade Union Hall, Woodford Road (near Watford Junction station). All welcome.

HYDE IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories—build the revolutionary party. Speaker Glyn Carver (Manchester IS organiser). Sunday 25 February, 8pm, Railway Hotel, Simpson Street, Hyde.

ST HELENS IS public meeting: Support the miners—free the Shrewsbury pickets. Speakers: John Carpenter (building worker convicted of picketing at Shrewsbury) and Jim Clarke (NUM). Saturday 23 February, 12.30pm, St Helens Town Hall.

FLEET STREET: Socialist Worker public meeting: Back the miners—beat the Tories. Speakers: Paul Foot (NUJ), Bill Freeman Snr (NATSOFA) and a miner from the Kent coalfield. Chairman Albert Luck (SOGAT). Tuesday 26 February, 7.30pm, St Bride's Institute.

PRESTON IS public meeting: Why the miners must win and the Tories lose. Speaker John Deason (SOGAT, St Helens). Thursday 21 February, 8pm, George Hotel, Church Street, Preston.

OXFORD IS public meeting: Back the miners—beat the Tories. Speakers: Jock Wight (Pressed Steel) and Vic Collard (Lucas, Birmingham). Monday 25 February, 7.30pm, Cape of Good Hope pub, The Plain. All welcome. Admission 10p.

PARTINGTON IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories! Speakers: Peter Robinson and Frank Logan. Tuesday 25 February, 8pm, The Pavilion, Chapel Lane.

YORK IS public meeting: The miners and the election. Speakers Tony Cliff and a Yorkshire miner. Tuesday 26 February, 7.30pm, Lowther Hotel, Kings Staith, York.

BRIGHTON IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—Kick out the Tories. Monday 25 February, 8pm, The Prince George, Trafalgar Street. All welcome.

LONDON IS students' aggregate meeting: Wednesday 6 March, 7pm, Room S101A, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, WC2. All London IS students to attend.

ELECTROSTENCILS: IS Books can cut your stencils for 75p. Send art work (black and white only please) and money in advance to IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Excellent for all typing, and printing. Half-tones not guaranteed. State whether for Roneo or Gestetner duplicator.

BOUND VOLUMES of International Socialism Journal: A limited number of bound volumes of issues 36-55 have been produced for those who did not take advantage of our pre-publication offer. Price, including postage, £7.30. Orders now please to IS Journal, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Delivery will take a couple of weeks.

SOCIALIST WORKER needs help from IS students in London. If you have mornings or afternoons free and/or a driving licence, please phone Margaret Renn immediately—01-739 2639.

MIDDLETON IS public meeting: Reds under the bed? Speakers: Frank Logan (RRAU Halsteads) and Brian Rose (ATTI) discuss the real election issues. Monday 25 February, 8pm, Good Companions Club, Long Street, Middleton (next to Labour Club).

GUILDFORD IS public meeting: Why the miners must win. Speakers: A miner and Dave Peers (IS national secretary). Tuesday 5 March, 8pm, Foxburrows Hall, Foxburrows Avenue, Westborough Estate, Guildford.

DERBY IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories—Victory to the miners. Speakers: Dick Hall (Warsop NUM) and Sheila McGregor (IS). Wednesday 27 February, 8pm, Trent Social Club, Charnwood Street, Derby.

SALFORD IS public meeting: Smash the Tories! Victory to the miners! Speakers: Arthur Affleck (chairman, Lackenby steelworks shop stewards committee) and a speaker from the NUM. Wednesday 27 February, 7.30pm, The Salisbury, Old Trafford Road (opposite main dock gate).

BARNET IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—kick out the Tories. Speakers: Ross Pritchard (NGA) and a miner. Wednesday 27 February, 8pm, Bull and Butcher pub, High Road, Whetstone, London N20 (close to Tottenham and Whetstone tube station, buses, 134, 34, 251, 26, 260). All welcome.

EAST LONDON IS public meeting: Support the miners—kick out the Tories. Speakers: Duncan Hallas (IS) and a miner from the Kent coalfield. Chairman Drew Caldwell (TGWU, Ford). Tuesday 26 February, 8pm, Stratford Town Hall, Stratford Broadway (Stratford tube). Entertainment by Alex Glasgow.

WOLVERHAMPTON IS public meeting: Why we need to kick out the Tories. Speaker Paul Holborow. Wednesday 27 February, 8pm, The Posada (upstairs room), Lichfield Street.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—kick out the Tories. Speakers: Kinsey Gough (NUM), Merfyn Jones (ASTMS) and Dale Aston (NUM). Friday 22 February, 8pm, Bowchier Hall, Blind Institute, Fitzalan Place, Cardiff.

HARLESDEN IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—vote Labour and be prepared to fight. Speakers: Jim Nichol and Steve Abbot (NUM). Tuesday 26 February, 8pm, Willesden Junction Hotel.

COLINDALE IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—vote Labour and prepare to fight. Speakers: Roger Cox (AUEW), Mike Caffoor and Steve Abbot (NUM). Wednesday 27 February, 8pm, The Crown (upstairs room), Cricklewood Broadway.

PARTINGTON IS public meeting: Lessons of the General Strike. Speaker Fred Winter. Tuesday 5 March, 8pm, The Community Centre.

DUNFERMLINE IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—kick out the Tories. Speakers: Kenny Anderson (NUM branch committee, Castlehill) and Tony Cliff. Monday 25 February, 7pm, Carnegie Baths.

IS WANTS PACKER AND STOREMAN: driving licence an advantage. Apply to Mel Norris, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Phone 01-739 1870.

SW LITHO needs someone for general office duties. Contact Mel Norris at 01-739 1870.

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION on Lenin and the Russian Revolution available for IS meetings. For details contact Eve Barker at 01-485 0476.

STUDENT GRANTS AND THE CRISIS—a new IS Students' pamphlet. 5p each (£1 for 25 copies, cash with order) from IS Students, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS Weekend School: Saturday/Sunday 23-24 February at St Francis Hall, Edgbaston Park Road (next to Students Union). Saturday 10.30-5.30: The tasks of IS, speaker John Charlton; and Socialist Worker, speaker Laurie Flynn. Social in the evening. Sunday 11-4.30: Industrial perspectives, speaker Jim Nichol; and the Rank and File Movement, speaker Andreas Nagliati. Each session followed by discussion groups. Details from 021-449 6791.

CHINGARI STRESSES CRISIS

'WHOSE CRISIS?' is the main lead story in the latest issue of the IS Punjabi paper, Chingari, published last week. The article demonstrates the importance of the miners' strike for all workers and what Heath's aim is in the general election.

The crisis affecting Indian workers here is even more severe in India. The front page includes an account of the terrifying conditions developing there, and how the fight back can be built.

Chingari's editorial takes up the issues of the Shrewsbury pickets' trials, the right to picket and the right to strike. The campaign to get the release of the six jailed men concerns not just building workers, but all who will sooner or later have to fight to defend themselves. Solidarity of all workers is also important for the task of uniting all Asian workers and all immigrant workers. The IS Where We Stand column is translated in this issue for the first time.

There are reports on the two main strikes of Asian workers—at Coventry Art Castings, Nuneaton, and Perivale Gutermann, Southall, both Transport and General. Sheila Kaur writes the first of a series of articles on industrial safety, and there is also a poem by a well-known Punjabi worker-poet.

The development of rank and file organisation at Birmid Foundries is the main issue on the back page, along with a wealth of other news from round the country.

Copies sell out quickly now. They can be obtained from Chingari, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2. 5p each including postage.

NEWS IN BRIEF

MOSTON, Manchester:—A 'Support the Miners' meeting ran into difficulties when the local Labour Club Committee cancelled a booking for the club hall at three days' notice. The meeting place was swiftly changed and more than 40 people came to hear Mick Osborne of Maltby NUM

WORCESTER:—The Worcester Labour Party have decided not to hold public meetings in the town during the election campaign, so the IS meeting last Thursday could turn out to be the only socialist meeting of the campaign. More than 80 people came to hear Paul Foot speak on

the election and the crisis.

Six people joined IS after the meeting—effectively doubling the membership of IS in the town.

STOKE:—Jim Clarke (NUM) and Jim Higgins, from Socialist Worker, spoke at a lively 'Support the Miners' meeting organised by Stoke IS last Thursday. The secretary of the engineering section at the vast Michelin tyre factory in Stoke indicated that his shop stewards' committee would be sending a delegation to the rank and file conference organised by several rank and file papers on 30 March.

Harassment by police: Contact IS at once

REPORTS are coming in from all over the country of police harassment of IS members. There is no national pattern of repression—yet. But there are signs that local chief constables are getting much less scrupulous about trampling on the rights of socialists and trade unionists.

There is harassment of members caught fly-posting, harassment of Socialist Worker sellers and harassment of IS members in their homes.

The national secretary is co-ordinating all these reports with a view to effective legal action to restrict chief constables from acting outside their powers—especially in searching and confiscating documents without the necessary warrants.

IT IS VITAL THAT ALL IS MEMBERS EXPERIENCING POLICE HARASSMENT CONTACT THE NATIONAL OFFICE IMMEDIATELY WITH ALL THE DETAILS. The telephone number is 01-739 1878.



Ten of the candidates with their election agent: from left, Richard Cowham, Keith Millward, Esmond Barnes, June Nuttall, George Findley, Peggy Brooker, John Dunn, election agent Eileen Skinner, George Simms, Cliff Williams, and Brian Harris. PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

CLAY CROSS: 11 NEW FACES, SAME FIGHT

by Nigel Fountain

CLAY CROSS:—'They are not fit to be councillors, the sooner they are disqualified the better . . . Others must be elected in their place—others who will fulfill the duties which these 11 have failed to do. I trust there are good men in Clay Cross ready to take over.'

The words come from the Court of Appeal, from Lord Denning, one of our rulers' leading judges. They were directed at the Labour councillors of Clay Cross in Derbyshire, whose crime was that alone in Britain they had carried out Labour Party policy by refusing to put up council rents under the Tory 'Fair Rents' Act.

There are good men and women ready to take over. Six miners, two housewives, a student teacher, a lorry driver and a publican.

'The faces have changed, but the policies remain the same. The people are behind us and we're going to carry on from where we left off.



Lorry driver George Hudson, the 11th candidate

They'll have to fight everybody if they kick us off,' said miner Richard Cowham, one of the new 11.

The Tories have put a 'housing commissioner' into Clay Cross. He is determined to end 'this nonsense', he has announced. Sixty-year-old Patrick Skillington, from Henley-on-Thames, is getting £4000 a year for the privilege.

His paymasters must be getting a little anxious. John Dunn, another of

the 11 new candidates, and a miner, described Skillington's arrival in the village: 'He held a meeting for the press in Clay Cross. Two of us showed up and asked him a couple of questions. "We can't tolerate this kind of thing," he said—and packed up. He held the meeting up the road in Chesterfield.'

In the council election on Saturday 2 March, the Labour 11 are being opposed by candidates from the Residents' Association.

ELECTION

'They've opposed every leisure facility we've ever put in,' said Eileen Skinner, the Labour election agent. 'They've monopolised the letters column in the Derbyshire Times. Everything we've done they've opposed—with petitions. But when it has come to things like turning up for the election count—they're not there.'

'They would raise the rent—and get rid of half the council's labour force. They're playing marbles: they haven't held any meetings in the

campaigns they've fought.

'Why they talk about supporting local business—they haven't even had their posters printed in Clay Cross. They go off to Chesterfield! They say they're ashamed of Clay Cross, but no one seems to be leaving.'

The 'Residents' Association' looks suspiciously like the Tory Party in disguise. One of its leaders claimed it was time that someone spoke for the businessman. The Clay Cross Labour Party says this would mean an end to free TV licences for old age pensioners, to free milk for children, to concessionary bus fares.

Clay Cross has had plenty of publicity—including a documentary on Yorkshire TV. 'They filmed it like Clay Cross was a ghost town,' said Cliff Williams, 'And then they brought Dick Taverne in, when all the council was down in London seeing solicitors. I'd love to have seen what would have happened if they'd held a public meeting with him. Do you know how he came? He flew in by helicopter! And jumped into a chauffeur-driven car.'

'I've lived most of my life up the road—at Holmwood', said Keith Millward, officeworker at Arkwright Colliery. 'I've been here for four and a half years. I talk to people up there and they don't want to pay the extra 50p rent, but they're frightened. It's completely different here in Clay Cross. In this place they're involved, they know what's going on.'

SUPPORT

'In other places they don't. They vote, but they don't know why. In Clay Cross 14-year-olds want to know what's happening.'

Until the miners' strike started, Keith was getting up at 4.30 in the morning, having a 'mash and tea' and lighting the fire for when his wife and children get up.

'I'm at the bus stop by five—it comes at 5.20 but you can't afford to miss it. I check in the canteen to see if all my mates are there, and then by 6.30 I'm down at the pit bottom.'

If he's lucky he is home again by five to three in the afternoon. For this he gets take-home pay of £26 to support himself, his wife and three children. 'There was one old chap, he was about 62, and he went down on a walking stick,' said Keith.

In Clay Cross is a unique Labour Party, a fighting Labour Party in a fighting area. For the miners' strike, 'local tradesmen have been giving food—like they did in 1972,' said Richard Cowham.

'We're on low wages, and that means the shop-keepers are too. Apart from anything else, it is in their interest to help us. But that's not the only reason: the public aren't antagonistic to the miners, there's a vastly improved feeling even over 1972.'

The electoral battle in Clay Cross has the same effect. 'What it all boils down to,' said another candidate, speaking of the men who had gone before Lord Denning, 'is support for the famous 11.'

Classified

Copy for the Classified section must arrive by first post Monday morning. Adverts will not be accepted over the phone. Charges are 1p per word, semi-display 2p per word. CASH WITH COPY to Classified, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

SAVE POPLAR HOSPITAL STOP THE EAST END HOSPITAL CLOSURES

A protest procession through the heart of London from the condemned Poplar Hospital in East India Dock Road to the London Hospital, Whitechapel, via local hospitals. Saturday 23 February, starting at 10am prompt, with band and banners.

COMRADE or comrades with baby invited to share house in Preston. Write to M Beaken, 8 Rawthorne Road, Penwortham, Preston, or phone (0772) 45914.

HOSPITAL WORKER No 7 NOW OUT! Important article on Poplar Hospital closure, facts on agency staff, ambulance-men and canteen boycotts. Lots of articles on nurses—an ideal opportunity to involve nurses in the Hospital Worker. Rush orders to Business Manager, 8 Beverstone Road, London SW2.

SOCIALIST GAY GROUP has speakers throughout the country on the gay question and sexism. Inquiries from 15 branches especially welcomed. Details from 18 Dickenson Road, London N8.

CINEMA ACTION and EALING No 1 BRANCH AUEW presents the films Arise ye workers, Fighting the bill, and The UCS struggle. Friday 8 March, 7pm, Hanwell Library, Ealing, West London. Admission by trade union card only—all trade unionists welcome. Proceeds to North Wales Defence Committee.

STEPHEN BODINGTON discusses Computers and Socialism with The Socialist Party, Saturday 23 February, 8pm, General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, London N1 (near Kings Cross Station). The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

PILTON, EDINBURGH: SUPPORT THE MINERS! Rally organised by local tenants and trade unionists. Saturday 23 February, assemble 10am by the old Embassy Cinema, Pilton Drive North. March to Craigroyston School for meeting at 11.30am. Speakers: Eric Clarke (NUM executive committee) and Neil Lindsay (ETU shop steward).

PERSON WANTED for East London flat (preferably woman). Own room, immediate entry. Ring 989 5601.

SOCIAL: Friday 22 February, 7.30pm onwards. Admission 15p, proceeds to miners' strike fund. LSE, Houghton Street, London WC2 (Holborn or Temple tube).

IRISH POLITICAL HOSTAGES COMMITTEE: Sunday 24 March, 2pm, picket British Medical Association headquarters, Tavistock Square, London, in solidarity with Winchester hunger strikers.

THE ROAD TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION public forum: platform speakers: Andrew Hornung (Workers Fight) and Monty Johnson (Communist Party). Organised by South Bank Socialist Society. Monday 25 February, 6.30pm, South Bank Polytechnic Students Union, Rotary Street, London SE1.

POST OFFICE WORKER: latest issue now out. Articles on action in the UPW, POEU, CPSA and SCS. 3p per copy (plus 3p postage) from 1 North Place, Waltham Abbey, Essex.

MALAWI: Dr Band's totalitarian tyranny—stifling all political opposition at home and maintaining contacts with fascist Portuguese and South Africans abroad—willing to assist persecuted Malawian Socialists to publicise their situation, and plan for a future socialist government in Malawi, write to: Richard Robinson, 10 Chartfield Square, Putney, London SW15.

BECOME A CLOCKWORK POLICEMAN: help plant explosives, beat up blacks and jail pickets and rent strikers. A poster from Clockwork Box, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, 1p each, 20 for 10p.

MORE PEOPLE NEEDED to join a group who are going to collectively buy a place where we can all communally live. Ring 01-348 3475.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Film 'The Salt of the Earth'—about a miners' strike in Mexico—followed by discussion of issues it raised, of vital concern to men and women involved in any strike in Britain. Friday 8 March, 8pm, Old People's Day Centre, Half Moon Yard, Admission free. Organised by Hemel Women's Voice Group.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY aims at building a moneyless world community without frontiers based on common ownership—with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. Write for specimen socialist literature to 'One World' (SW), The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

Author who scares Kremlin

by Duncan Hallas

EDWARD HEATH offered novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn refuge in Britain as soon as he was expelled from Russia. Refugees, he implied are always welcome here.

Provided, he might have added, that their skins are not too black, they are not too left wing and do not come from Chile.

Henry Kissinger invites the exile to the USA and a whole host of reactionaries, who are not noted for their defence of the right to publish 'subversive' literature in their own countries, join in the chorus.

On the principle of 'tell me who your friends are and I will tell you what you are' you might conclude that Solzhenitsyn is a man of decidedly right wing views. You would be right. Judging by his later writings that are available in English, he stands for a kind of reactionary mumbo-jumbo that Enoch Powell would find quite acceptable.

It is not these views that make Solzhenitsyn significant. They are, after all, commonplace enough and have been since the beginning of class society.

What does make him significant is his ability to put the most devastating social criticism in the form of fiction that can be read avidly by ordinary men and women. And this criticism has a vividness and power that is quite independent of the author's political and religious opinions.

Here is a short passage from Cancer Ward, which tells us more about the reality of present day Russian society than any number of issues of Soviet Weekly.

A bureaucrat is speaking of his own son: 'He was such a naive boy, he might be led up the garden path by some ordinary weaver girl from the textile factory. Well, perhaps not a weaver, there would be nowhere for them to meet, they wouldn't frequent the same places . . .'

'Look at Shenypapins' daughter, how she very nearly married a student in her year at teacher training college. He was only a boy from the country



Solzhenitsyn: truth is forbidden

and his mother an ordinary collective farmer. Whatever next? Thank goodness they'd managed to discredit the fiance politically and save their daughter.'

The speaker might be a mill owner in Bolton or a stockbroker in Surrey.

What sort of society is it which so fears a novelist that its rulers not only suppress his books but break their own laws to deport him? It is a society in which the gulf between official pretence—the USSR is a socialist state of workers and peasants as article one of the constitution claims—and the reality—the social disaster of mill girl meets bureaucrat's son—is so enormous that ALL political criticism must be prevented by police action.

It is a society whose most obvious feature is extreme repression. It is a society which has as much in common with socialist as with capitalism.

Novels and short stories are almost the only way, under this despotism, in which some indirect and cautious criticisms can be made. And if the writer becomes too bold, if he trespasses too far on dangerous territory, his work is not published.

If he persists he is put in a mental ward, a prison or a labour camp. If his international fame makes this inconvenient he is deprived of his citizenship and deported.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn is an opponent of socialism. His fame and his works are being exploited by our rulers for reactionary ends.

Yet the picture he paints of Russian society is broadly a true one. It is the heirs of Stalin, the Brezhnev and Kosygin and the class they represent, that provide the real ammunition for anti-socialists propagandists.

Solzhenitsyn, their right wing critic and victim, is, in spite of his own notions, serving an essential function. He is telling the truth as he sees it.

No real socialist can fail to support his right to do so. Socialism cannot be built on lies.

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Militants gain among teachers

DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS against prominent Rank and File Teacher supporters, Eric Porter, Fred Scott and Dave Whitely, are likely to be dropped. The charges arose out of the alleged 'disruption' of a Teachers' Union mass meeting in London last year. Executive members on the platform refused to allow any discussion on a motion and themselves effectively disrupted the meeting by walking out.

The selection of Porter, Scott and Whitely for punishment was a clear case of victimisation. The vast majority of the teachers present called for discussion of the motion.

The NUT's London disciplining panel decision to recommend dropping the case is due in large measure to the campaign organised by Rank and File and to the firm and principled stand of the defendants.

Meanwhile an NUT special conference last Saturday accepted a Phase Three salary deal.

Four London executive members spoke for acceptance—and four London floor delegates spoke against, all chosen by Max Morris the President. 'It's London against the rest of the country,' said a delegate, voicing the intention.

London has been the militant vanguard of the union since the 1969 national strike. Rank and File has grown considerably in influence.

Extra duties, like covering classes for absent teachers are being rejected, and this is paralysing the Inner London Education Authority. Part-time education for 30,000 children is now the rule. Pay of less than £20 a week for new teachers, plus the cost of living is making teacher recruitment impossible.

Having left the freeze-busting miners on a limb, NUT leaders are now trying the same with the London teachers.

But national growth of Rank and File makes the task more difficult. Five Rank and File inspired resolutions have been placed in the top seven for the Annual Conference, including the top place for Rank and File's salaries motion. At the union meeting level the Rank and File has made big progress.

It hasn't broken through among the delegates elected, passively within schools by ballot, often aware of the issues.

The executive may succeed in getting the motions thrown out at conference, but will not be able to defeat the militancy which has been boosted by the miners' struggle. Rank and File editor Dick North put the strategy at the special conference. Support, solidarity and alliances with all sections fighting Phase Three, and no concessions to any government which cuts our living standards.

WORKERS OCCUPY

MERSEYSIDE:—Workers at New Arc, a sheet-metal factory at Kirkby, have been occupying their factory for three weeks after management rejected their demands for improved safety conditions, new wage negotiations and an immediate increase for men working on stainless steel welding.

The men met the rejection by an immediate black on all work on some stainless steel containers being made to hold radioactive waste from nuclear power stations.

The managing director then called a meeting in the canteen and threatened the factory would be closed down for a month if the blacking was not lifted. Since then, management have been outside the gate while the men run the factory themselves.

AMBULANCEMEN

REJECT NEW DEAL

LONDON:—Ambulance men have overwhelmingly rejected the 'new deal'. 674 voted in favour of the scheme and 1008 against. Shift-workers voted 368 in favour and a massive 741 against.

The 'deal' gave management the right to total flexibility of manning, increased weekend working and night shifts ending at 1.30am with no transport home provided. One independent productivity deal expert told shop stewards who asked for advice that he had never seen a more blatant pro-management deal. He had never known even the most right-wing trade union official propose anything like it.

Unions reject Ford £2.60 pay offer

FORD'S £2.60 offer has been rejected by the trade union negotiators and militants in the company's plants are attempting to win mass support for action over the claim.

The 53,000 production workers are demanding a substantial wage increase, the 35-hour week without loss of pay, a guaranteed week, four-week annual holidays, abolition of the lowest production grade and of the four-year qualification period affecting apprentices.

In reply the company demands a scheme to introduce more foremen on the shop floor.

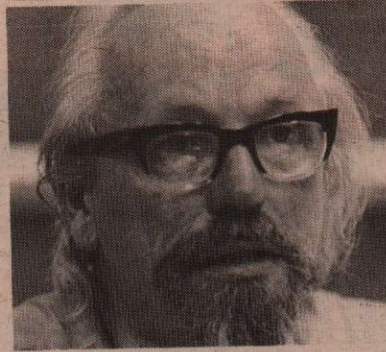
The union negotiators will be asking for support in rejecting the offer at mass meetings in the next two weeks.

Although Ford workers are clearly the worst paid in the car industry the chances of a militant fight on the claim are not

good. Apart from Dagenham, many of the Ford plants are on a three-day week and many of the workers are suffering financially.

The leaders of the two largest unions involved, the Transport Union's Jack Jones and the Engineering Union's Hugh Scanlon, have made it clear that they are not willing to back claims going beyond the Tories' Phase Three. This has seriously damaged the morale of those prepared to battle for a higher settlement. Once again the union 'lefts' have shown that they are prepared to sacrifice their members' living standards when the Tories start attacking union militancy.

At the same time the Labour Party would bitterly oppose any moves by Ford workers to take strike action over the claim.



The Wandsworth Three: top, David Whitely, centre Fred Scott, and Eric Porter. PICTURES: Peter Harrap (Report)

THREE MORE PICKETS ARE JAILED

by Pat Egan

THE Shrewsbury Three are now the Shrewsbury Six. Last Wednesday, at the end of the second pickets trial, three building workers found guilty of both affray and unlawful assembly, Arthur Murray, Michael Pierce, and Brian Williams, were given six-month prison sentences.

Five others were given suspended sentences.

These jailings show again the Tories' determination to harass and intimidate trade unionists. The key to this new Shrewsbury frame-up lies again in the nature of charges, affray and unlawful assembly. For like Des Warren, Ricky Tomlinson and John McKinsie Jones, the men they will be joining in jail, Arthur Murray, Michael Pierce and Brian Williams were never accused of personally committing acts of violence.

To be guilty of affray you only have to

contribute to 'a display of force such as to frighten a reasonably courageous man'. During the trial, prosecuting counsel Maurice Darek insisted that in law just standing in a crowd would be 'contributing' to a display of force. On this basis, plus selected smears on the defendants' characters, convictions were secured.

All the other defendants, except Gary Davies whose every word in his defence was corroborated by a prosecution witness, were found guilty on the other charge—unlawful assembly. This charge is even more scandalous than affray, if that is possible. The men's mere presence at site meetings on McAlpine's Telford contract was considered enough to establish guilt on this serious charge.

One of the defence lawyers spelled out what this meant. Anyone who goes to a football match with the sole intention of peacefully watching the game, but who is standing among rowdy elements, is guilty of unlawful assembly.

Most of the prosecution case rested on identification, something recognised as always unreliable. Usually a witness is asked to identify a suspect from an identity parade, but in this case police asked witnesses to pick out the men from photographs of groups of pickets. Although there was no evidence that Michael Pierce was the only black worker involved in the picketing, he appeared to be the only one on any photographs. So he was charged and on this basis convicted.

SOMETIMES

Mr Crow, defending Samuel Warburton, pointed out that since the photographs had appeared in the local paper immediately after the picketing, there was a strong possibility that witnesses would pick out the men they had seen in the papers. They had also seen the photographs several times in the year and a half between the investigation and the trial, and, on the judge's ruling, were allowed to 'refresh their memories before entering the court.'

The surprising thing, said Mr Crow, was that even then they sometimes identified the wrong man.

From the witness box, Arthur Murray, who is now in jail, explained the causes of the 1972 building workers' strike: the appalling conditions and wages, the danger and the 'lump' labour in the industry. He explained, too, some of the principles of trade unionism, and the tactics for which he was on trial: why a mass picket can be so effective in winning solidarity. And he referred to the fabrication of the prosecution case.

But this was the only chance the jury had to see the real nature of the case. The rest of the time they were in the hands of the judge, who insisted that the case was not political, but an ordinary criminal case.

The whole trade union movement must now pass judgement—on these vicious laws. It must rally to the defence of these men, who are being victimised and persecuted to discourage the others, to dissuade other strikers from adopting the tactics necessary to win strikes.

THE RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE

Hot under the white collar



WILL FANCY

WILL FANCY is a member of the national executive council of NALGO, the local government officers' union, and a member of the national steering committee of the NALGO Action Group, which produces the rank and file paper NALGO Action.

The organising committee for the Rank and File trade union conference in Birmingham next month has asked him to chair the meeting.

Socialist Worker spoke to Will Fancy and asked first about NALGO Action News and its role in NALGO.

'We have the same sort of problems that any trade unionist faces,' he said. 'The union seems remote, difficult to influence. Some of the branches are very big—one has 6000 members.'

'We're facing job evaluation, clerical work management, enormous pressures on rationalisation. And our union covers not just local government, but the health service, gas, electricity and water. There are 518,000 members.'

'The problem for us is that for years the branches were dominated by the older members who were climbing up the local government ladder.'

'The breakdown really came in 1969 on the economic front. We accepted an average 3½ per cent throughout the 1960s. In 1969 at a special conference we organised to

fight the claim. We forced the leader of the negotiators to resign. Those of us from London met enough people who were prepared to fight around the country to set up the NALGO Action Group. In 1970 we asked for 15 per cent and got 12½ per cent.'

'Now we have groups organised in each district of the union. In London we're very strong. We're big enough now to organise on a branch basis.'

Policies

'At the union conference last year we held daily meetings of supporters of NALGO Action News and produced a daily bulletin. For the second year running, we got two candidates elected to the national executive who stood on the policies and programmes of our paper. Since then a number of other members of the executive council have become supporters of NALGO Action News.'

'We are far more than a group around a paper. We have clear policies which we can argue out at every level of the union, and we have the sort of organisation which makes it possible to get through to the members and discuss what is going on.'

'We've only been in the TUC since 1965, and because of everything I've said about the traditions of the older members of the union, we need to argue hard about the fact that we are

part of the broad trade union movement.

'We need to destroy the sense of isolation from the mainstream of trade unionism. The facts of inflation are forcing us to behave like a real trade union. Before last year we had had only one official strike of 20 members in Leeds. Last year the national emergency committee, which considers calls for industrial action, had to be enlarged to keep up with the demands for strike action, overtime bans, ballots and so on.'

'As conference chairman, what seems to me most important is that the conference really represents something. Because it does consist entirely of properly elected delegates, there is a serious obligation to treat them seriously.'

'There has to be a chance for anyone who wants to speak and all delegating bodies can move amendments to the resolution which will be circulated in plenty of time.'

'Already we've received applications for nearly 100 delegates' credentials. These include the AUEW shop stewards committee at Dunlops in Liverpool, Michelin Stoke Joint Shop Stewards Committee and Ford Leamington Shop Stewards Committee.'

'Of course we've not got a complete blueprint for what we need to go on with. That's up to the delegates to discuss, but we need an ongoing body.'

CASTINGS STRIKE: 130 NOW OUT

NUNEATON:—The strike at Coventry Art Castings goes on. 130 men, all but six of them immigrants, are now on official strike. Pickets are turning away most delivery trucks but the management are having supplies delivered to their Coventry factory, then personally moving them to Nuneaton. To counter this the strike must be spread to all A L Dunn factories.

Art Castings components are now blacked at Alvis and Chrysler factories but nowhere else. Strikers' pickets are needed on the other factories.

The case against three men arrested on the picket line and charged with assault, threatening behaviour, breach of the peace and obstruction has been adjourned.

This is a crucial dispute that can be won. If it is not it will not be for want of trying by the strikers. The refusal of leading convenors in car factories to black Art Castings components shows not only a pathetically weak trade unionism, but underlying racism.



I would like information/join the International Socialists

Name _____

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Trade Union _____

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

MINERS MUST HIT HARDER

Socialist Worker

What we think

THE MINERS' STRIKE is solid as a rock. But now for the first time doubts are being expressed about the wisdom of the union leaders' decision on picketing which says in effect that all the miners have to do for victory is stay at home.

It is true that the trade union movement in many areas is giving the miners strong solidarity backing. But there are other places where solidarity is weak and needs to be bolstered.

Durham mechanics and miners picketing oil refineries on Teesside have found out just how weak it can be. Transport Union drivers at insisting on delivering their full load of industrial fuel to power stations and steelworks. And the mechanics leaders have begun talking about the need for mass pickets, finding that the six-man teams are not enough.

But in other places miners' pickets are reaching a quite different conclusion. At places where little is happening, they talk of small scale picketing being boring and demoralising and even about packing it in.

This is an understandable feeling. But it would be a bad mistake to abandon the small-scale picketing. Picketing is necessary to continue many workers to give effective practical support. It is also vital for keeping that solidarity going over a period of time. One picket outside a factory is the conscience of hundreds of workers inside.

Even more important, picketing involves rank and file miners in the running of the strike, and in determining the final outcome, the terms of the settlement.

Leadership

Despite the feeling of the rank and file for the full claim, there are those in the NUM leadership who are not at all happy with the strike. They would sell the claim short at the first opportunity and they do not disguise their hostility to picketing.

Frank Smith from Leicester for example has come off his enforced sick leave and is back in circulation. And he and his friends in the national leadership have been doing everything in their power to get the picketing stopped. They are arguing that the NUM's strike fund is now exhausted and cannot be replenished from other funds because of the Industrial Relations Act. They have been arguing that this means pickets pay must be halted and picketing itself be called off.

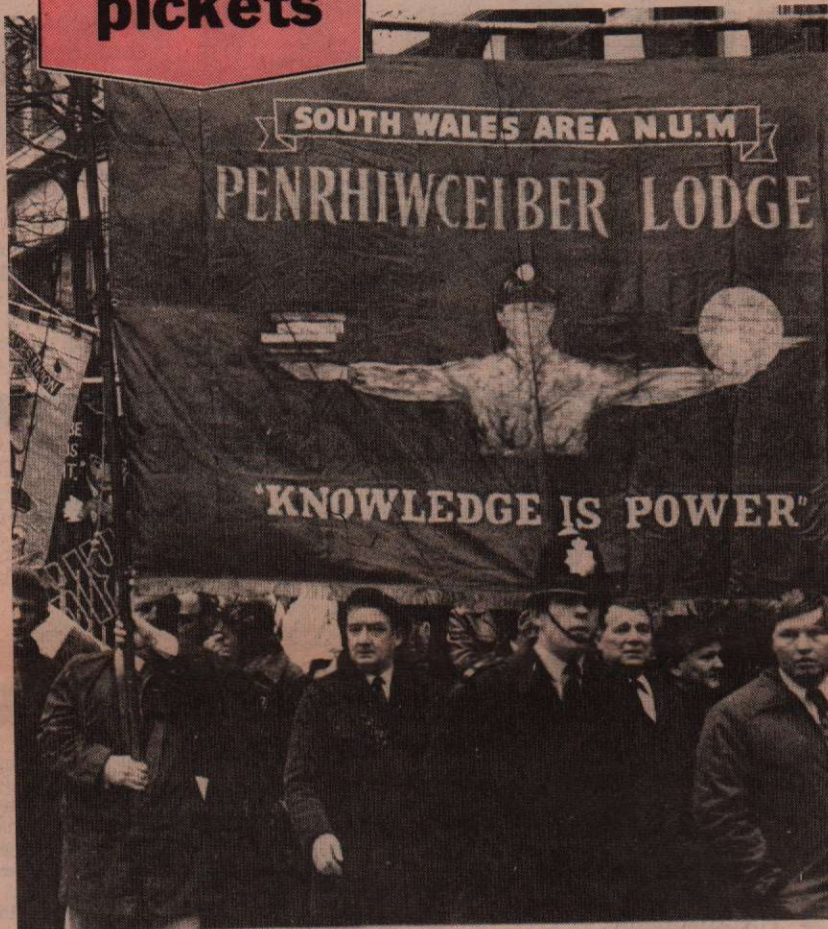
They feel that if they can minimise involvement in the strike, they will have more room to manoeuvre and reach some accommodation on the claim.

At the relativities hearing on Monday Lawrence Daly insisted that the union was sticking by the full claim. But on the same day Joe Gormley announced that the dispute would be settled by the end of the week after the election. The question is: On whose terms, Joe Gormley's or the full claim?

It is not just a question of money, either. The 1972 NUM conference decision insisted on a return to November-to-November agreements. In the miners' present powerful position this too is something that should be insisted on. After all summertime is not the best time for miners to bargain about wages.

There is a relative claim in the battle at the moment. But the situation could change and the Tories more on to the offensive. Then the miners would need pickets, big pickets.

Marchers back pickets



South Wales miners were among workers from many parts of the country who took part in a 600-strong march in London on Tuesday in solidarity with the six building worker pickets found guilty in the first Shrewsbury frame up trial. The marchers went from Euston to the Law Courts where the six—Des Warren, Ricky Tomlinson, John McKinsie Jones, John Llywarch, Ken O'shea and John Carpenter—were appealing against conviction. Picture Chris Davies (Report). Second Shrewsbury trial verdicts: page 15.

KEEP IT COMING!

THE HUNDREDS and thousands of pounds pouring into the Tories' campaign fund make our own fighting fund even more vital. We have received another £671.61 this week, bringing the total so far in February to a magnificent £2698.03.

Some of the collections have come from Socialist Worker readers: Cov/Rad £5, Norfolk Park, Sheffield £2, Dewsbury Socialist Club £11.25.

Factory or union collections include: Smiths MAI Toolroom £3, GKN Birmingham £3.25, Hackney NALGO £2.80.

IS branches include: Sheffield £44, Tyneside £60, Birmingham District £33.75, Wandsworth £15.50, Wythen-shawe £10, London Print Workers £9, Oxford £37.53, Portsmouth £24,

Islington £18.50, Blackburn £60, Kirkby £9.22, Southampton £9.50, Warley £20, Bradford £20, York District £10, Walthamstow £21, Swansea Valley £4, Basildon £25, Hackney £25.

Both the elections and the miners' strike demands a lot of our resources. Last week we printed 30,000 posters on the election and the miners' strike and each week we are printing more and more copies of Socialist Worker.

Whatever the outcome of next week's election, there will be no let up in the work we have to do. If you want to help us build a real fighting organisation then one of the ways you can do this is by supporting us financially.

Rush your donations and collections, large or small, to Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Socialist Worker Reporters

THE MINERS' pay claim is out of date and not enough. That was the main point of the union's evidence to the Pay Board inquiry into relativities this week.

Because of recruitment difficulties, manpower wastage rate and the job's danger and discomfort, the claim worked out last May—ranging from £35 to £45—did not meet the needs of the miners in 1974, NUM general secretary Lawrence Daly told the inquiry on Monday.

This statement strengthens the demand of rank and file miners up and down the country that nothing less than the full claim—with more in the very near future—will do.

Tough talk to the Pay Board is no substitute for firm action on the ground. The miners have shown their power by forcing Heath to call a general election, but the union leadership is unwilling to turn the screws on the government with effective picketing.

Miners are ready, willing and anxious to take part in picketing but they are being turned away by local officials. In Leicester five pits were visited by our reporter and none had even six pickets. One had four pickets, the remainder had one lonely miner on picket duty.

In Manchester there are 12 power stations. Only one had any pickets. In London, 180 Kent miners came to perform picket duty last week. By Wednesday they had been withdrawn with the exception of 12 miners.

On Teesside at the Shell Mex refinery, tankers are regularly filling up with oil and delivering to power stations. Drivers claim they have permission from their union, the Transport Workers.

TGWU general secretary Jack Jones has issued a circular to his members which is vague on the question of oil deliveries. The relevant passage of the letter speaks of the need to: 'restrict abnormal movement of oil likely to be used to replace coal.' The emphasis is on 'abnormal'. Drivers cannot know what is abnormal.

ACTION

The Durham miners who are picketing the Teesside area are threatening mass pickets of power stations if the oil deliveries continue.

In West Wales, miners were more successful. They managed to stop a train carrying 200 tons of oil to Carmarthen power station.

The Neath, Aberdare and Swansea joint unions committee, with more than 100 delegates representing 30,000 miners, factory workers and other unions, called on all union members to take whatever action was considered necessary if non-union drivers attempted to shift coal.

Jim Clarke of Lea Hall NUM says: 'There are real dangers in the present strike tactics, because many of the men don't feel involved as they were in 1972. This means that it is more difficult to get support from other workers and leaves the possibility of a quick compromise settlement after the election.'

Roger Godfrey, a faceworker from the Tilmanstone, Kent, colliery said: 'Whoever wins the election, the miners must get more money. But it is vital that Labour wins to prevent further attacks on the unions.'

'But even if Labour wins, working-class organisation must be strengthened to prevent attacks by a Labour government under pressure from big business.'

In Scotland, despite the fact that tankers are crossing picket lines at power station, the union does not intend to increase the number of pickets. This is not the way to win the full claim, or to rally the members and other workers to beat the government and the NCB.

The advantages of public sympathy, the massive 81 per cent vote for strike and the determination of the miners needs to be backed by mass united action. Strikes are won on the picket lines where it really hurts the bosses.

Fight the employers' offensive! For united trade union action

National Rank and File Conference of delegates from trade union bodies to be held on 30 March at 11.30am at Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

This Conference is sponsored by the following rank and file papers: GEC Rank 'N' File, The Hospital Worker, The Carworker, The Steelworker, London Transport Platform, The Collier, NALGO Action News, Post Office Worker, Rank and File Teacher, Tech Teacher, Case Con, Redder Tape.

This advertisement has been paid for by the Organising Committee. For a letter of invitation to be brought to the attention of your trades union branch/shop stewards' committee/trades council/district committee, write to Roger Cox, Secretary, Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

TU Body: _____

Address: _____

Please send an invitation to the conference. (Return this form to the Organising Committee Secretary at the above address)

Blackleg lorries run riot at Saltley

THE BATTLE of Saltley coke depot stands as the high point of the 1972 miners' strike when mass strength and workers' solidarity won the day.

But this week there were no signs of mass activity at Saltley. Six pickets—four from South Wales and two from the Midlands area—stood lonely at the gate. On one day 158 lorries arrived to pick up coke.

Two were turned back. 12 had passes from their union showing they were getting coal for schools and hospitals. The remaining 144 had no passes, were not stopped and successfully loaded and removed coke to unknown destinations.

Many of the lorry drivers were non-union. At least one of them claimed to be earning £110 per load.

Jack Lalley right-wing area NUM president, has admitted that he has come to an agreement with West Midlands Gas about the movement of coke from Saltley. West Midlands Gas told Socialist Worker: 'At Saltley we are carrying on our business in the normal way. We have no quarrel with own unions who have settled under Phase Three. We do not have an agreement with the NUM, more a working arrangement.' This 'arrangement' apparently ensures: 'That the coke is going to those places both sides want it to.'

Victory to the Miners Kick out the Tories

Demonstration and march.
Saturday 23 February. Assemble 1.45
Kilburn Square, Kilburn High Street
(tube: Kilburn). March through
Kilburn, Cricklewood and Willesden
Speakers: Roger Cox AUEW,
Mike Caffoor (IS)
and local trade unionists.
Trade unionists welcome with banners.
All North London IS branches
must support.