

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY OCTOBER 23, 1972 ● No. 901 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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He said the regional policy concocted at the Paris summit last week meant the capitalist class of Europe were ganging up against the most organized sections of the working class in Britain and Europe.

Their aim, he said, was to shift capital from areas where workers were strongest to regions where wages were low and trade unions almost non-existent.

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The fifth and most significant ATUA conference, which met in Birmingham Town Hall, passed this resolution which will be the political basis for the struggle for the revolutionary party.

In the weeks and months immediately ahead, the working class faces great struggles on which its whole future depends. Every member of the labour and trade union movement is therefore called upon to make the most serious decisions in their history.

Since the beginning of 1972, miners, railwaymen, building workers, dockers and now tenants, have shown their strength in determined struggles to resist the Tory government's attacks on living standards and conditions of work.

Closures and unemployment have been met with the occupation of plants, particularly now with the sit-ins at British-Leyland's factory at Basingstoke and CAV, Liverpool. Such factory occupations show that the working class realizes that neither protest nor pressure can secure its basic rights. In a significant way, the working class is posing the real questions of control and ownership.

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This determined resistance of the working class has forced the Tory government into an ever-deepening economic and political crisis.

The working class could undoubtedly win this struggle against the Tory government if it had a different leadership, with policies to defeat the Tory government and the employers. But the TUC and the Labour leaders will not lead their millions of members in an all-out fight to make the government resign; instead they do



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The lesson of these experiences is unmistakable. Faced with the choice of carrying out the interests of their own members in fighting the main enemy, these leaders take fright and capitulate in the most cowardly way to the Tory master. They prefer to serve Heath rather than serve their own members.

But despite this betrayal by the trade union and Labour leaders, the Tory government and the capitalist class they represent have been unable to inflict a major defeat on the working class. There has not been a single struggle in which the rank and file have capitulated or been driven back by the employers. It has always been the leaders who called off the struggle.

There are two basic reasons for this failure to defeat the working class.

First, the Tories are rulers of the oldest capitalist country, which built up its earlier strength on the Empire of which it was said: 'The sun never sets and the wages never rose.'

Before the First World War (1914-1918) and through the inter-war years, the British employers turned their backs on investment in industry at home, preferring to extract profits from the protected markets and brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s they chose to subject the British working class to mass poverty and unemployment while they fought one colonial war after another to continue the oppression and exploitation of the defenceless peoples of the Empire.

After the 1939-1945 war, however, the colonial masses refused to tolerate imperial rule any longer. The British and all the other imperialists were forced to grant formal independence, recognizing the rule of their agents within the colonial countries in order to save what they could from the wreckage.

The second source of Tory weakness and crisis is the situation of international capitalism. From 1944 to 1971 the convertibility of the dollar into gold was the basis of the greatest inflationary boom in the history of capitalism.

Within the inflation was contained the source of the present crisis. By the early 1960s the majority of gold stocks had

moved out of the US and no longer supported the dollar. Yet the volume of world trade went on expanding with paper money replacing gold.

The result was a grave problem for capitalism. The US balance of payments deteriorated rapidly. This was because the vast quantities of paper dollars in international circulation, representing a gigantic volume of credit, came back on to the US balance sheet as a deficit of billions of dollars. Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 to end the convertibility of paper dollars into gold was forced by these developments.

The Tory government is therefore plunged in to the greatest economic and political crisis in capitalism's history, because the accumulation of problems in British imperialist parasitism came to a head together with the maturing of the international inflationary crisis.

To get out of this crisis, to survive the trade war and depression which it means, the Tories are forced to attack the working class. They must slash the standards of living which have been won in the past years of struggle; they must destroy

SOCIALIST
LABOUR LEAGUE
PUBLIC MEETING

BEHIND THE
ASSASSINATION
OF TROTSKY



a reply to Joseph
Losey's film

TUESDAY OCTOBER 24
Conway Hall
Red Lion Square, WC2
(nearest tube Holborn)

8.00 p.m.

Speaker:
G. Healy
(SLL National Secretary)

admission 10p

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TURN TO P. 2



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WAY FORWARD FOR ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

FROM PAGE 1

the fighting power and independence of the trade unions.

Moves to Corporatism

This is the real meaning of their proposed laws to restrict wage increases, and of their Industrial Relations Act. This is why they threaten the rights of trade unionists to picket and to organize.

These measures facilitate the plans of the big monopolies to put an end to Parliamentary government and instal a corporatist dictatorship. While such a programme cannot be carried out without the defeat and destruction of the trade unions and parties of the working class, nevertheless every capitulation to the state control of wages and trade union rights is a step in the direction of the corporate state which is the essence of Fascism.

It is no accident that some sections of the Tory party and Press, encouraged by the retreat of the union leaders, can openly talk about the setting up of a corporate state in Britain.

The retreat of the TUC and the Labour leaders in front of these Tory attacks emphasizes once again that reformism is utterly bankrupt.

These leaders are the heirs of the Social Democratic parties which betrayed the interests of the working class when the First World War broke out on August 14, 1914. Their collaboration with their own capitalist class at the outbreak of the period of wars and proletarian revolution, as Lenin insisted, marked the historical end of reformism. Henceforth its role must be a reactionary one.

Collaboration with the capitalist class today as a way of gaining concessions has now become only a means of helping the Tory enemy to destroy living standards and all democratic rights. The task is not to reform the capitalist system but to overthrow it.

It is essential that the resistance of the working class be continued and intensified on every single front: wages, on rents, on jobs, in defence of democratic rights. What is decisive is to grasp that every one of these struggles takes place in a situation where a solution depends on the working class coming to power.

Only a revolutionary party based on the same principles which guided the successful Russian revolution of October 1917 can provide the working class with leadership to resolve the present crisis. Beginning in 1902 with the basic work of Lenin on revolutionary political activity in the trade unions and the workers' movement, there was built a Bolshevik Party able to lead the Russian workers to expropriate the capitalist class and the landlords and establish a workers' state. Only such a party can answer the crisis such as the one posed before the British working class.

Revolutionary Principles

The Soviet Union after 1917 was isolated because in the absence of such revolutionary parties in the advanced capitalist countries, the reformist leaders betrayed the revolution. In the backward conditions of Russia, a privileged bureaucracy led by Stalin proceeded to turn the Communist International into an instrument of its own opportunist politics of collaboration with imperialism. The Bolshevik leadership was physically wiped out by Stalin.

Today the heirs of Stalin—Brezhnev and the Kremlin bureaucracy—continue this treachery. They make agreements with the imperialists, even with the hated fascist and neo-fascist regimes of Spain and Greece, at the expense of the people of Vietnam and the colonial countries as well as the advanced countries.

They will place agreement with the Tory rulers of Britain above the interests of the working class, and the British Communist Party follows their line to the end.

Only a revolutionary party basing itself on Trotsky's long struggle against Stalinism, and of the property relations established in the Soviet workers' state by the Russian Revolution, can provide the necessary leadership. That is the meaning of the Socialist Labour League's principles and programme, based on the formation of the Fourth International in 1938.

There can be no delay in taking the decision to launch such a party. Either the capitalist class wins through the destruction of the trade unions and the imposition of dictatorship, or the working class takes power for the implementation of socialism—there is no middle road!

The primary task now facing the working class is the building of the mass movement against the Tory government. Everywhere workers are in battle against this common enemy. They must judge those who claim to represent them by the positions they take in the fight against the Tory enemy.

Preparations for Power

Those who tell the working class that the Tories can be forced by pressure to change their minds and give way are liars. They ignore the mortal crisis which drives on the Tory enemy in his determination to attack the working class. They separate the Tory enemy from the crisis-ridden capitalist system he represents.

This is why the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance differentiate themselves from the Stalinists and revisionists like the International Socialists, who advocate 'pressure' to force the Tories to change their plans.

According to them, militant action can produce 'victories'. But there is no possible solution to the basic question facing the working class—unemployment, slum housing, soaring prices, the defence of trade union rights—within the capitalist framework. The only way forward is to prepare to take power.

Those who say that militancy alone is enough, without preparation for power, are disarming the working class, diverting them from the real task, while the enemy is left in office to complete his counter-revolutionary preparations. These 'pressure' politics will only dissipate militancy and help the trade union leaders to produce disillusionment. They help the enemy. What is needed is revolutionary politics, backed by the great fighting capacity, the militancy of the working class.

It is not just a question of politics in general. As Lenin made clear:

'It is not enough that the class struggle becomes real, consistent and developed only when it embraces the sphere of politics. In politics too, it is possible to restrict oneself to minor matters and it is possible to go deeper to the very foundations. Marxism recognizes a class struggle as fully developed, "nationwide", only if it does not merely embrace politics, but takes in the most significant thing in politics—the organization of state power.'

In this preparation of the working class for power, the first step is to bring down the Tory government. Everyone who opposes this vital step is in fact helping the Tories to stay in power. This is why the centre of our policy is to call on workers everywhere to unite against the main enemy, to create the industrial and political conditions to make the Tory government resign.

Mobilize Against Tories

In calling this All Trades Unions Alliance Conference we said:

'There is no difference between this outlook and that of the German Labour leaders who allowed Hitler to come to power.'

'The retreat of these leaders from the political tasks posed by the economic crisis and the attacks of the government on wages, social services, housing and immigrants means that the working class is left leaderless and confused while the Tories consciously manipulate the union traitors and choose the most favourable time and conditions for the next attack.'

'This retreat is assisted by all those who fight consciously to prevent the working class mobilizing against the Tory government—namely, the Labour and trade union "left", the Communist Party and the revisionist groups.'

'These groups follow behind the spontaneous militancy of the working class and, while they make occasional criticisms of union leaders, they do so only in order to prevent workers drawing political conclusions and fighting for revolutionary leadership.'

'Militancy—as seen at Pentonville, Sattley coke depot, and Keadby docks, Lincolnshire—is an essential condition for every struggle. But militancy by itself cannot advance the level of political understanding of the workers and prepare them for a generalized national struggle against the whole ruling class.'

'This was the lesson of the abortive General Strike of May/June 1968 in France.'

'The All Trades Unions Alliance, which represents militant workers in all major industries, rejects the reformist ideas of these groups and fights for a revolutionary political leadership in the unions.'

'Central to this is the fight against all theories of spontaneity. In this way, the Alliance continues the struggle pioneered by Lenin to break the Russian unions from the influence of capitalist politics by building a revolutionary party; a struggle which was indispensable to the victory of the October Revolution.'



Lenin: struggle to build party indispensable

'By our struggle we have succeeded in establishing the central ideas of Lenin in relation to the unions:

'That "all worship of spontaneity of the working class movement, all belittling of the "conscious element", of the role of the revolutionary party means . . . a strengthening of bourgeois ideology among the workers".' (What is to be Done?) . . .

Educate a New Leadership

The ATUA statement went on: 'The highest form of working class struggle is

the political struggle of the working class and the highest form of political struggle is the struggle for political power by the workers. The aim of the All Trades Unions Alliance is to build a new leadership in the unions which will fight to win economic demands and, above all, educate workers in the theory and practice of Marxism and expose, in practice the limitations of economic struggles and establish the primacy of the political struggle for socialism.'

'The practical experience of the last eight months has shown militant trade unionists that those forms of struggle which rely exclusively on picket-line militancy are inadequate.'

'The economic crisis, the entry into the Common Market and the urgent political tasks posed before the unions, demand, imperatively, not only a new form of practical struggle, but also a correspondingly higher form of working-class organization. This is the revolutionary party of the working class.'

'There is no other way to establish the political independence of the trade unions from the reactionary union bureaucracy and the ideology of the ruling class.'

Now we must act on these principles, in line with the requirements of the situation and the lessons of the past year of working-class struggle.

Build the Party

The political situation is now on a knife edge. So far the working class has, by its determination and strength in industrial struggles, held the line against the Tory enemy. But the government is forced on by the crisis. This situation cannot last indefinitely. Either the working class goes forward to defeat the government and the capitalist system or the Tories achieve a position where they can defeat a decisive section of workers and institute a dictatorship to destroy trade unions and democratic rights.

The situation in Ulster must serve as the most serious warning. Refusing to struggle to unite the Catholic and Protestant workers in alliance with the British working class against the main Tory and Unionist enemy, the Northern Irish trade union and Labour leaders, helped at every turn by the Stalinists and revisionists like the IS and the International Marxist Group (IMG), have subjected the working class to sectarian divisions and bloody clashes provoked and led by the most reactionary right-wing forces.

In the face of these great dangers and great possibilities, all those present at this conference have a serious responsibility. The ATUA is convinced that the only way to face up to this responsibility is through the struggle to build the revolutionary party. Immediately this means going ahead with the preparation to transform the Socialist Labour League and its industrial wing, the All Trades Unions Alliance, into the revolutionary party. The recruitment and training as Marxists of all those workers who share such responsibility is the essence of this task.

In its policy, the revolutionary party must take up the struggle on every basic minimum demand of the working class—for wages, against price increases, for democratic rights, against unemployment, against the Industrial Relations Act and the Housing Finance Act—combining these demands with the programme of transition to working class state power. Every one of these elementary demands raises the question: is it the will of the ruling class to defend its dying system which shall prevail? Or is the working class to impose its will on the economy, through the conquest of power?

Discussion throughout the working-class movement on these principles and programme must now begin as the foundation for the revolutionary party. The conference charges the ATUA and the SLL to prepare as soon as possible a policy statement for discussion throughout the labour movement.

THE OVAMBO REVOLT AGAINST APARTHEID

On December 13, 1971, a strike began in Namibia (South West Africa) and rapidly grew to involve 20,000 workers. The ruling apartheid government of South Africa declared a state of emergency and sealed off Ovamboland (the area to which most of the strikers were returned).

Although this sealing-off limits news, latest reports indicate that the strike is still continuing, despite harassment, arrests, detentions and shootings.

Without such benefits as strike pay—or, indeed, any financial assistance at all—and in defiance of the law, which does not permit African workers to strike, workers from mines, railways, hotels, farms, the fishing industry and other sections of the economy have fought on against the contract-labour laws and against South African occupation of their country.

The contract-labour system has been the foundation of the Namibian economy since South Africa took over the Mandate after World War I. It removes a man from his family for periods of between 12 and 18 months, pays him a starvation wage and does not permit him to change his employer for any reason whatever.

Not only is he not allowed to strike, he is not allowed to have any part in negotiating his conditions or rates of pay.



Right: miners in the contract-labour system, not allowed to strike or have any say in their conditions. Above: Vorster.

The strike severely hit the Namibian economy and large numbers were sent to Ovamboland, which was placed under emergency rule on February 4 and sealed off.

The following month, the South African Minister of Police revealed that already 213 people had been arrested and detained for a combined total of 7,340 days. But reports from inside the country suggest that the number of people arrested is far in excess of this figure, more in the region of 900.

The South West African People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO) is waging a mili-



tary struggle against the South African forces and is also campaigning against the involvement of British companies in the territory.

British firms with connections in Namibia include Rio Tinto Zinc, Portland Cement, Eastwood and Holt Ltd, Hudson's Bay Company Ltd and Anning Chadwick and Kiver Ltd.

On October 20, 1971, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution on Namibia—with Britain and France abstaining.

This reaffirmed that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that

this responsibility includes the obligation to support and promote the rights of the people of Namibia.

It declared South Africa's presence in the country to be illegal and in breach of international obligations. It further called on member states to refrain from any dealings with the government of South Africa implying recognition or support of her presence in Namibia.

Just how meaningless this verbiage from the 'thieves' kitchen' was, however, was soon revealed. A later Security Council meeting despatched Secretary-General Dr Kurt

Waldheim to 'initiate as soon as possible contacts with all parties concerned'.

Waldheim flew to South Africa where his itinerary was arranged by—the South African government, who else?

Soon afterwards Waldheim and South African Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster were announcing that they had 'a common aim in self-determination'!

Meanwhile close co-operation continues between South African and Portuguese troops on the northern borders of Namibia. It is also on this border, but within Angola,

that the Cunene River dam is to be built—evidence of further co-operation between the South African and Portuguese governments.

The building of this dam carries vital strategic significance for the minority government in Namibia and Angola. It involves the creation of a buffer strip between Namibia and Angola and thus impedes communication between the liberation movements.

Meanwhile, of course, the benefits of the scheme will accrue to the South African and Portuguese governments and foreign investors.

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Hospital manual workers on a basic wage of £13.95 a week recently backed their national claim with strike action. In this two part article BERNARD FRANKS examines the plight of the hospital worker used as cheap labour in the ill-equipped and overcrowded conditions of Britain's hospitals.

LIFE IN THE FORGOTTEN SECTOR

PART ONE

Nowhere is the contemptible nature of the Tories' proposed 'wage ceiling' more clearly shown than in the pay of hospital manual workers.

With today's rocketing cost of living, especially food and rents, what can £2 do for those 250,000 men and women who receive nothing like a living wage?

How can such a sum seriously change the position, for example, of a married man with two children whose basic rate can leave him with £13.95 to take home?

And if the Tories' proposals are contemptible, what should we say of the TUC leaders who are prepared to do a deal with Heath and the employers, helping them to enforce state control of wages and to ban strikes for higher pay?

Remember, these proposals come only after the MPs have given themselves enormous rises which work out at £24 a week! Heath got £6,000 extra, equivalent to £115 a week! Where was the Tory £2 or the TUC £3.40 then?

Clearly, union leaders must be told in no uncertain terms, that if they wish to continue presenting themselves as workers' leaders, then they must pack up this treachery and back the hospital workers' demands.

An £8-a-week increase for men and women, a four-week paid holiday for all and a 35-hour week. This is more realistic than the official £4 claim.

That £4 would do little for families drawing Family Income Supplement as it would simply mean a cut in the benefits being paid. On this basis the TUC £3.40 could work out at an increase of £1.70 in real cash terms. On top of this the higher income could mean a consequent loss of other state benefits—free school meals, free prescriptions and so on—so the family would be no better off than before.

Hospital workers in the West Country have already given a determined lead in strikes which affected 17 hospitals and closed one at Bristol. Previously in Gloucester 400 workers walked out. London, Manchester and Southampton hospitals have offered support. Some officials of the four unions involved have so far mainly concerned themselves with stopping the strikes.

John Cousins of the Transport & General Workers' Union urged a return to work on the basis that there was no value in the strike 'until we see the employers' offer'.

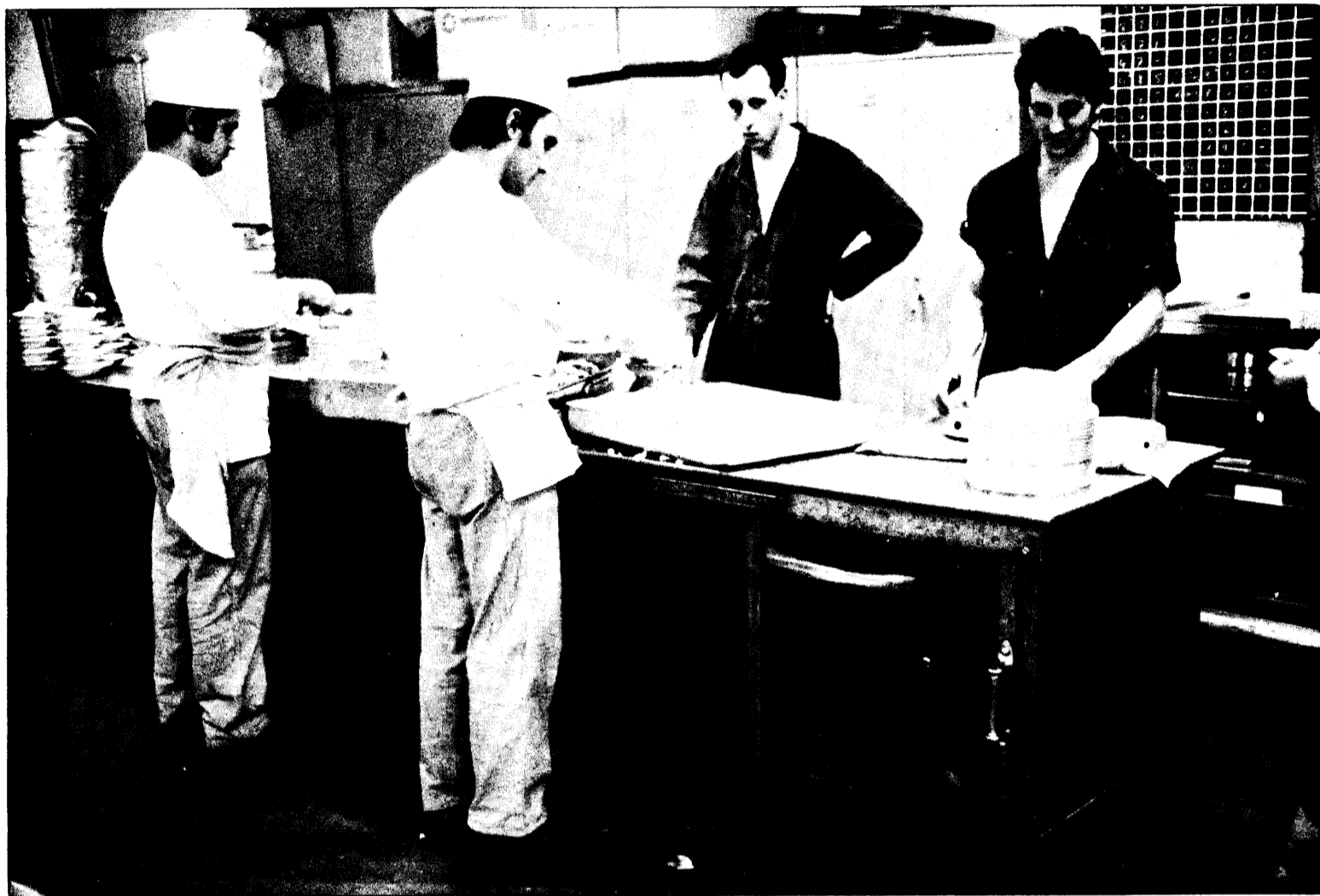
The fact is, that with direct intervention in wages by the government, every worker knows very well what sort of offer will be made.

The union leaders must be made to call an official national stoppage now on the workers' demands, to last until they are won.

The entire labour movement must be united to defeat the Tory offensive.

But as far as the Health Service is concerned there is more at stake here than pay and holidays.

The shocking plight of the



Top: Hospital manual workers in London. Left: Tory Prime Minister Heath, who has been given a £115 a week rise. Right: John Cousins, T&GWU leader who sent the workers back to work while the employers passed judgement on their £4-a-week claim.

hospital manual workers reflects not only the Tories' antagonism to the needs of public service employees in general, but shows their determination also to wreck the present Health Service by keeping it under-staffed and over-worked.

Wards, departments and entire hospitals are being closed down as being 'short of staff' or 'uneconomic'. This is a preparation for the construction of a new system based solely on the patients' ability to pay. As businessmen and representatives of businessmen, the Tories see provision for health as a commodity like everything else; as first and foremost a subject for profit-making.

They aim at a wide extension of the present three-tier system: the best of everything—equipment, treatment, medical care—for the rich and those on private schemes, along with a position at the top of any list for beds and so on; a second-rate, cheaper ser-

vice, run on cheap labour, for those who only contribute through state schemes; and a Poor Law system for those too destitute to pay anything. The latter must take pot-luck as to whether they get the most perfunctory treatment or any treatment at all.

Hospital manual workers, ancillary workers as they are called, carry out a variety of essential tasks to keep the hospitals functioning. They include porters, gardeners, maintenance workers, cleaners, catering staff, laundry staff, drivers, seamstresses, surgical-shoe makers, wardmaids and ward orderlies.

There are about 180,000 women, roughly two-thirds of the total employees, involved in this work. Often tasks are undertaken only with the greatest difficulty, trying to keep to modern standards in buildings 100 years old and more; in overcrowded, undermanned, prison-like barracks and ex-workhouses, run on

insufficient budgets. What chance is there, for example, of keeping food in good condition for the patient when the distance from kitchen to ward may be half-a-mile?

Even in modern hospitals, employment of insufficient ancillary workers and nursing staff means consistent overworking including compulsory overtime for employees.

Very often the most elementary job is not just a question of labouring. Hospital porters, for example, come into regular contact with the public and by their attitude and relationship with long-term patients especially, have a considerable uplifting effect on the morale of individual patients and of entire wards. Work in mental hospitals can be particularly demanding.

Also, hospitals have to be kept going night and day, which means shiftwork, including split shifts, for many workers.

The manual work in the

early hospitals and workhouse sickwards was done by pauper inmates. In the 19th century these institutions came firmly under the Poor Law and cheap workhouse and other labour was used.

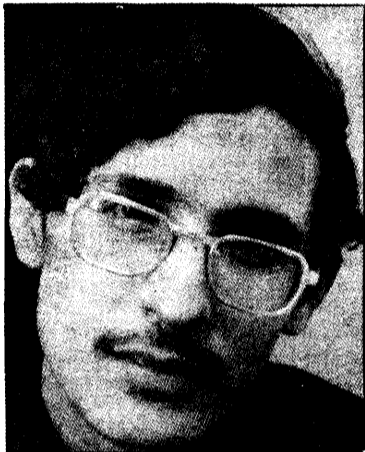
The health system was separated from the Poor Law Acts in 1929, but as far as workers' wages, conditions and status are concerned, most hospital authorities have retained the workhouse mentality.

Pay has not only been bad, but has continually fallen further and further behind as far as comparison with other workers' wages or the cost of living is concerned. And not just pay. A 1969 book on training for ancillary staffs was titled 'The Forgotten Sector' reflecting the total lack of consideration for the employees or the importance of the work that is carried out by them.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT MOVES TOWARDS DICTATORSHIP

Miguel Rodriguez, who spent three and a half years in the Air Force, was in the Philippines when President Marcos declared martial law in order to beat back the working class. Rodriguez returned to the United States on September 26 and spoke to the Young Socialist several days later about recent developments.



On the first night of martial law, there was a partial curfew that started at six in the evening. But the real curfew began at midnight; and then the army and the police could shoot anyone still in the streets. The first night, a couple of GIs were trying to get home and they were shot at. The Filipino soldiers hit at least seven GIs.

The whole army was out in the streets, raiding every place. They confiscated some guns from GIs, who had to go to jail downtown.

Most GIs don't like service in the Philippines because of the way the government treats its own people. The rich people downgrade the poor people and don't try to help them at all.

I once witnessed a fight in a house, and the landlord went to get the police. It was nothing — just a father and son arguing. But when the cop came, he grabbed the son by the hair, threw him on the floor and aimed an M-16 at his head. The cop said: 'You make a move and I'll shoot you.'

I used to give part of my pay to Filipino people because they have nothing. I saw houses made out of cardboard, pieces of sticks, with no running water and just plain ground for a floor. I saw people eating nothing but dry rice with no water, nothing. The only time the people get water is when it rains.

The army burst into my house because they knew I gave money to the people, and they thought I might be with the revolutionary forces.

The conditions for the Filipino workers are bad. The president wanted martial law so he could stay on the scene. He tries to blame all the conditions on the Communist Party and the Moslems. His opponent in the last election has been put in jail.

President Marcos doesn't try to help anybody. There was a flood last August. The United States sent \$2m over there. Some base commander received the money and he split it with Marcos. That president must be one of the world's richest men.

The workers also die of high fever. They don't get any medication, because Marcos controls the drugs and sells them to businessmen.

For the youth there I don't

see any future, because they can't even go to school. They can't pay what it costs, and most of the schools are high-class. My Filipino wife had to leave school in the second year because her family couldn't pay.

My wife can't come to the United States yet because things have to be straightened out. My friend tried to bring his wife back; but martial law just began and they took her off the aeroplane.

The Filipino workers are resisting Marcos. There are terrorists who try to kill mostly the high-class people, people in the Cabinet around Marcos, and his troops.

The terrorists have support from all the poor people in the islands and that's why Marcos is so scared and put up martial law.

When martial law began, a lot of GIs thought it would be better if there was a revolution to get the president out because so many people are suffering.

Miguel also described some of his experiences in Vietnam.

I went to Quang Tri during the offensive. I just went there to pick up dead people. I was supposed to pick up survivors, but when I got there, there weren't any survivors. Just a lot of rubble.

The war is terrible. Most of the GIs don't like it. Everyone sees that they're fighting for no cause, and the GIs are getting killed for no reason.

Once I was working in a hospital in the Philippines, and I met a lot of GIs who were getting checked up before going back to the States. They told me war stories and how much they suffered and how they hated it—and how they are dying to get home.

All the Vietnamese hate the Americans. If a Vietnamese works in an army chow hall, he sometimes brings a little bomb before coming to work in the morning.

Like thousands of veterans, Miguel does not know how he will make a living after three and a half years in the army.

'I have to look for a job, but my chances are too low. I think it's going to be pretty hard. All those years in the air force seem wasted.'

Reprinted from 'Bulletin', weekly organ of the Workers League in the United States.

OIL SHEIKS' INTEREST IN YEMEN WAR

King Feisal of Saudi Arabia and the Shah of Iran are among the backers of the North Yemen regime which has been engaged in bloody border fighting with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the south.

They want to crush the South Yemen government which is aiding left-wing guerrilla groups active against the oil sheikhdoms bordering the Persian gulf further north.

South Yemen, which includes the port of Aden dominating the entrance to the Red Sea, is a source of considerable embarrassment to the imperialist client states in the area.

The Saudi monarchy in particular has aligned itself with the feudal rulers whose power was broken when the present Chinese-leaning government came to power.

The North Yemen government is closely aligned with Saudi Arabia and its actions against the south are undoubtedly sponsored by Feisal's imperialist sponsors, notably the British and American governments.

North Yemen was the scene of a prolonged civil war which ended in May 1970 with an agreement between the Royalist and Republican sides. The peace deal was a compromise



King Feisal: Wanting to crush the South Yemen government

favouring the Saudi interest.

The Republicans agreed to take some of the Royalists into the government though the Royal Family remained in exile in Saudi Arabia. According to North Yemen's president Abd al-Rahman al-Iryani the country now has relations with Saudia Arabia based on co-operation in economy, culture and information.

Aden and the surrounding protectorate was finally liberated from British rule only in 1967 after a bitter struggle against units led by Colonel Colin Mitchell, now a Tory MP.

British mercenaries in the neighbouring Sultanate of Muscat and Oman are fighting to put down a guerrilla struggle which is supported by

the South Yemen government.

The Sultan's forces are officered by British troops on secondment from the British army. There is also a contingent of RAF bombers in use against the rebels.

In the past South Yemen has several times accused these forces of violating its territory and bombing border villages. The British government and the oil companies naturally want to maintain the reactionary feudal rulers of the gulf states in office.

The rulers of the Arab states are making efforts to end the conflict between the two Yemens, which appear at present to have succeeded at least temporarily. But the tensions created by the imperialists in Arabia will remain.

AFTER THE WAR WAS OVER...

It is not often that you hear of a judge being investigated on criminal charges. However, it has happened recently in West Germany, where official investigations were launched against Wilhelm Spies, a judge in Braunschweig.

The judge has been accused of murder.

The charges relate to the time when Judge Spies was a senior military judge in the Wehrmacht, stationed in northern Norway.

Besides throwing an interesting light on the judiciary of the Federal Republic, the Spies case brings to attention what is probably one of the lesser-known aspects of World War II.

CARRIED ON

That a number of prominent and highly-'respectable' figures in West Germany today had an equally prominent part in the criminal activities of the Third Reich is well-known. But in the case of judge Spies, the criminal charges relate to incidents after the war was over.

It is probably not well known that after Germany had surrendered, whole German armies in some areas, particularly in north west Germany, Denmark and Norway were left intact—complete with officers, discipline and military courts.

In northern Norway, furthermore, some Wehrmacht commanders decided to carry on fighting after the official arm-

istice on May 8, 1945, had been signed.

A number of soldiers in these units decided to ignore their orders, and to desert over the Swedish border. Four of these men were caught and brought before Military Judge Spies. They were sentenced to death and shot by a firing squad on May 10, two days after the war had ended.

The judge has been accused of murder. Asked about the sentence he passed by a West German journalist recently, Spies replied that the death sentence had been 'perfectly legal and correct'. He also said he intended to remain in office until he reached retiring age.

This is not the only case of its sort. Even where Wehrmacht and other German forces had surrendered, the Allies frequently decided that it would be convenient to handle them by letting the officers stay in control.

The result was that several weeks after the war had ended, Nazi military courts were still passing sentence on German soldiers.

In several cases men were still being shot for desertion. One case which is not so severe, but nevertheless worthy of attention, involved Dr Hans Filbinger, who is today a 'respectable' politician in the conservative Christian Democratic Party, and has been for some time prime minister of Baden-Württemberg.

In 1945 Dr Filbinger was a staff judge in the navy and served on the staff of German Naval Defences, Oslo Fjord, Norway.

On May 29—three weeks after the surrender—Filbinger presided over a court martial which sentenced a sailor to

six months' imprisonment for such offences as removing the swastika badge from his uniform.

DISCONTENT

The official judgement signed by Dr Filbinger has survived and here are a couple of extracts:

'Kurt Petzold is sentenced to six months' imprisonment for causing discontent, disobeying an order and insubordination. The reasons are . . . when the accused was given an order by his battery commander on May 10 to change his quarters . . . he stated: "Those times are past. Now I'm a free man, you Nazi dogs. You are responsible for this war. I'll tell the English what a bunch of Nazis you are."

'Witnesses testified that from May 1 he had shown himself to be undisciplined, although he had previously been a Hitler youth leader. When on parade he had had a negative effect upon his comrades, because of his negative attitude. He had demonstratively removed the national emblem from his cap and swastika badge from his uniform.'

Clearly a case for six months sentence!

And the date on the official copy of the judgement is June 19, 1945—fully five weeks after the end of the war—supposedly a 'war for democracy'!

But of course 'law and order' was the thing that had to be preserved. In fact it is the same sort of people who passed these sentences that are campaigning so vigorously in the Federal Republic today—for 'law and order' once again.



Left: British Leyland workers from Cowley in September 1970, rejected Measured-Day Work at this mass meeting. Above: Leyland workers march in Oxford against the Industrial Relations Bill January, 1971. Below: Sir George Harriman with Lord Stokes—behind the smiles lie plans for an assault on the unions.



BEHIND THE BALLYHOO OF LORD STOKES

A Workers Press investigation by David Maude and Alex Mitchell

At midday last Tuesday a veritable fleet of taxis began arriving at the Royal Lancaster Hotel on the Bayswater Road just opposite Hyde Park.

Out tumbled scores of journalists to attend a reception and lunch thrown by the British-Leyland Motor Corporation. As they entered a smiling hostess handed each guest a magnificent soda siphon. Just a token of payola. The guests, some 300 of them, were a mixture of City journalists and motoring correspondents. They were arranged at 33 tables in the King Suite for an extravagant breakfast to celebrate the opening of the

London Motor Show.

The talking point at almost every table was the dastardly work of Ian Breach who recently resigned as the motoring correspondent of 'The Guardian'. He has since written an article exposing his own journalistic fraternity for being 'morally feeble'. 'There is a pervading fear,' Breach wrote, 'that valuable advertising will drain away in the face of persistent criticism that names names and condemns specific products. So most motoring "criticism" still confines itself to trivia; it soft-pedals on new products or policies that indict the industry.'

At the conclusion of the three-course lunch with the

expensive wine still being passed around, Lord Stokes, chairman of British-Leyland, rose to address his guests. Like an ebullient schoolboy he launched into a speech which was aimed at bolstering his corporate image. 'It is a sad commentary on the psychological state of the world that optimism and patriotism should not merely be unfashionable, but also comic and reprehensible activities. Both these attributes are really acts of faith. One thing I share with all my colleagues is a complete faith in the future of British-Leyland and an unshakable confidence in the course that we believe we are successfully pursuing.'

He then told his audience

about future plans for the Leyland range of cars. 'Next year will be a bumper year for new models from British-Leyland,' his lordship promised. 'Our immediate task is to increase our current production and to introduce these new models that are coming along with the minimum disturbance. Our capital investment programme for the future is high.

GOLDEN

'We have considerable investment plans for expansion in the Midlands and else-

where in the UK. Overseas, production is building up at Innocenti in Italy, at Authi in Spain and at our large Belgian assembly plant.'

When he had finished the guests clapped enthusiastically. It was then the turn of a member of the Press to speak. He could not resist a crack at the 'Judas', Ian Breach. He had them falling all over the carpet when he said: 'Once more unto your friends, dear Breach.'

Breach had been invited to the luncheon, but did not attend.

Next day the Press dutifully wrote ecstatically about Stokes's vision, genius and robustness.

The 'Sun' said: 'A golden future lies ahead for British-Leyland, chairman Lord Stokes promised yesterday.'

'Daily Mail' motoring correspondent Michael Kemp wrote: 'Thousands more jobs are being created by British-Leyland in big expansion plans for a new series of family cars.'

In the 'Daily Mirror' city editor Robert Head recommended stock market punters to purchase Leyland shares at their current price of 33½p.

Peter Waymark, motoring correspondent of 'The Times'

said in a front page article: 'The limelight at the Earls Court Motor Show was effectively stolen on its preview day yesterday by Lord Stokes, chairman of British-Leyland, who announced "a bumper year for new British-Leyland models" in 1973.'

In addition to this press splurge, Stokes went on national television to beat the Leyland drum. All in all the press response was highly successful — the free lunch had paid handsome dividends.

But behind all the ballyhoo of the Motor Show, Lord Stokes's empire is in deep, serious and continuing crisis.

British entry into the Common Market is just two-and-a-half months away. With it will come exposure to a new and frightening blast of European competition. Yet Leyland is faced with a considerable cash crisis, the prospect of yet another shortfall in expected profits and the still unresolved problem of enforcing speed-up in its factories.

In other words, if Stokes's 'act of faith' has any meaning it must lie in a firm resolve that Market entry will coincide with a new onslaught on the unions in his factories.

This year has seen British-Leyland finalizing its 'ration-

alization' programme and a desperate scramble for greater liquidity.

Subsidiaries in New Zealand and Canada have been hived off as well as two in the UK—Maudslay Motors and the Thornycroft transmission plant at Basingstoke, Hants.

The target in this hiving-off operation — £25m — has almost been realized.

The money-raising operations have not been very successful. In February the company tried to raise £50m by an issue of new ordinary shares. The underwriters, Schroder Wagg and S. G. Warburgs, offered them to the public at 45p a share.

When the issue closed only 40 per cent had been taken up—which left the underwriters with the task of picking up almost £30m worth of stock.

At closing prices last week the shares were hovering around 30p, which means that some buyers of the February float have already lost about a third of their money on present market values.

Two months ago Leyland went off to France to launch a Eurofranc issue. It was fully taken up thus adding another £8m to corporate finances. As an indication of the lean times

in the group, Leyland immediately switched the francs into Australian dollars, thus making a further few thousand pounds at the time of the effective devaluation of the pound.

All of these operations were designed to raise money to pay the staggering loans from both private and state institutions which still hang around the neck of the company. Leyland has forecast profits of about £32m for the year, but this figure has now been amended to about £20m.

On the industrial relations front the picture is just as unhappy.

Appearing on BBC-1's 'Midweek' programme last Tuesday night Stokes vehemently denied that his much-vaunted change-over to the flat-rate, Measured-Day Work pay system had brought a drastic fall in productivity throughout the group.

In fact it is estimated that productivity has fallen by an average of about a third among the 60 per cent of the group's workers who have been changed over from piecework. This has brought a tremendous increase in wage costs.

At the Cowley, Oxford, Austin-Morris division factory some 2,000 extra workers have had to be taken on since the new Marina lines came into

production on MDW. It is thought that at least half of these are needed to make up the production shortfall since the piecework system ended.

So quite apart from the huge initial capital cost of the installation — something like £70m since 1968—Leyland is paying out an extra £2.5m or so in wages a year at this one factory alone for the still unfulfilled promise of the new system.

SHAKE-UP

Leyland's moves towards MDW at the Longbridge, Birmingham, Austin-Morris complex have already cost it a rash of piecework claims. Even if they get the system in, it is likely to prove even more expensive than at Cowley, given the larger size of the plant.

Many sections of management are publicly and hopelessly cynical about the company's future in the Common Market.

This is a point which Stokes was particularly anxious to deny on television last Tuesday. Which presumably

indicates that besides an assault on the unions, a big new management shake-up is also being planned.

Under these conditions it is difficult to see how the company can support the 'bumper year' for new British-Leyland models' which Stokes promised his lunch guests last Tuesday.

There were two new models from the Austin-Morris division at the Motor Show: an estate car version of the Morris Marina and a more powerful rejig of the Austin Maxi 1750.

Jaguar had its new XJ12 model — a four-door saloon with a powerful 12-cylinder engine—on show. But Triumph simply produced various refinements to its Toledo.

Beside these, Leyland is said to be working on a new volume-production, economy car in the mould of the Mini; a bigger, medium-volume car based on the Maxi and a new model from the specialist car division.

But the prerequisite of all these developments must be a fresh bid to undermine the strength of union organization throughout the combine.

It was this threat which lay behind the confident smiles of Stokes and his top brass at Earl's Court last week.

'Parliamentary reform' and the working class, by Jane Brown

HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

PART TEN

By 1900 America had overtaken Britain in coal production; in iron and steel production she overtook Britain in 1886, and had doubled British output by 1900.

By this date Germany's heavy industry was also ahead of Britain's. A Royal Commission could only point out: 'We are beginning to feel the effects of foreign competition in fields where our trade formerly enjoyed a practical monopoly.' (1886).

The expansion of the British Empire at the end of the century was a concession to this fact. As Lenin later explained, imperialism is the 'highest stage of capitalism'; the stage which marks it out for decay and destruction. Economic competition forced Britain into the political annexation of countries where she had been trading already for many years. Imperialism was necessary for Britain's survival as a capitalist power. The romantic ideology of 'the white man's burden' was a side-show aimed at uniting the British people behind the ruling class.

But inevitably the economic results of the 'Great Depression' for British workers produced a different reaction. In 1886 - 1887 unemployment reached its highest level since the 1840s; demonstrators in Trafalgar Square clashed violently with the police. The privileges of skilled workers were no longer secure, due both to bad trade and new mechanical techniques.

Militant strikes in 1888 (the Match Girls) and 1889 (dockers and gasworkers) produced what was known as 'new unionism'. The 'new unions' recruited unskilled workers on low wages and were designed as fighting organizations, not benefit societies. Their leaders did not share the complacency and conservatism of the existing TUC bureaucracy. Indeed, many were influenced by small numbers of socialists, such as Tom Mann and Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

The organizations of socialism were not strong. Nevertheless, several did exist, owing largely to the work of Marx and Engels in Britain. The Social Democratic Federation (1881) claimed Marxist origins; but its sectarianism cut it off from the mainstream of the working-class movement.

The Fabian Society was founded in 1884 by an influential group of middle-class intellectuals who explicitly dissociated themselves from Marxism. A taste of their 'gradualist' politics, which had not essentially changed by the time Trotsky described them, may be had from G. B. Shaw's 'Report on Fabian Policy', written in 1896:

'The object of the Fabian Society is to persuade the

British people to make their political constitution thoroughly democratic and so to socialize their industries as to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of private capitalism . . . It does not propose that the practical steps towards social democracy should be carried out by itself or any other specially organized society or party . . .

'The Fabian Society is perfectly constitutional in its attitude and its methods are those usual in political life in England. The Fabian Society accepts the conditions imposed upon it by human nature and by the national character and political circumstances of the English people. It sympathizes with the ordinary citizen's desire for gradual, peaceful change . . . In a democratic community compromise is a necessary condition of political progress.'

But in the conditions of political turmoil produced by the economic events of 1886-1890, the theoretical shortcomings of such elitist groups could not prevent the movement of thousands of workers towards a confused, eclectic sort of socialism.

THE ILP IS LAUNCHED

Once more, the economic crisis produced a search for political solutions which the bourgeois Liberal Party was quite incapable of supplying. The TUC became an arena for political conflicts between the conservative leaders of the old unions and the representatives of 'new unionism'.

The capitalists had given many workers the right to vote. But parliament was doing little to remedy conditions for the working class even in boom years and nothing at all to shield them from the effects of the economic depression. Something more than simply the right to vote was required if workers were to be adequately represented in parliament.

In 1893 an Independent Labour Party was launched with the aim of winning mass support to get its members elected to parliament. Its programme — based on Keir Hardie's religious brand of socialism, plus a willingness to make such compromises as were necessary to win trade union support — was rather vague.

But ILP members brought vital political questions into the TUC. In the 1893 and 1894 Congresses they succeeded in carrying resolutions for legalization of the eight-hour day, for 'collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange', and also for the setting up of a labour representation fund by the TUC's Parliamentary Committee. This latter body was a stronghold of TUC conservatism, however. It blocked the 'representation fund' scheme and in 1895 introduced changes in the system of representation and voting expressly designed to weaken the socialist influ-



Top: Match girls on strike in 1888. There was one of the many militant strikes of unskilled workers in the late 19th century. Above: Keir Hardie — his was a religious brand of socialism.

ence in the Congress.

Renewed attacks by the employers on the trade unions in the late 1890s forced the Parliamentary Committee to eat their words and to support the Labour Representation Committee which assembled in 1900 to found a working-class parliamentary party.

Both Liberal and Tory employers were getting organized in an attempt to recoup falling profits at the workers' expense. The methods they employed demonstrated to workers how firmly the state machine was in the employers' grasp.

Apart from organizing a National Free Labour Association (of professional scabs) and a national lock-out in the engineering industry in 1898, they began a systematic campaign to undermine the legal position of the trade unions. They soon found judges to back them up in the courts. Picketing was severely curtailed by the 'Lyons v Wilkins' judgement of 1899.

In 1900 the first meeting of the Labour Representation

Committee was held after the TUC had voted by 546,000 to 434,000 to support a conference to discuss working-class representation (not the founding of a new party!).

The 1900 LRC conference was a big step towards a new party, however. Less than a third of British trade unionists were represented at the conference, which made it possible for the relatively small socialist organizations to take much of the political initiative. They had five of the 12 seats on the executive, the secretary of which was ILP member Ramsay MacDonald. But the internal divisions and theoretical weakness of the socialist organizations prevented them from putting their strong position to much advantage.

'ECONOMIC PRESSURE'

No LRC political programme was formulated. Nor was a firm pledge demanded of LRC parliamentary candidates that

they should dissociate themselves from the Liberal and Conservative parties.

In 1901, the Social Democratic Federation withdrew in disgust from the new organization. This sectarian move did nothing to heighten the political consciousness of the thousands of trade unionists who were being thrown into conflict with the employers and the courts and whose apparent political passivity was a consequence of the success of their movement in extracting reforms by 'economic pressure' in the more prosperous past.

The 1901 Taff Vale judgement, which removed all protection from trade union funds, was a most serious legal attack on the trade unions. If they were to continue to defend their members' living standards, let alone improve them, new laws must be passed through parliament reversing the judgement.

Taff Vale brought a flood of trade union affiliations to the LRC, raising the total membership from 469,000 to 867,000 by 1903. In that year the committee's political position was greatly strengthened by the establishment of a central fund to pay Labour MPs and a declaration that Labour candidates should 'strictly abstain from identifying themselves with, or promoting the interests of, any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties'.

The independent working-class party which Engels had called for in 1874, and Ernest Jones in 1853, seemed at last to have come into being. It remained to be seen whether the various socialist organizations would fulfil their responsibility of clarifying in the working class movement the basic issues which divided Labour from Liberal, and capitalist from socialist politics; and whether they would fight to build a socialist party aimed at taking state power from the capitalists who were trying to destroy the hard-won gains of the trade union movement.

CONCLUDED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

DAD'S JOKE

The other day Kenneth Corley, boss of Lucas, claimed the combine's Fazakerley plant on Merseyside was losing £9m a year. Therefore, he said, it had to close.

How strange. A couple of years ago Corley and his boardroom cronies were singing quite a different tune.

Then CAV plastered Merseyside with a gay poster advertising the wonderful life waiting for workers at Fazakerley.

The poster displays a beaming worker—with the immortal words—'Dad's just got that new year job. He's laughing. At CAV he works 37½ hours a week.'



The caption goes on to describe the delightful shift system designed by Lucas to make sure the plant stays in production night and day:

'The alternating shifts give him plenty of time to tinker with the car, take Mum out to the January sales, finish the odd jobs about the house and have a pint with the lads at the local and study the horses.' (Note the way the advertising world treats the working man as some kind of caged baboon with all kinds of quaint habits and customs.)

'Besides good wages and a pension scheme there are numerous fringe benefits which include' . . . etc, etc.

Two weeks ago the happy CAV workers occupied their plant after the jolly-old management told them they would all be redundant by April. Dad is still laughing inside the gates. He takes promises about a bright future seriously—unfortunately for Lucas.

GOD'S PLAN

A solution to the problems of unemployment and inflation is contained in the October issue of 'Challenge'.

Not, we hasten to add, the paper of the Young Communist League—which rarely appears—but the paper of Christian Publicity Ltd.

An article entitled 'Can God Run Industry?' assures us—not surprisingly—that he can.

'Karl Marx,' we are told, 'made great play with "access to the means of production" as the aim of socialism. In God's plan every family was to have its own land and was to return to it at jubilee, so there would be no unemployment. We have to translate this into modern terms of factory and office.'

Every family to have its own factory and office, presumably.

But the answer to inflation is even more delightfully simple:

'Inflation in the bible is not tolerated. It was prevented by allowing the priesthood to control the supply of money and maintain its value. (Lev. 19:36 and chapter 27.)' (Emphasis in original.)

PRIEST POWER

The Abbé Desbournes of the small French village of Le Bertenoux in the Department of the Indre is no ordinary priest.

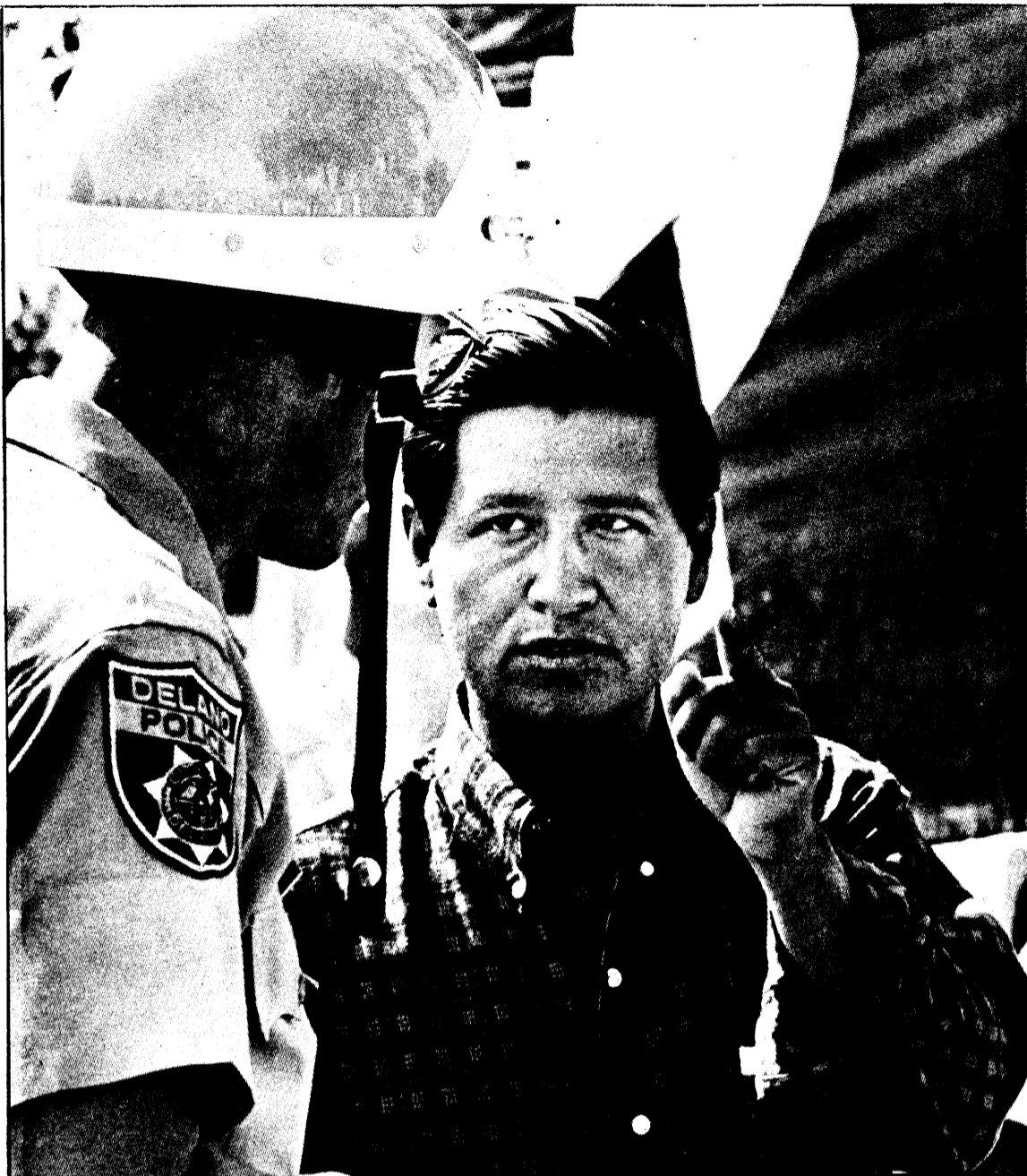
It is not only that he drives a plush Peugeot 504 while many priests manage with a moped. Or that he has a secretary, also provided with a car. Or even that he keeps a good table; many ecclesiastics do.

Perhaps not so many enjoy piloting a light plane from the local airfield.

The Abbé has another claim to fame—he exorcises spirits and ghosts. It appears that he is in great demand; indeed business is booming. Ghosts have, apparently, never been so plentiful.

The Abbé is a virtuoso in his trade. He can exorcise evil spirits which curdle the milk or kill the chickens. He can release people from obsessions and cure those who are possessed.

The Abbé has very little stock-in-trade. He operates with a bottle of holy water and a few prayers. Despite a Vatican decree abolishing exorcists, he is still in business. And it pays . . .



THE STRIKE AT THE WHITE RIVER VINEYARDS

US ROUND UP
BY PHILIP WADE

The almost certain re-election of President Nixon will give the American bourgeoisie the go-ahead for a full-scale attack on trade union rights in the United States.

To a certain extent the cat was let out of the bag recently with a speech by Labour Secretary James D. Hodgson to leading shippers and port employers.

He told them that the outlawing of strikes on the docks, for example, will be a top priority of the Nixon administration after the elections on November 7.

One agency for the attack will be the so-called National Commission for Industrial Peace—the setting up of which Nixon announced in his Labour Day speech earlier this year.

Shippers meeting at the exclusive Propeller Club in Houston, Texas, were told by Hodgson: 'One of the problems I am sure we will be tackling is that of the massive and frequent strikes that have so long plagued the transportation industry, including longshore strikes.'

Then in tones sinisterly similar to those spouted by the Tories here, he added: 'It has become increasingly apparent that the public will no longer tolerate them.'

Edward J. Heine, president of the powerful United States Line, threw in the shipowners' agreement with Nixon's strategy: 'We must rethink the fundamental labour-management relationship in the maritime industry.'

In no small way the Nixon regime is already beginning to test its all-out offensive against the unions in practice.

With the reactionary and racist Governor Reagan of California, they have instituted a systematic reign of terror against the United Farm Workers' Union.

In the last few weeks over 300 UFW pickets have been arrested in the bitter five-week strike at the White River grape vineyards on the West Coast.

It was there that in 1966 the first farm labour contract in American history was signed after the heroic struggle of the workers.

Now the new owners, the Butte Oil and Gas Company, with the full support of Reagan, have mobilized all the forces of the growers, together with the courts and the police in a vicious drive to break the union.

Negotiations with the company broke down in late August when the directors demanded revisions in the disputes procedure, the introduction of harvesting machines which replace 40 workers a machine and the elimination of a union-organized farm from the contract.

As soon as the strike began, the company obtained an injunction from the courts requiring the pickets to stand 50 feet apart and allow police to take scabs into the fields.

Farmworkers from throughout the 'grapes of wrath' state poured down on the area to establish mass picketing on a scale never before seen among the industry's workers.

It was at this stage that the police moved, arresting hundreds who stood in their way.

The heroic fight of the farmworkers is now in great danger because of the leadership's refusal to break with the Democrats and fight for the full mobilization of the trade union movement in support.

Only in a limited way has there been any real support. The picket line has been backed by two local trade

Above: Cesar Chavez, appeals to liberals and the church and preaches pacifism.

union leaders representing the area trades council and dock clerks.

But both these men are committed to presidential candidate George McGovern and have so far refused to do any more than protest for fear of breaking up their fragile alliance with the Democrats.

The farmworkers' leader himself, Cesar Chavez, has appealed to liberals and the church and preaches non-violence and pacifism in answer to the repressions of the employers and the state machine.

It is here that the wretched American Communist Party has come in to praise the section of the trade union bureaucracy rallying behind McGovern. These counter-revolutionary Stalinists have cheered every time Chavez has tried to liquidate the fight of the UFW into the campaign for the McGovern candidacy.

At the same time the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, in its Californian campaign for the presidency, has refused to bring politics into the struggle, opposing all the time the construction of a Labour Party in the United States.

Only the Workers League has refused to bow to the spontaneity of the farmworkers. In a recent San Francisco demonstration by the UFW, they successfully intervened with banners calling for the building of a Labour Party to take the struggle forward to smash the power of the growers.

And over this last weekend, the Workers League held a successful conference of trade unionists and youth in Chicago to step up the campaign to make the trade unions call a congress to establish a Labour Party.

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Above: partners in fame and fortune Steven M. Powers with Harold Goldstein (right) who established the outfit, First Leisure Corporation of Beverly Hills.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF BERNIE THE KING

BY ALEX MITCHELL

The American genius for turning a dollar seems to know no bounds. One of the latest free-wheeling entrepreneurs on the scene is Harold Goldstein, head of a magnificently titled outfit, First Leisure Corporation of Beverly Hills.

Goldstein (27) is in the commodities business. That is to say he purchases options on the future value of various commodities on behalf of his clients.

His angle in this age-old business—it began many years ago in the coffee and tea trade—is novel.

He found a loophole in the regulations which forbid options on commodities produced inside the United States. He discovered that options could be bought and sold in ten commodities like silver and copper which Goldstein prefers to describe as 'international'.

He moved into Los Angeles early last year and began to recruit a stunning array of connections to launch his project.

One of his catches was James Roosevelt, FDR's son, whose name has been associated with a vast number of adventures in finance—most of them disastrous.

His brokers were Wayne Mosley of California and Charles Snodgrass of Snodgrass and Company.

One of the lively press releases about the company's founder said: 'Harold Goldstein had \$800 in the bank a year ago. Today he has \$5m in the bank and is president of an international corporation, the largest of its kind in the world.'

On the way to fame and fortune Goldstein collected a partner, Steven M. Powers

(30), a graduate from the business school at the University College of Los Angeles. Powers decided to get into the shell game—that is to say, he gained control of small public companies and used them to buy and to transform other private companies into public status.

In a series of complicated manoeuvres Powers acquired a private company, Western International, which distributes such unforgettable films as 'The Werewolf versus the Vampire Woman' and 'Big Foot', and bundled it together with the Keck Oil Company of Los Angeles. The result was First Leisure, with himself as chairman and Goldstein as president.

The two brains behind First Leisure have paid tribute to the business philosophy of Bernie Cornfeld, founder of Investors Overseas Services. The Geneva-based empire of IOS was the largest money-gathering device ever created by capitalism. At its peak Cornfeld and his cronies controlled more than \$2,400m.

When a crisis of confidence hit the IOS empire, thousands of investors withdrew their money and the fund collapsed into a state of confusion from which it has not recovered.

'Bernie was the guru,' says a former executive with First Leisure. 'He taught us how to create a corporate image through public relations.'

It is worth noting here that Cornfeld's approach to money-making was astonishingly simplistic. His credo was this: 'Find a hole in the fence. Pick up all the marbles you can and run through the hole.'

First Leisure operated the 'hole-in-the-fence' principle until early this month the Los Angeles office of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the federal body which oversees the business community, suspended trading in the company's stock.

Since then a series of other highly-damaging details of the operation has surfaced. Inevitably, Goldstein has a complete answer to the charges.

● Last May the West Coast Commodity Exchange expelled Goldstein for such 'major offences' as depositing a client's \$4,500 in his own trading account.

Says Goldstein: 'I resigned because the West Coast Commodity Exchange is run by a bunch of crooks.'

● Goldstein is being sued in Chicago for diverting clients' money 'to his own use and benefit' and also in Los Angeles for failing to pay another client \$21,302 that he had allegedly earned investing in his own shares. Both suits accuse Goldstein of fraud.

Goldstein says: 'I'll defend against those suits all the way to the bank.'

● Goldstein and his option outfit are currently being investigated on various suspicions of fraud by the Securities and Exchange Commission, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, the US Postal Service and the federal government's Commodity Exchange Authority.

Comments Goldstein: 'There is no truth to that. I called the FBI when a customer threatened my life.'

● First Leisure is under intense fraud investigation by the SEC's Los Angeles office. 'We're thinking of suing the SEC,' retorts Goldstein.

● Forty investors have filed suits claiming that roughly two-thirds of their money was never invested.

In a moment of innocence Powers said of his partner: 'Harold is like Bernie Cornfeld.'

Goldstein himself has been quoted as saying: 'When I get done, I'll make Billy Sol Estes look like a piker.' Sol Estes was jailed for ten years after a massive fraud involving wheat granaries.

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Socialist Labour League

Leeds

LECTURES
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Given by
Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee member)

Historical materialism today
Monday October 23

PEEL HOTEL
Boar Lane, 8 p.m.

Building the revolutionary party
Monday November 6

GUILDFORD HOTEL
The Headrow, 8 p.m.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Report back from ATUA conference

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opposite New Cross Station.

ACTON: Monday October 30, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street Market, E14.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

BRACKNELL: Monday November 6, 8 p.m. Priestwood Community Centre. 'Councils of Action'.

TV

BBC 1

9.38-11.55 Schools. 12.00 Profit by control. 12.25 Cywain. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Along the river. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05-3.55 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 The long chase. 5.45 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.45 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM. United Kingdom v Canada. Z CARS. Day Trip.

7.10 PANORAMA.
8.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'CARSON COUNTRY.' By Dominic Behan. With J. G. Devlin, Elizabeth Begley, Sam Kydd, Patrick McAlinney, Harry Towb.

10.30 MASTERMIND.
11.00 FILM 72.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
11.35 IRELAND. God Save Ireland.

12.00 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.35 Outlook. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Larry the lamb. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'The Remarkable Mr Pennypacker'. Clifton Webb, Dorothy McGuire. 4.25 Freewheelers. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Bless this house. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.
6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.
8.30 SPRING AND AUTUMN.
9.00 KATE. A Step in the Right Direction.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 LONGSTREET. A World of Perfect Complicity. James Franciscus in a new detective series.

11.30 DRIVE IN.
12.00 INTERNATIONAL BOOK YEAR.



Paul Brennock, Patricia McAuley in 'Carson Country' by Dominic Behan (BBC 1 tonight).

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.

6.35 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP. Power of Speech.

7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.

8.00 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES. Stagecoach Seven.

8.50 OUT OF THE BOX.

9.25 SHOW OF THE WEEK: SCOTT ON LANGUAGE. Terry Scott.

10.10 THE PHILPOTT FILE. Living for Jesus. Part 3. Two Bands of Rebels.

11.15 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP. Prisoners in Boston Massachusetts's Billerica House of Correction talk about life in prison and make suggestions for penal reform.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.05 London. 1.10 News. 1.30 London. 2.20 Yoga. 2.50 Film: 'Follow That Horse'. 4.15 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.15 Addams family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 4.15 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 10.30 News. 11.55 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Film: 'The Black Sheep of Whitehall'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Southern scene. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 1.00 Helen McArthur show. 1.30 London. 2.00 Common Market cook book. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'The "I Don't Care" Girl'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'I Want To Live'. 12.40 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 41 as above except: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 as 41 plus: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd. 8.00-9.30 Yr wythnos.

HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Saint. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Journey to the unknown. 11.30 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.00 Shirley's world. 2.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'The Over-the-Hill-Gang Rides Again'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Stanley Baxter. 11.00 Name of the game. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 Film: 'Charley's (Big Hearted) Aunt'. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: 'Joe Macbeth'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'Cottage to Let'. 4.25 London. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Country calendar. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Film: 'Journey into Nowhere'. 3.40 World fishing. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'You'll Find Out'.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.29 News. 2.30 Common Market cook book. 3.00 Film: 'Imitation General'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Everything must go. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the Press. 11.00 Spyforce. 11.55 News. 12.10 Greatest fights of the century. 12.25 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 Film: 'The Over-the-Hill-Gang Rides Again'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.35 Name of the game.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Enchanted house. 3.00 News. 3.05 Film: 'Conquest of Space'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Country focus. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Meditation.

'Caretaker' government plan for South Vietnam—report

BY JOHN SPENCER

NIXON aide Dr Henry Kissinger returned to Saigon yesterday after visiting Cambodia for talks with dictator Lon Nol. He is believed to be pressing America's puppet regimes in Indo-China to accept preliminary proposals for a ceasefire in the Vietnam war.

On Saturday Kissinger spent ten hours with South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu, who has made it clear he is opposed to any deal with North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has made Thieu's removal from office one of the prime conditions of any peace settlement.

WORK was completed at Nagasaki, Japan, yesterday on the world's largest shipyard, capable of building a 1-million ton deadweight tanker. The Koyaki dockyard, built by Mitsubishi, is 3,242 feet long and 328 feet wide, larger than the Harland and Wolff yard in Belfast which measures 1,804 feet by 308 feet.

But according to reports attributed to diplomats in Peking, the PRG is now prepared to accept Thieu as leader of one of the three factions in a 'government of national concord' while insisting that he must step down as president.

Thieu has recently stepped up the tone of his anti-communist rhetoric with promises of a fight to the finish—denouncing the idea of a tripartite government as treason.

But his independent powers of manoeuvre are very limited. If Kissinger is pressing him to accept some such scheme it is doubtful if Thieu can resist for very long.

North Vietnamese and NLF spokesmen in Paris have apparently warned the Americans to expect unpleasant military surprises if preliminary agreement on the terms of a ceasefire deal is not reached soon.

According to military sources in Saigon, the threat to the South Vietnamese capital from the liberation forces is still serious and the US military are talking in terms of a 'new spectacular' designed to put pressure on Thieu.

'Time' magazine claimed at the weekend to have obtained from South Vietnamese sources an outline of a war settlement agreed in principle by the US and North Vietnam in Paris.

It said the agreement provided for an internationally supervised ceasefire, formation of a new South Vietnamese government and elections for a constituent

assembly to draft a new constitution for the country.

The magazine said it might 'take many months to accomplish in its entirety'. It added that the Nixon administration wants 'to be able to announce an agreement "in principle" on the package before election day, November 7, though the first steps of a ceasefire might not even be possible that soon.'

'Time' said the military portion of the proposed deal provides for a ceasefire 'in place' and halting of all military activity including the US bombing of the North. 'Then negotiations would begin on the final withdrawal of all US forces coupled with the return of American prisoners of war in communist hands.'

After the ceasefire went into effect, 'Time' said, direct negotiations would begin between the Saigon government and the PRG. 'The two sides would work out the composition of a "caretaker" government that would succeed the Thieu regime and prepare the country for general elections to choose a constituent assembly.'

The plan also involves extension of the existing international control commission and the formation of a committee comprising all four sides in the war—the US, North Vietnam, the Thieu government and the National Liberation Front—to arbitrate who controlled what territory at the time of the ceasefire and negotiate the US withdrawal and the return of PoWs.

Brandt policies aid the fascists

WEST GERMANY'S neo-Nazi National Democratic Party has approved an election programme calling for an end to what it terms the 'invasion' by foreign workers.

Party chairman Martin Müssgnug, who took over last year from Adolf von Thadden, said the presence of 3.5 million foreign workers spurred inflation by increasing production capacity.

The fascists of the NPD clearly hope to use anti-immigrant agitation in the same way as Hitler used anti-Semitism. They are aided by the thoroughly chauvinist and reactionary position of the ruling Social Democratic Party headed by Willy Brandt.

Not only has Brandt called for curbs on immigration of workers from southern Europe and North Africa, he has also launched a vicious police campaign against Palestinian workers and students, deporting more than 200 in the wake of the Munich airport shoot-out.

The attack on the Palestinians is a direct attack on the political rights of all immigrant workers in Germany, who have been reduced at a stroke, of Brandt's pen to the status of barely-tolerated factory fodder who can be deported at the government's whim.

This is naturally grist to the fascists' mill.

Conference told: Mass workers' struggles are on the way

BY WORKERS PRESS REPORTERS

THE TORIES' DRIVE towards the Common Market, and their attack on all the gains the working class had made through the unions and the Labour Party, will lead to a period of mass struggle. This was how Alan Thorneit, Transport and General Workers' Union deputy senior steward at the British Leyland assembly plant, Cowley, Oxford, opened the fifth annual conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance in Birmingham yesterday.

State pay control on the cheap

BY IAN YEATS

The move to join the European Economic Community had also seen a period of unprecedented price rises, with worse to come through Value-Added Tax and rent rises. The role of the conference was to prepare the working class for the struggles these moves created.

The new proposals coincide with Edward Heath's so-called triumphant return from the Common Market summit at Paris which pledged itself to give top priority to dealing with inflation.

Despite details from Transport and General Workers' Union leader Jack Jones, Whitehall officials insist that the plan was put forward by him.

According to government sources the original Heath £2 package would have been worth an average of £2.60 after over-time and bonus payments had been taken into account.

Workers on relatively high basic rates with substantial related payments were tipped to have been able to turn the £2 into £4.

What has now come to be known as the Jones plan eliminates all follow-through payments. Under it a flat-rate wage increase would be agreed for the year and added to pay packets in the form of a government payment.

Health is said to favour the Jones scheme not only because it is less expensive than the government's own, but also because it demonstrates his intention of associating the unions with management of the capitalist economy.

The CBI are looking on the plan with approval because of its ability to halt 'wages drift' and top employers, the National Economic Development Office and senior government advisers are claimed to be enthusiastic.

The General Council of the TUC meets on Wednesday and the leaders of two unions—Ray Buckton, of the locomotive union ASLEF, and Civil and Public Services' Association chief William Kendall—have already demanded the recall of the TUC. Buckton wants to oppose further joint talks, while Kendall says the recall is needed to rally or reject the pay deal.

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Printed by Plover Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

A delegate from Cowley plant's shop stewards' committee, Thorneit, said that since last year's conference the Tories had reaffirmed their determination to use the Industrial Relations Act and go ahead to statutory wage control and the corporate state itself.

The move to join the European Economic Community had also seen a period of unprecedented price rises, with worse to come through Value-Added Tax and rent rises. The role of the conference was to prepare the working class for the struggles these moves created.

Many struggles had been lost by default. The conference statement made clear the necessity to build an alternative leadership to mobilize the working class to face the struggles against the Tories.

It is not just a question of talking about better individuals in jobs in each industry, but a principle to fight for principle—a party which will at all times represent the working class.

It would not be an organization to 'squeeze more reforms, but dedicated to changing the system to where the working class owned society itself.

The situation was 'overripe' for such a leadership, and the working class would respond to such a leadership. The working class had one great strength. It will not let the gains of the past be taken away.

Leslie Jordan, boilermakers' steward from the Tyne shipyards where 300 men are on strike for a £4.70 claim, said union president Dan McGarvey and the executive had condemned, castigated and ganged up on his members.

Now the Tory government has refused us a conciliation officer because we have been offered more than the £2 limit. This should be a warning to all trade unionists', he said.

Conference applauded Mrs Constance Fahey, who brought greetings from the Manchester TRADE UNION backing for the Manchester tenants' struggle against the Tory 'fair rents' Act is starting to come in with a rush.

Wally Preston, secretary of the Manchester combine union district committee, presented 33,000 pledged support to the tenants' action group.

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and Salford tenants now on rent strike.

'We have adopted a slogan of Winston Churchill's in this struggle: "Never have so many paid too much to so few". And they are not going to get away with it. That is the message from the Manchester tenants.

Other speakers included, John Edey, a Leicester member of the Builders' union UCATT; W. G. Fowler, an Aberdeen hospital worker; Eric Baker, General and Municipal Workers' Union shop steward; Bowater's; Ivy McKenna (T&GWU), Gesterners, London; and Yvonne Richards, Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians.

A full report of the speeches including those from the CAV (Fazakerley) and Manesty (Machines) (Spoke) occupations, Liverpool—will appear in tomorrow's Workers Press.

David Shenton, senior fishing officer of the T&GWU said the union's national fishing committee had decided on this step because of the deteriorating position of British trawlermen in the cod war.

The T&GWU thus takes up a 'patriotic' position alongside the fishing fleet owners, who just two-and-a-half years ago fought bitterly for nine weeks against its demand for a closed shop.

Undoubtedly the conflict between the British and Icelandic fishing bosses places trawlermen's earnings and lives at risk. But the way to safeguard the men is not to line up with the employers.

The powerful T&GWU should be demanding that a Labour government nationalize the fishing industry and legislate decent working conditions and wages for the men working in it.

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