

BEHIND THE COMMON MARKET BALLYHOO

PRICES UP, WAGES AND JOBS HIT BY EEC POLICY

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE TORY government has opened up a massive campaign of deception over the Common Market. It centres on the lie that entry into capitalist Europe means a new era of better living.

The 'European idea' will be sold to saturation point in all the Tory Press.

Yesterday we had the first taste of this propaganda war. Every newspaper in the country, except Workers Press, turned over its front page to hysterical praise of the Common Market.

The Stalinist 'Morning Star' did add its own feeble voice of 'opposition'—it appealed for the flags to be flown at half mast!

In the Tory Press we read Joseph Godber, Minister for Agriculture, saying prices would not rise.

The Tory premier Heath promised more jobs and prosperity to the working class in Europe.

And ex-Labour Minister George Thomson talked about the 'ancient nations of western Europe' going on a great adventure.

But beneath the ballyhoo the facts are plain. **The Common Market will mean higher prices.**

Foods will be jacked up almost immediately because of the Common Agricultural Policy. In Europe beef and veal are 28 per cent dearer, butter 179 per cent, cheese 62 per cent and bread 10 per cent. This is without the additional burden of Value-Added Tax, which will fall directly on the consumer after April 1.

The Common Market will mean fewer jobs.

It will mean a massive flight of capital, both industrial and speculative, into Europe and especially areas where the working class is weak, wages low and trade unions outlawed, as in fascist Spain.

But of course the Common Market will bring more than longer dole queues and a rising cost of living. It is basically a capitalist alliance for depriving the working class of all its democratic rights.

The effects will be felt sharpest of all in Britain. This is the home of the most parasitic and degenerate of the capitalist economies.

Trade figures have already highlighted the enormous weakness of British industry. Over the last 11 months our exports to western Europe rose by 16 per cent, but imports from the EEC into Britain soared by 29 per cent. All the capitalist economies of western Europe gained at our expense.

'The Times', in a more sober comment on the Common Market, is quite blunt. Britain, says this paper of the ruling class, cannot compete in basic industry.

'Britain has been stronger in the finance and distribution of goods than in making them. The services of the City of London; banking, insurance, stockbroking, shipping and commodity markets; already earn a substantial part of our £600m balance of payments surplus on invisible trade.

Britain's first contribution therefore is to provide Europe with a specifically European centre for these activities.'

'The Times' says that this, apart from specialized industrial activity like Jaguar cars and so on, will be the sole economic activity of this country.

These views now predominate in capitalist circles. Put another way they mean that Britain is finished as a manufacturing country. Investment will be made abroad and at home the working class must be driven down, robbed of all rights by mass unemployment.

Economic activity will be confined mainly to the parasitic speculation of the City and the money dealing on the commodity exchanges. Whole areas of country will become industrial deserts.

This is the Britain within Europe the ruling class would like to see.

It means that the defence of basic rights now becomes a revolutionary question. Already a rapid capitulation to the 'European Idea' is apparent in the Communist Party and among the Labour and trade union leaders (see p. 3).

A whole section of the Labour leadership already welcomes Europe with joy.

They are incapable of defending the working class from European capitalism.

The defence of basic rights cannot be tainted with nationalism or considerations of bureaucratic convenience for the ruling class.

Workers have no fatherland. Their struggle for emancipation under a socialist system is international.

It is on this firm foundation that the Fourth International rests. Its perspective has always been to argue that the defence of basic rights all over Europe demands the construction of revolutionary parties. The International Committee of the Fourth International leads this fight all over the Continent.

Workers everywhere must join in this struggle. In Britain the campaign to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party in preparation for the big class battles ahead is the only reply to the 'Fanfare for Europe'.

See 'Leon Trotsky on Europe' — page 12



London Royal group dockers vote not to take immediate action over the transfer of the meat trade to Southampton.

Meat trade
black is
held off
see p. 12

KEEP LEFT

YOUNG
SOCIALISTS
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY
PAPER

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

and National Speaking Contest

Next Saturday—January 6, 2.30 p.m.

East India Hall, East India Dock Road, London E14

Dance 8-11 p.m.

workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Two of the leading Republicans recently taken by Lynch's police... O'Bradaigh (top) and McGuinness.

Release Eire's political prisoners

McStiofain, O'Bradaigh and McGuinness

THE BASIC rights of the Irish workers have suffered another serious blow with the latest pogrom against Republican leaders.

The head of the Derry Provisional IRA, Martin McGuinness and his deputy have been arrested by the reactionary Lynch government in the south. These two men have been incarcerated in Mountjoy jail where many an Irish patriot suffered torture and death at the hands of British imperialism. Now the wretched Green Tories of Dublin are doing the dirty work for their British masters.

The second act of repression was the arrest of Ruairi O'Bradaigh who has been charged with four offences said to have been committed on September 23 and November 26 last year. All of them refer in various ways to the allegation that he is a member of an illegal organization in Eire and that he is raising or attempting to raise an armed force 'contrary to the constitution'.

These charges are not only reactionary and an insult to the conscience of every anti-imperialist Irishman, they are grotesquely cynical and proof of the cowardice and prostration of the Irish bourgeoisie before Whitehall.

O'Bradaigh in his statement to the court said that similar

charges were preferred against him last June and were dismissed by the district judge in Elphin, Co. Roscommon. He concluded by asking the court:

'How often can a person be subject to arrest and prosecution on the same charges and still be regarded as a free citizen?'

A rhetorical question!

Since June 1972 the Irish capitalists, together with their overlords in London, have been manoeuvring frantically to enter the Common Market and—as a precondition to entry—to liquidate the Ulster war by every conceivable means.

To do this they have not only resorted to direct rule, intern-

ment, massive intimidation by the army and the setting up of kangaroo courts in the north. They have also recognized that no campaign against the IRA can be successful without the support of the southern Irish bourgeoisie.

That is why they arrested Sean MacStiofain. That is why they organized—with the complicity of British imperialism—the bomb outrages and provocations which 'persuaded' the opposition in the Dail to vote for the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act and, at a stroke, overturn the concept of the 'free citizen' and enable the Gardi to seize O'Bradaigh and McGuinness.

But it is not just Lynch who

arrests O'Bradaigh and McGuinness. The silence, equivocation and down-right treachery of trade union, Labour and Stalinist leaders are also to blame. They have not lifted a finger to defend basic rights in Ireland or mobilize the working class against Fianna Fail reactionaries.

That is the real reason why O'Bradaigh, McGuinness and MacStiofain are deprived of their freedom by the capitalist class.

If the hand that arrested these men is the hand of Lynch, the mind that guides these oppressions is that of the Tory government and the Minister for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw. Behind him stand the general of the army of occupation who are determined to smash the IRA and all resistance to military might, north and south.

The struggle to free these political prisoners is inseparable from the struggle to build a revolutionary Marxist leadership in the Irish working class. Workers Press calls on the trade unionists of Ireland and Britain to demand the immediate release of all political prisoners in Ireland and, as a part of this campaign, to force the trade union leaders to break off all contact with the Tory oppressors in Ulster.

'Sign now' pressure covers CP betrayal

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE PROTEST merchants of the British Communist Party are claiming the credit for the suspension of the American bombing of North Vietnam and the resumption of the Paris 'peace' talks.

They are planning to continue their campaign of 'pressure' on the US imperialists, appealing to President Nixon to sign the October draft treaty with North Vietnam immediately.

Not content with this fraudulent demand, they are also calling on Tory premier Edward Heath to 'speak out' against the policies of the US government.

Their paper, the 'Morning Star', claimed yesterday that Heath had 'dishonoured Britain . . . by refusing to denounce the bombings'. It called on

the trade union and labour movement to 'wipe out this shame on Britain's name'.

This typically chauvinist tone is deliberately adopted by the 'Morning Star' to prevent the expression of genuine working-class internationalism against the Vietnam war.

It spreads the infamous lie that Nixon is susceptible to 'public opinion' and that the role of the workers' movement is not to fight for the overthrow of imperialism, but to use pressure to make it more democratic.

Worse still, it generates the illusion that Heath, as well as Nixon, can be forced to change his spots through this nebulous pressure—presumably by bigger vigils and more signatures of petitions.

To reinforce this line, it devalues the resistance of the Vietnamese fighters, giving it second place to 'the world-wide storm of protest' as a cause of Nixon's decision to stop the bombing.

And it piles on gratuitous praise for 'the aid . . . received from the Soviet Union in modern air defence systems'.

In fact Russia supplies less aid to North Vietnam than it does to capitalist Egypt and much of the 'aid' is obsolete or obsolescent.

The Kremlin bureaucrats hope to get the revolutionary war off the agenda as it is an embarrassment to the development of better relations with US imperialism.

The Kremlin's policy is a policy of treachery to the Indo-China revolution. The British Stalinists' protest campaign is designed to strengthen the hand of the Kremlin and cover up its counter-revolutionary betrayals.

Spanish fascists' steel deal with China

THE SPANISH Ministry of Commerce has granted licences to Aceros de Llodio, Forjas Alavesas and Fabrimetal to export 25 million pesetas worth of steel to China.

BY JUAN GARCIA

The Ministry hopes China will become a leading customer for Spanish steel in the footsteps of the Soviet Union.

It could help redress the imbalance in trade between the two countries. The fascist regime suffered a 900 million pesetas deficit in 1972 which was nine times the 1971 figure.

Trade at the moment is conducted through Spanish trading agencies in Hong Kong. As yet there are no Peking commercial delegations officially resident in Madrid.

Foreign Minister Lopez Bravo recently attended a reception given by Chinese UN representatives and speculation is rife in the Spanish Press on Bravo possibly visiting Peking.

Trade between Spain and the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe doubled in the first ten months of 1972 compared with 1971. Spanish imports to COMECON countries were worth 7.107 million pesetas.

Poland and the Soviet Union handled 50 per cent of this trade. While 'peaceful co-existence' proceeds, the Spanish secret police have jailed leading members of the illegal, CP-dominated Workers' Commissions and over 20 Maoist Marxist-Leninists. The sentences demanded range from six to 22 years.

Some leaders of the strike in the Citroën plant in Vigo are still in jail awaiting trial while the local labour court has ratified hundreds of sackings of workers who were active in the strike for a 44-hour week.

● Ford's are pressing ahead with their plans to establish a plant in Spain. The Spanish Minister of Industry, Lopez de Letona, has just received draft proposals for a \$310m car factory to produce 240,000 cars a year.

Ford's estimate they will employ 6,400 workers in the first year of production and that the eventual labour force will be 7,600. Two-thirds of production will be aimed at the European market.

Allende to compensate nationalized US mining firm

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE CHILEAN government of Salvador Allende has published a decree granting \$19m compensation to the United States mining consortium, the Cerro Corporation.

The compensation is for the La Andina copper mine which

was nationalized by the Popular Unity government in 1971.

Allende had already told Cerro executives of this gift from his 'socialist' government. He saw them during his visit to New York in early December.

The main aim of his visit was to deliver a speech to the United Nations Assembly attacking the exploitation of the 'third world' by US monopolists.

Allende had always previously stated that no compensation would be paid to companies whose Chilean holdings were nationalized.

Socialist Labour League North West Rally

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CHRISTINE SMITH (Young Socialists)
In a personal capacity:
CONNIE FAHEY (Manchester Tenants)
ALAN STANLEY (Vauxhall Shop Stewards)
BRIAN GEENEY (U.P.W.)
WALLY FOUCHS (CAV Occupation Committee)

Stalinist lies about the Common Market

Comment by ALEX MITCHELL

LAST SATURDAY the Common Market Safeguards Campaign staged a rally and torchlight march in London. Reporting this protest against EEC entry, Workers Press said: 'An anti-Common Market demonstration organized on Saturday by Labour Party members, including Douglas Jay, was almost entirely taken over by the National Front and Colin Jordan's British Movement.

'The protest attracted over 400 extreme right wingers who interrupted the speeches at the Central Hall, London, with chants of "National Front" and "Enoch". We also carried a three-column photograph of the march showing the first three banners on the march. They said, in this order:

- 'Say No Common Market.'
- 'Keep Britain out of Common Market—National Front.'
- 'No surrender to Europe—No to Afro-Asian Invasion—Bloody Traitors, You've Betrayed Your Children.'

Yesterday's 'Morning Star', the newspaper of the British Communist Party, covered the same event. But you'd never know it!

On page 3 the 'Star' carried a three-column photograph. It showed Big Ben and the front of the march with the banner: 'Say No Common Market'. The next two slogans had been neatly trimmed out of existence.

Nationalist

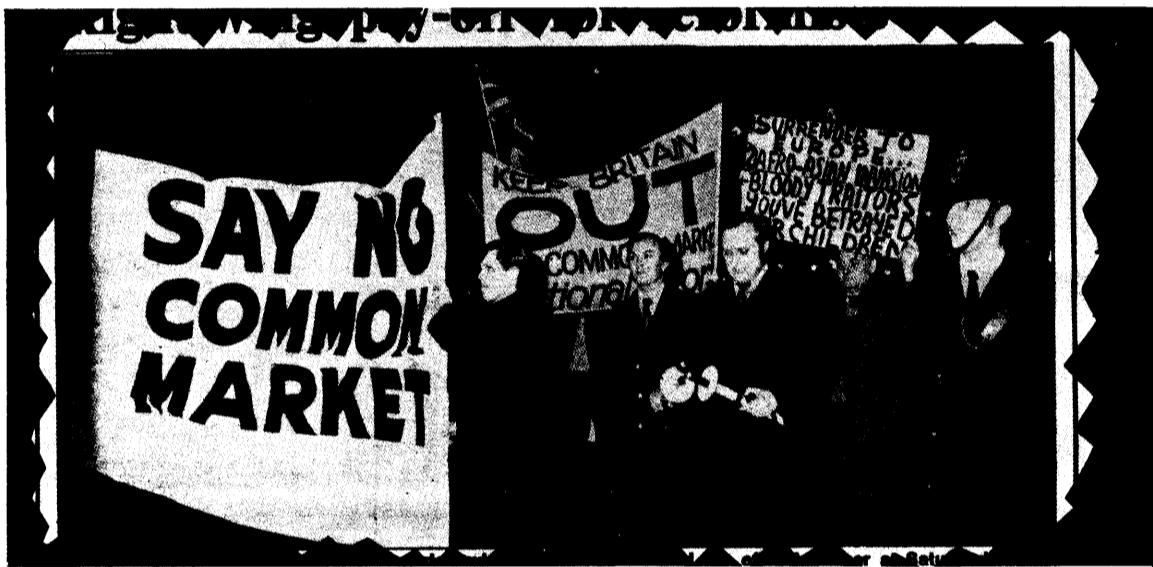
The one-paragraph caption to the picture said: 'Over Westminster Bridge and past Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament go Common Market Safeguards Campaign members in a torch light march on their way to an anti-Market rally in Central Hall at the weekend.' And that was the end of the report.

Not a mention of the presence of the National Front and the Jordanites. No reference to the fact that this rally turned into a jamboree for every nationalistic, anti-communist group in Britain.

Why does the 'Star' omit to mention these facts? Is it simply a case of 'bad reporting'? Every CP member must ask this question.

The answer is NO. The omission is deliberate. It is conscious.

It goes to the heart of the CP's treacherous opposition to the Common Market. The CP's grounds for opposing the Market are intensely nationalistic. That is why the Party was able to join an anti-market rally on October 24, 1971, on which the National Front was also represented.



There was no CP contingent on Saturday's march—but their newspaper sets out to falsify the composition of the protest. The Stalinists tell these atrocious lies in their paper because they adhere to the theory of 'Popular Fronts'. The Party links up with any anti-Market brigade because it regards these movements as 'progressive'.

It was similar reactionary alliances in the 1930s which opened the door for the rise of the fascist regime under Franco in Spain and General Petain in France.

Trotsky was completely correct when he denounced the Popular Front as a joint attempt by Stalinism, social-democracy and capitalism to stifle the working class in the name of 'broad unity' in the fight against fascism.

Certainly these were the precise political ingredients involved in last Saturday's dangerous amalgam and the subsequent coverage in the 'Star'.

But the Stalinists' newspaper goes even further.

'Morning Star' covers up for extreme right on anti-EEC march

A front-page editorial indulges in the crudest nationalistic language in commenting on Day One of Market entry:

'If flags are flown today, it should be at half-mast, to symbolize Heath's betrayal of Britain's sovereignty by dragging its protesting people into the Common Market.'

These are sentiments worthy of Enoch Powell himself.

'Sovereignty'

Compare the sanctimonious rubbish about 'sovereignty' and the 'people' (not a mention of the working class) with what Workers Press said in a 2,000-word declaration by the editorial board:

'Britain's entry into the Common Market today marks a watershed in the history of British capitalism. It is a desperate act by a ruling class in the grip of the worst economic crisis it has ever faced.

... showed that nearly half the nation is unhappy about Market membership. A substantial minority of 22 per cent of the 38 per cent of the ORC sample who professed to be unhappy about Market entry believed the British people should show "total resistance," while 40 per cent wanted entry terms re-negotiated.

Most optimistic about entry were the middle class generally, Conservatives particularly and some sections of youth, says the survey.

A positively funeral note was struck by villagers of Hullbridge, Essex, who marched down a



Yesterday's 'Morning Star' (above) and Workers Press (left). Notice how the National Front banner is excluded from the Stalinists' picture.

Press has been consistently opposed to the concept of the capitalist EEC. And the 'Star' knows it. So does the labour and trade union movement which is why the 'Star's' lies only serve to expose Stalinism to the masses.

Only political charlatans or counter-revolutionaries tell lies to the working class.

Furthermore there is not an ounce of principle in the 'Star's' opposition to entry. If there was any principle, how could CP members have been involved in a march with the National Front in 1971? And how could their paper deliberately falsify a meeting of extremely reactionary groups against the Market?

Letter

The CP is facing a considerable internal crisis over its 'stand' on the Market. Yesterday's paper carries a letter on page 2 which explains why.

'What exactly is meant by "sovereignty" which is said, by John Gollan in "The Times" and the "Morning Star" [December 19 and 20], to be violated by membership of the EEC?

'Supposing there were Popular Front governments in Italy and France, and a Social Democratic government in West Germany in favour of close ties with the German Democratic Republic and that the European Parliament were pursuing socialist policies in conflict with the interests of British capitalism.

'One can imagine who would be proclaiming the inviolability of our sovereignty then. But would we wish to join them?

'But is defending "national sovereignty" really an issue for the left at present? It surely is in some circumstances [if a fascist invasion were imminent, for instance]; but couldn't it backfire in the present context?'

The letter is carefully timed. As we have been warning for some time, the British Communist Party is currently in the throes of a great turmoil deciding when and how to change its Market policy. That was the reason French CP chief Georges Marchais visited Britain in November.

The West European Communist Parties already support the Market and if Marchais and his socialist coalition are elected in March it will be only a matter of months before the British CP stands on its head and supports the Market as well.

In the meantime workers are still being subjected to the 'Star's' lies and distortions on this momentous issue.

Press quick to jump on anti-closed-shop bandwagon

BY DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE TORY Press has swung with a vengeance behind the legal attack on the closed shop.

Self-styled liberals at 'The Guardian' and 'The Sunday Times' joined forces with the witch-hunters of the 'Daily Express' and 'Daily Telegraph' stables in shrill screams of anger and frustration at the Chrysler workers' decisive rejection of this campaign in Coventry.

Joseph Langston, the 59-year-old Chrysler welder whose application to an industrial tribunal started the attack, has

become the apple of every Tory leader-writer's eye.

At the 'Sunday Express', Beaverbrook-fed stomachs which had remained unaffected by the genocidal US bombing campaign in Vietnam all week suddenly turned last Friday when Langston lost his hat. For them this was 'the ugliest picture of the week'.

Both 'The Sunday Times' and the 'Sunday Telegraph' explicitly linked the demonstration at Chrysler's with Vietnam.

'The Sunday Times'—in a piece of obscene logic-chopping—

equated the demonstration with the bombing.

'If we condemn the excessive use of power represented by the American bombing campaign... we must condemn the physical intimidation shown by Chrysler workers', an editorial declared.

It was the 'Telegraph' however, which let the cat out of the bag.

On Saturday a 'Daily Telegraph' editorial voiced the fear that was obviously felt throughout Fleet Street: that the Chrysler workers might win.

When the 'Sunday Telegraph'

called for condemnation of Friday's demonstration by Labour leaders who are 'so busy criticizing America', it did so because of this fear.

By their stand against the Industrial Relations Act, the paper said, the engineers' union leaders were making 'ugly outbursts all the more likely to occur'. In other words, they were providing a dangerous rallying-point for workers' resistance to the Tory onslaught on their basic rights.

What is really worrying the Tory Press about the Chrysler workers' determined opposition to Langston is that resistance is rapidly turning into attack.

DISASTER FOR THE DEPRESSED AREAS IN EUROPE

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

The Tories claimed a grand coup at the last Common Market summit when they got member-states to consider a policy for helping the depressed areas of Britain and Europe.

Heath said the decision heralded a new era for regions like Scotland and the north. In fact the opposite is the case.

The Paris declaration on the regions were merely a verbal commitment to the principle of an integrated policy for Europe. All observers are agreed that as the British economy is forced into the Continental mould, the so-called development areas will suffer and more jobs will be lost in the country's unemployment blackspots.

The most likely outcome is that areas like Lancashire, Yorkshire, Humberside and parts of the south-west will lose their limited development area status and be forced to compete on equal terms with the industrial power-houses of central west Europe.

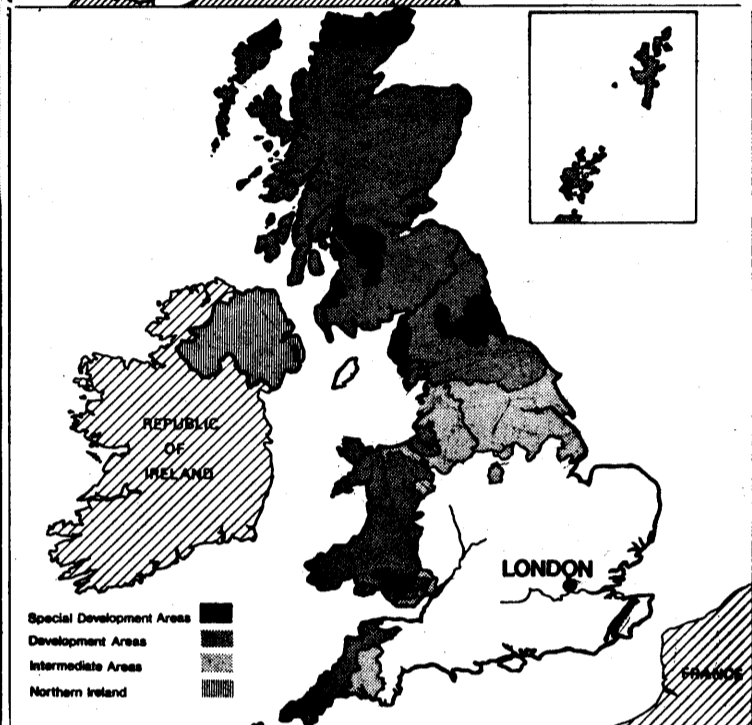
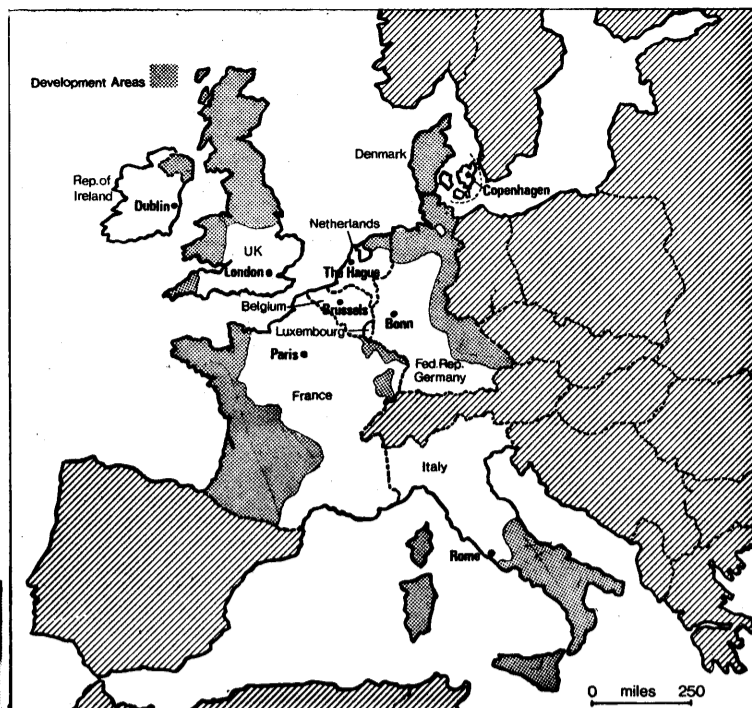
The decrepit state of British capitalism is startlingly revealed in any map showing the extent of areas which receive special grants and privileges.

The black shading, which stands for depressed regions, now spreads over 68 per cent of the land area. Only the rump of the country below a line from the Severn to the Wash remains unshaded by unemployment.

The whole of Scotland,



Left: Commissioner Borchette, who, until recently, was the Director General of Regional Policy of the EEC, responsible for the development areas. Right: Britain and Europe—maps showing the Development Areas of Common Market countries. (Maps from 'Commerce International')



Wales, the north, half of the south west and the whole of northern and southern Ireland qualify for varying degrees of aid.

Northern Ireland, at one extreme of the scale, gets massive financial support to stave off the complete collapse of her beleaguered economy. At the lower end, Lancashire and Yorkshire get smaller grants to buttress themselves

against the heavy subsidies enjoyed further north and the lure of the south-east.

Europe has no such comprehensive policy. There is a Director-General for Regional Policy, but he has been remarkably slow in proposing any real plans for the regions.

Most help, in fact, tends to be of a negative type—curbing individual governments from introducing investment incep-

tives in existing heavily-industrialized regions.

Regionally Europe is divided into two. There is the central area, with its fulcrum on the famous golden triangle which straddles across the Belgian, French and German borders and periferal development zones.

These include west, and particularly south-west France, southern Italy, Corsica and Sardinia, and the eastern border of West Germany, which, with the division of Germany, has been deprived of its natural economic hinterland.

For the present, governments are allowed to offer high incentives in these areas. The proposal is to Europeanize the assistance under the policy mooted at Paris.

In addition to specifically regional grants these areas receive substantial support from the guaranteed price system under the Common Agricultural Policy.

Aid to the central areas is carefully controlled. Grants cannot be higher than 20 per cent of any new investment and the Market countries, Britain included, are pledged to reduce this ceiling in future years with the first review planned almost immediately.

How will the British development areas fit into this structure?

It is almost certain that a substantial proportion of the existing development areas will be denied the special status of the European periferal areas. Senior EEC officials are said to be determined to reduce the area of Britain receiving substantial grants and aid.

The most likely candidates for the chop are, of course, the so-called 'grey areas' of Yorkshire, Humberside and Lancashire.

They will probably be forced into the central areas scheme.

This means that as the

20-per-cent ceiling is reduced, they will be forced to compete directly with the golden triangle and south-east England.

This can only revive the exodus of investment from these areas southwards to the Midlands and beyond into Europe. For the working class it will mean higher and higher unemployment.

It is also suggested that the whole of Scotland should not be included since there are industries like tourism and rural crafts which have growth potential and don't need a high level of assistance.

The Eurocrats are also against any blanket support of certain industries. Some voiced their strong disapproval of the recent Industries Act, which was designed to shore up shipbuilding.

Opposition to grants and assistance is very much part of the Common Market ethic. The emphasis from the start was on a regional policy which stimulated 'orderly competition' within industry, hence the emphasis on 'negative' incentives. Competition is somewhat of a misnomer in contemporary Market conditions. Monopoly is the rule in Europe and the giant combines do not compete in terms of price.

The aim of 'orderly competition' would therefore be better described as orderly relationships among the monopolies.

The really depressed areas will be seen and used as sources of cheap labour and this includes Britain's Celtic fringe.

Certainly 'model' projects may be started in this area, but for their real investment in depressed areas, the European capitalist class is looking even further afield, across the borders to Spain, Greece and Turkey, countries which possess the best asset of all—cheap labour plus regimes which outlaw all basic rights.

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THE MAN WHO MADE A PRESIDENT

Jack Gale's fourth article in the series on Harry S. Truman investigates the 'Pendergast machine'—the political machinery in the Democratic Party that brought Truman to power.

In all the paeons of praise poured on the late President Harry S. Truman by the bourgeois Press, one would search in vain for a mention of a gentleman by the name of Tom Pendergast.

Tom Pendergast was the younger brother of the notorious Jim Pendergast, Alderman of Kansas City, Missouri, who in the 1890s built up a powerful machine which combined political skulduggery with liquor and gambling dens.

Jim explained his political philosophy in simple terms: 'I've been called a boss. All there is to it is having friends, doing things for people and then later on they'll do things for you.'

Younger brother Tom took over and expanded the business.

He did this so successfully that by 1920 the Kansas City and Jackson County Democratic Party was virtually controlled by two factions—Pendergast and his rival Joe Shannon.

Each boss had his strong-arm men. Pendergast's were known as 'The Goats' and Shannon's as 'The Rabbits'.

But they ran into some local difficulties in 1920. The Kansas City elections of the spring of that year were so blatantly dominated by thugs and 'repeat voters' that Republican Arthur M. Hyde won the governorship of Missouri on the basis of a pledge to end corruption—in particular, in the Democrat-machine-controlled police department.

Patronage

Only one Democrat was elected to the County Court. Pendergast decided that patronage from the Jackson County Court was essential to his machine. He needed a 'respectable' figure on there who would be friendly to him. And in August 1922, he found just such a man. A local boy, from an established family, a Baptist, ex-army officer and—not least—a Mason.

And on to the Jackson County Court went none other than . . . Judge Harry S. Truman.

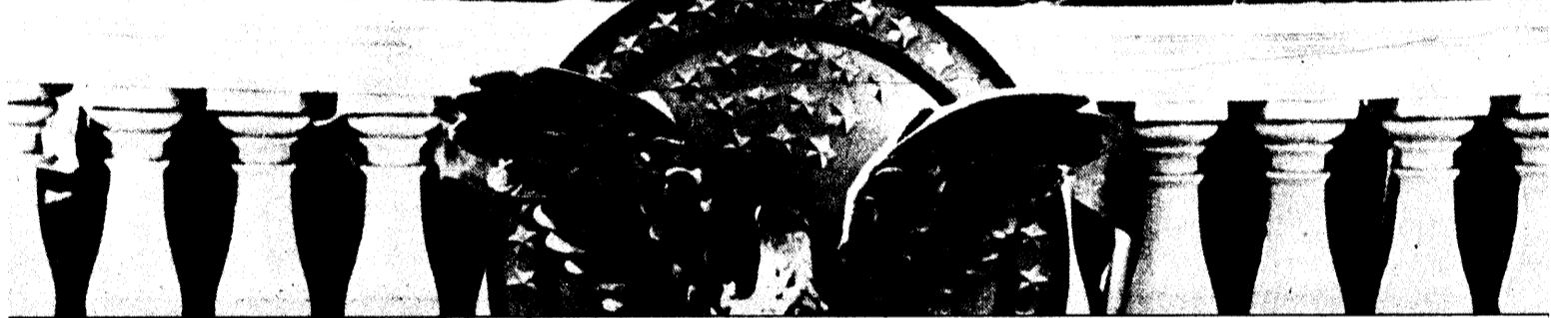
In 1924 he was thrown off. He had been originally elected as a result of a truce between the Pendergast and Shannon factions. But the Shannon group felt that it didn't receive enough patronage in return, so it didn't support him next time round.

However, things were better organized in 1926 and Truman became Presiding Judge of the Jackson County Court. He rapidly became so important to the Pendergast machine that when Tom's son Mike died in 1929, he took over the leadership of the County organization.

Thus, by using Truman, Tom Pendergast overcame the challenge that had threatened to destroy his power in Jackson County.

It was in this period that the Shannon faction was finally defeated and Tom Pendergast became the recognized leader of the Kansas City Democratic Party.

In 1931 Harry Truman sought the governorship of Missouri but, though he had served Pendergast loyally—



Truman taking the Presidential oath in April, 1945, not more than 5 years after Pendergast's release from jail on corruption charges

and, indeed, a section of the Pendergast machine formed a 'Truman for Governor Club'—the machine as a whole backed another candidate, Judge Park of Platte County, who was duly elected.

But Truman could still be useful. In 1929, the Pendergast machine sought a ten-year plan for Kansas City and Jackson County which involved issuing bonds for an extensive public-works programme.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the local citizens were not too enthusiastic about having such a costly venture in the hands of Pendergast and his pals.

It took two years of hard machine work to get the scheme through. And when this was finally achieved, one of the newspapers controlled by Pendergast—the 'Missouri Democrat'—carried a large picture of the men responsible.

These were Kansas City Manager Henry F. McElroy (about whom more later), Pendergast's life-long associate Conrad Mann and . . . Harry S. Truman.

Shortly afterwards, when the United States Secretary of Labour appointed one Martin Lewis as Missouri State Director of Federal Re-Employment, the Pendergast machine rapidly got him ousted and replaced him with Harry Truman.

In 1934, as all the bourgeois papers faithfully reported, Truman became US senator for Missouri.

But none of them told us how he got there. Yet this is a story that is intriguing in the most literal sense. Each state had two senators. The senior senator for Missouri was Bennett Clark of St Louis who had won the nomination in 1932 against Pendergast's opposition.

In the 1934 Democratic primary, Clark supported Jacob L. Milligan against Truman and two other candidates. In the course of this campaign Clark alleged that municipal and state employees were being pressurized to support Truman and that in some areas they were required not only to work for Truman, but to contribute financially to his campaign. The police department in particular, Clark claimed, was mobilized behind Truman.

Secretary of the Missouri Public Service Commission Robert Holloway was given leave of absence to run the Truman campaign.

Not surprisingly Truman won. This not only gave Pendergast one friend as Missouri senator but convinced Clark that he would need Pendergast's support for his own nomination and re-election due in 1938.

So Clark fell into line with Truman in an action which excited little attention at the time and was certainly missed by every bourgeois newspaper in the world-wide eulogies that we all endured last week.

And that was the nomination of a certain Matthew S. Murray for the post of Director of Federal Public Works in Missouri.

Contracts

Murray was a Pendergast nominee. And the appointment carried with it control of the New Deal Works Progress Administration in the state. No one could be placed in such a post in any state without being nominated by the state's two senators.

The WPA poured enormous sums of money into the reconstruction of Kansas City under the New Deal policies.

New buildings erected in-

cluded a city hall, a court house, a main police station and a municipal auditorium.

Extremely juicy contracts went to a firm called the Ready Mixed Concrete Company . . . owned by Tom Pendergast.

Pendergast certainly seemed to share Truman's joy in his election to the United States Senate. And the morning after that success, newspapers all over Missouri proclaimed: 'Pendergast: the undisputed boss from one end of the state to the other.'

Whatever Truman's part in this, it cannot be disputed that when one Kansas City man sought support from Truman, the new senator replied: 'If you will send us endorsements from the Kansas City Democratic Organization, I shall be glad to do what I can for you.'

A photostat copy of this letter from Truman to L. T. Slayton is contained in the Barrett papers of 1935.

A year after he became senator Truman supported Pendergast's nominee for the governorship of Missouri, Lloyd C. Stark.

Stark, however, turned on Pendergast when evidence of wholesale vote frauds became evident in late 1936. Federal District-Attorney Milligan (brother of the man Truman had defeated in the 1934 Primary) prosecuted a number of Kansas City Democratic Party workers and went to Washington to get the State Department to investigate Pendergast.

It is on record that Truman sought to replace Milligan when he came up for re-appointment in 1938. But he didn't want to be associated with corruption in the Democratic Party machine.

Five Federal investigating agencies were sent to Kansas City. They didn't only dis-

cover vote frauds. They found out that Pendergast had:

- 1) received \$50,000 on an insurance deal and had paid no income tax on it.
- 2) evaded income tax between 1927-1937 on an undeclared sum of over \$1m.
- 3) falsified the books of eight different companies in which he held an interest.

Pendergast was indicted and served 15 months in jail. But that was only the tip of the iceberg. A whole number of other Kansas City officials ended up in prison—including the director of the police department Otto Higgins.

City manager Henry F. McElroy—the one who had featured proudly in newspaper photographs alongside Truman (see above) resigned and died before investigations into the city's fiscal policies were concluded.

\$20m deficit

He may have been worried to death. Because what turned up was:

- 1) A deficit of almost \$20m.
- 2) Enormous sums of money involved in unlawfully diverted bonds—including almost \$11m worth from the water works department alone.
- 3) Hundreds of thousands of dollars gone astray in tax abatements.
- 4) Nearly 3,000 people on the city's pay roll who didn't do a thing except draw their cheque every month.

Not even the Pendergast machine could survive that lot. It was smashed. Pendergast himself came out of prison in 1940 and died in January 1945.

Three months later his protégé—Harry S. Truman—assumed the presidency of the United States of America.



THE FINE TUBES FIGHT

PART TWO OF AN INVESTIGATION BY PHILIP WADE

After the Fine Tubes strike had been going 22 weeks, Jack Jones, general secretary of the T&GWU, the majority union at the Plymouth factory, paid a surprise visit to the factory-gate pickets.

Jones, however, brought no promise of using his union's strength to win the strike. Instead he talked of 'trying to get the American owners of Fine Tubes to recognize the gravity of the position.'

He made a plea to American firms to recognize 'British standards of justice, fair play and reasonable negotiations'. Jones was speaking shortly after the introduction of the Industrial Relations Bill into the House of Commons by Robert 'Securicor' Carr.

The attitude being taken by

some American companies to trade unionism left him feeling 'rather apprehensive'.

But the strikers wanted a good deal more than the knowledge of Jones' feelings about the matter. Leadership in action was what they wanted.

After eleven months about 75 of the original group who struck work the previous June were still fighting on. It was at this stage that the T&GWU executive hit the strikers hard by calling on Vic Feather to set up . . . a court of inquiry.

This capitulation to the puny Fine Tubes management by the leadership of Britain's largest and most powerful union opened the door for another virulent attack on the strikers by the 'Western Evening Herald'. On June 16 1971, a year and one day, after the walk-out at Fine Tubes, they wrote:

'Now . . . it would be better for the strikers to give up their

senseless picketing and for the unions to make a start on encouraging these men to become, once again, useful members of Plymouth's workforce.'

Not surprisingly Tom Barclay welcomed the T&GWU's suggestion, even feeling free to speak to the Press for the first time since the strike began.

PRESSURE

He said: 'We will maintain our position at Fine Tubes to be among the leaders in the community for pay and conditions. We need no pressures to do this, nor will we react under pressure . . . our employees can be what they like—union or non-union. Membership is a matter for the individual.'

It was, of course, the classic expression of anti-unionism.

You could join as an individual if you liked. But any attempt to organize in order to represent the factory was not on.

Then on July 30 1971 hundreds of police from all over the region converged on Fine Tubes to deal with a mass picket of 200 trade unionists who had come from factories all over the area.

That day the police moved in viciously, striking out at who they could, arresting nine in the process. Television film of the event showed beyond all doubt the brutality of the police who provoked the violent situation they wanted.

Said Ron Nethercott, the T&GWU's regional organizer about the police intimidation: 'This is the sort of thing we saw in Fascist Germany before the war. I have never seen scenes like this before in all my life. The police have behaved disgracefully and many of our lads have been pushed

into the ground for doing nothing.'

These incidents—later to be whitewashed by the police who found themselves not guilty of any provocations—pushed the union leaders into the required position. The court of inquiry was announced and Nethercott was over the hill with joy.

'On behalf of Jack Jones and the union I am very pleased that this has come about. We are very happy about the Minister's decision. We think it is necessary and hope it will lead to an end to this long strike and relations can get back to normal,' he said enthusiastically.

Such illusions were common place among the trade union bureaucracy. The inquiry was seen as a way of easing the pressure, under the benevolent eye of the Tory minister.

And what about the three wise men who made up the committee? Archibald Camp-





bell, who chaired the inquiry, was Professor of Economics at Dundee University.

He was a veteran of a number of inquiries, including the Rochdale committee on shipping.

John Rhodes, a retired labour-relations director at ICI, was another inquiry member. He had also sat on the employers' panel of the old Industrial Court.

The third man was Syd Robinson, president of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.

When the report came out in late November last year, it was hardly surprising therefore that the conclusions reached favoured only the company. The three men called for an end to picketing, a lifting of the black and a request for the company to re-employ the strikers... 'if they have vacancies'.

Did the union leaders reject such rubbish? Far from it, said Nethercott: The T&GWU and the AUEW welcomed 'the statement that the dispute should now be settled quickly and further accepted that meaningful negotiations should take place between the parties.'

The union leaders swallowed whole the inquiry's scandalous

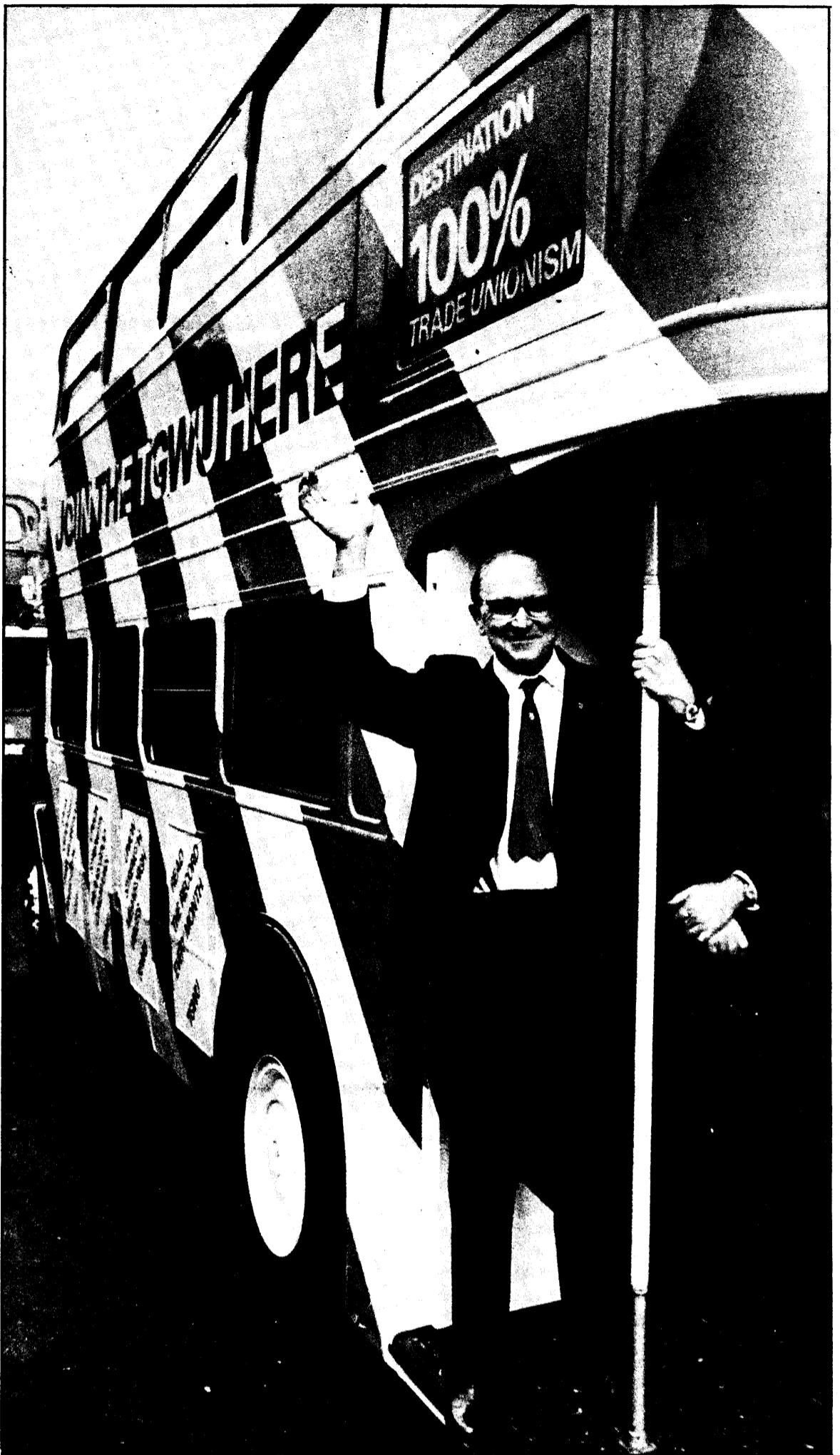
formula and called off the official black on Fine Tubes products. Early in January 1972 the strike committee called off the picketing and their blacking campaign under pressure from union leaders.

Two meetings took place in February between national union officials and Tom Barclay, the first in two years. Barclay refused reinstatement and by April strike leaders were seeking the reimposition of the black nationally.

BLACKING

And on June 27 this year, strike leaders found themselves locked in a three-and-a-half hour battle at Transport House trying to get the black reimposed. All they gained, however, was a formula written with the Industrial Relations Act in mind.

This became clearer in July, by which time the pickets had been restored. A meeting of the strike committee in the T&GWU's Plymouth headquarters heard a letter from Jack Jones which called for a 'resumption of full dispute activity' whatever that might



have meant. Any reference to 'blacking' was omitted.

As for the AUEW, their policy had also softened in the 25 months the strike had been on. In their original circular 51/70 of September 16 1970 the fourth paragraph specifically declared that 'the work connected with this company should be considered "black"'. An eight-paragraph circular issued in July last year referred to 'blacking' only in the context of it being suspended by a circular dated January 27 1972. But this new circular only called for 'all possible support' to the Fine Tubes strikers, leaving the position wide open to anyone's interpretation.

Since their October conference in Birmingham, attended by over 600 delegates from 17 different unions, Fine Tubes strike committee have managed to reduce the number of firms on their blacking list. Those taken off have—under pressure—agreed not to deal with Fine Tubes.

Now their struggle has merged with the general insurgence of the working class against the Tory government. The attacks on basic rights to organize and to strike have evoked a mass movement of the class.

The fight begun by Fine Tubes strikers in June 1970 has now become bound up with the fight of the entire trade union movement to defend their basic rights against the Tory government's onslaught as seen by the reaction of the engineers, to the fine on their union.

With their heroic and determined struggle, the Fine Tubes men were among the first to feel the Tory hammer. Now it is for the rest of the trade union movement to come to their assistance.

A defeat at Fine Tubes would be both a victory for anti-union employers and a Tory government which is set on a course of preparing a dictatorship to deal with the working class. It would be a severe blow struck against basic democratic rights.

SAFEGUARD

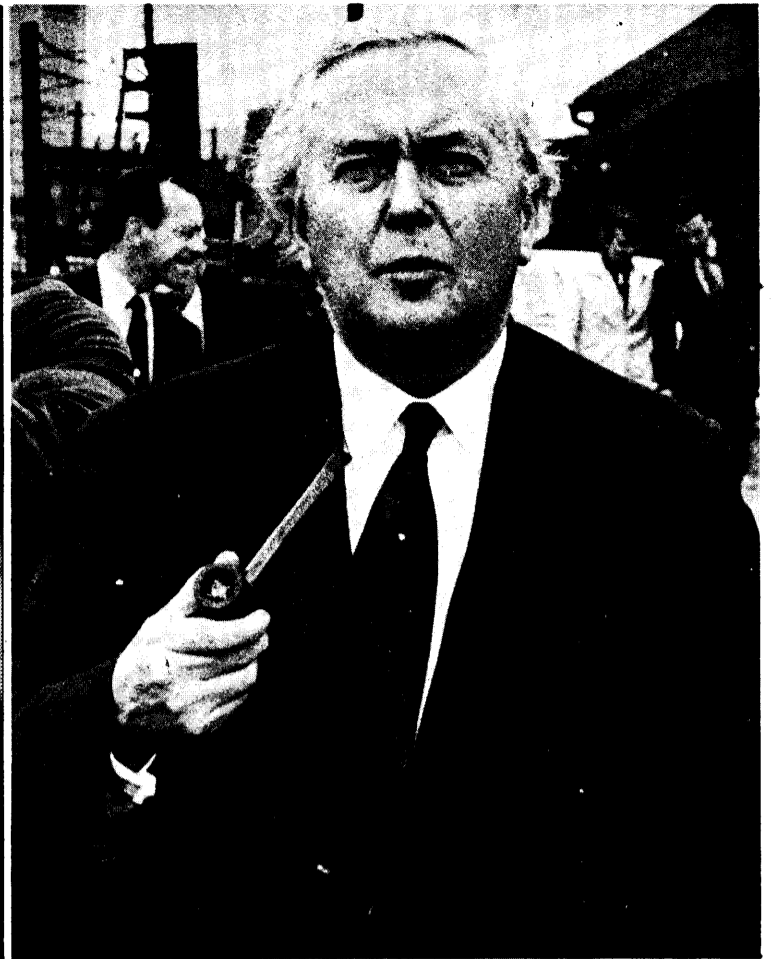
Yet victory is entirely possible and absolutely necessary to safeguard the future of the trade unions as a whole. In that sense Fine Tubes becomes a battle cry which must now—as a matter of urgency and priority—be taken up through-

Left: Members of the Fine Tubes strike committee in the front line, lobby Transport House in July last year to demand resumption of full official blacking of Fine Tubes products. Above: Jones, leader of the T&GWU which capitulated to the Fine Tubes management and accepted the court of inquiry.

out the entire movement. Unity with Fine Tubes strikes can be forged in struggle against the common enemy—the Tory government.

All shop stewards committees, branches and rank-and-file members of the trade union movement must demand that the leaderships of the T&GWU and the AUEW take immediate action to restore completely the blacking on Fine Tubes products, backed by disciplinary action if necessary.

Above all the demand must now be made for the mobilization of the working class to force this Tory government to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and all Tory legislation and the nationalization under workers' control without compensation of the basic industries. Firms like Fine-Tubes will be on the agenda for expropriation.



THE MEANING OF MACDONALDISM

In this final part of an analysis of Ramsay MacDonald's 'socialist theories' Jane Brown looks at the class collaborative role of the Labour Party.

Ever since MacDonald's day, the Labour Party has promoted socialism as some form of moral ideal. The morality of socialism must be counterposed to the 'selfishness' of both capitalists and trade unions alike.

As MacDonald put it: 'Socialist propaganda carried on as a class war suggests none of those ideals of moral citizenship with which socialist literature abounds... It is an appeal to individualism, and results in getting men to accept socialist formulae without becoming socialists... Socialism must recognize the intellectual as well as the economic movement. And if it overemphasizes either side, let it be the former.'

From the fact that socialism is 'moral' and 'intellectual', it flows naturally that '... if the capitalist were fully enlightened, he too would embrace socialism on account of the great blessings it would bring to him'!

Such speculations can only paralyse the process of building a socialist party, in Britain or anywhere else. They repre-

sent a deliberate attempt to soften the working class up, to make it less resistant to the attacks of the employing class. In political terms, they opened the road for the National Government of 1931. This government was used by the Tories first to cut workers' living standards, and then to almost destroy the parliamentary Labour Party.

The recent revelations in Cecil King's Diaries prove that some leaders of the modern Labour Party are preparing to tread the same road to anti-working class coalition politics all over again. In the House of Commons, they help the Tories along with their reactionary 'counter-inflation' plans, instead of mobilizing the working class to fight. While in private they speculate about the feasibility of a coalition government to 'weather the storm' of the economic crisis.

For, as MacDonald wrote: 'Socialism is no class movement. Socialism is a movement of opinion, not an organization of status. It is not the rule of the working class; it is the organization of the community...'

MacDonald produced all the writings discussed so far in

the period before the Russian Revolution. After 1917, he was forced to acknowledge a changed situation—to find new justifications for the inertia of the Labour Party.

The content of his writings becomes increasingly reactionary. At all costs the tide of Bolshevism must be stemmed, by the old plea that the time is not yet ripe. The working class, not its leaders, are dragging their feet along the road to socialism—'what the community is prepared to do is the opportunity which the politician has'.

MacDonald's hostility to the trade unions is by now scarcely disguised. Workers should not tolerate bad conditions, but at the same time '... in their struggle to secure their ends they are tempted to forget that they are all interdependent members of a social unity, and that consequently they only injure themselves by punishing those against whom they have a grievance to such an extent that they injure the society to which they belong... The socialist, therefore, looks with some misgivings upon some recent developments in the conflicts between capital and labour. They are contrary to his spirit; he believes they are both immoral and uneconomic, and will lead to disaster'.

The Industrial Society, in 1972, has scarcely been able to state the employers' point of view more effectively!

What would Labour's answer be, if such gloomy predictions of economic disaster actually materialized? To this question, MacDonald and the Labour Party leadership never really applied themselves until disaster stared them in the face in 1931. After all, they believed in 'evolutionary socialism'. For years they had been explaining that nothing 'catastrophic', nothing 'short

and sharp' could interrupt the chain of biological development. As MacDonald wrote confidently in 1907: 'Capitalism evolves upwards towards organic harmony, not downwards towards revolution.'

Or, as he expressed himself in a polemic against 'the position of the revolutionary movement' after 1917, this movement 'begins by misunderstanding the nature of society, believing it to be a hard, resisting structure... Whereas the social organization, like the body, is in a constant state of change and readaptation, responsive to every movement of the human intelligence, sensitive to every change in the mass will'.

In such circumstances, to plan a socialist revolution was obviously 'an absurdity'. But in the unlikely event of 'bankruptcy ending the present order in disaster and disgrace', a revolutionary situation just might occur. 'Then also the duty of socialists will be clear... The socialists alone can then save the state, and a decisive act of commanding will will be required to do it.' And it was as saviour of the capitalist state that MacDonald stepped in bravely, in 1931.

MacDonald's writings are outstanding for their intellectual poverty and their incoherence. But it is important not to let these factors cloud our assessment of his role as a leader of the Labour Party from its foundations almost until World War II. His theoretical weakness is not the result of lack of ability or education. It is mirrored in the 'Oxford-educated' Labour Party leaders of today. It amounts to a refusal to bring the politics of revolutionary socialism into the powerfully organized British working-class movement.

In contrast to Lenin and Trotsky, MacDonald refused

Three Labour Prime Ministers whose terms of office have shown how Labour 'steps in to save the state'. Clement Attlee. Above: Harold Wilson. Left: Ramsay MacDonald.

to seriously study philosophy, economics, or the history of the working-class movement in this country and abroad. In his writings, he shows complete disdain for such studies. 'No wise man need plot and plan a revolution'—because the empiricists of the British Labour Party will never admit that the economic and political collapse of capitalism is on the agenda, until after it has actually happened!

They sense that the foundations of capitalism are crumbling beneath their feet today. Like MacDonald, their reaction is to duck for cover: to 'save the state' by helping to impose anti-working-class Tory legislation.

The role of the Socialist Labour League is to expose the true nature of the existing state as a weapon in the hands of the capitalist class, a weapon which the working class must seize and operate to destroy capitalism. Such an exposure cannot proceed without the full exposure and destruction of the reformist leadership in the Labour Party.

This exposure, in turn, cannot be achieved simply by explaining the treacherous nature of reformism. The Socialist Labour League calls for the resignation of the Tories and the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. For it is only by experiencing the bankruptcy of a Labour government in a period of acute economic crisis that the mass of the working class can be won away from reformism to revolutionary politics, and the building of a Marxist revolutionary party.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

DANGER

The Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity tells us that 'This Nation is in Great Danger'. The way out is to follow the teachings of a gentlemn called Sun Myung Moon, who occasionally helps out a lesser creature called God.

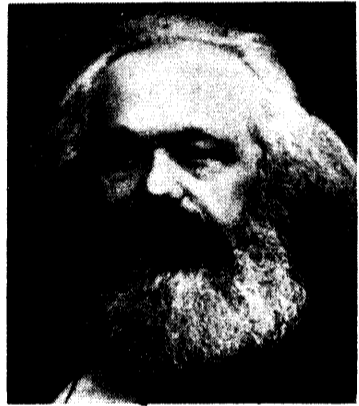
In fact, we are first introduced to Mr Moon as 'quietly comforting God, telling him not to worry'.

Mr Moon is very fond of Britain—capitalist Britain. He says: 'God blessed Britannia and the navy because they protected other peoples' freedom.' With the same lofty disregard for historical fact, he announces: 'The British pursued the slave traders'!

But now, unfortunately, Britain has 'fallen from grace'. There are, it seems, two reasons for this.

One is that we don't export enough bibles to the Soviet Union.

And the other is that we allow our university students to study 'a foreign sociology (that of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Freud and Pavlov)'.



What they ought to be doing is reading 'the great sociology of this country. The stories of men divinely inspired—B a d e n-Powell, General Booth, John Wesley, Lord Shaftesbury, William Wilberforce, Winston Churchill, John Bunyan, Grace Darling, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Sir Thomas More, John Hampden etc. etc.'—instead of all those damned foreigners.

We 'train our youngsters in Marxism' and if we don't get down to some hard praying, bible-exporting and study of the deep ideas of Baden-Powell 'the atheists will build a Marxist Britain'.

There's just one other thing you have to do to stop Britain going communist under the influence of the university system—and that is, send your money to the Holy Spirit Association, of course.

MORE PAY

A row is brewing among local government workers at Lytham St Annes, near Blackpool. At a recent council meeting a 10-per-cent pay rise was awarded to the Town Clerk, the Borough Engineer and Surveyor, and the Treasurer.

The extra cash—backdated to July 1—will be paid until the end of March, 1974, for the 'additional work and responsibility' involved in preparing for local government reorganization. Rises of 7.5 per cent have been awarded to the chief clerk and other top officials for the same reason.

As 'temporary payments' the awards are exempt from the government's pay-control laws.

But a reduction in the number of hours worked by civil servants, which had been agreed at national level, is not exempt. And that has been halted by local authorities, including St Annes.

FUEL UP

The next 12 to 18 months will see oil prices rising at an unprecedented rate. And from 1975 onwards the increases will probably take an even steeper turn upwards.

According to a forecast made by Fuel Economy Consultants, there are three main factors making a price rise inevitable.

'The United States has run into an energy crisis,' says Harvey Morris, managing director of FEC, 'and will soon be importing 8 million barrels a day.'

This would create a suppliers' market, forcing up not only oil prices, but transportation costs as well.

Exploration of the North Sea oilfields—at an estimated cost of £5,000m—will also have to be paid for in higher prices, say FEC.

CLOSEDOWN

Alfred Herbert, the machine-tool manufacturer, has just sold its Manchester subsidiary for a little over £1m.

The buyers of the Churchill Machine Tool's 26-acre plant at Broadheath are the Lyon Group (Northern) Ltd.

Herbert announced the shutdown of the factory, which produced some of the most advanced grinding machines in the world, last January.

By the end of March the 700 workers still left in the plant will have gone and the machinery moved to Herbert's Coventry factories.

It is thought that the 200,000 sq ft of factory space will be converted into a warehouse.

TENANTS LEADERS FACE JAIL



Hundreds of tenants in Newark, New Jersey, are fighting bitterly to defend their two-year rent strike over brutal housing conditions.

Tenants' leaders facing imprisonment have called on the organized labour movement in the area to come to their assistance.

Union leaders have been asked to organize a General Strike to prevent the authorities smashing down the tenants and their leadership.

Newark Housing Authority tenants have set up picket lines around blocks of flats in support of the rent strikers.

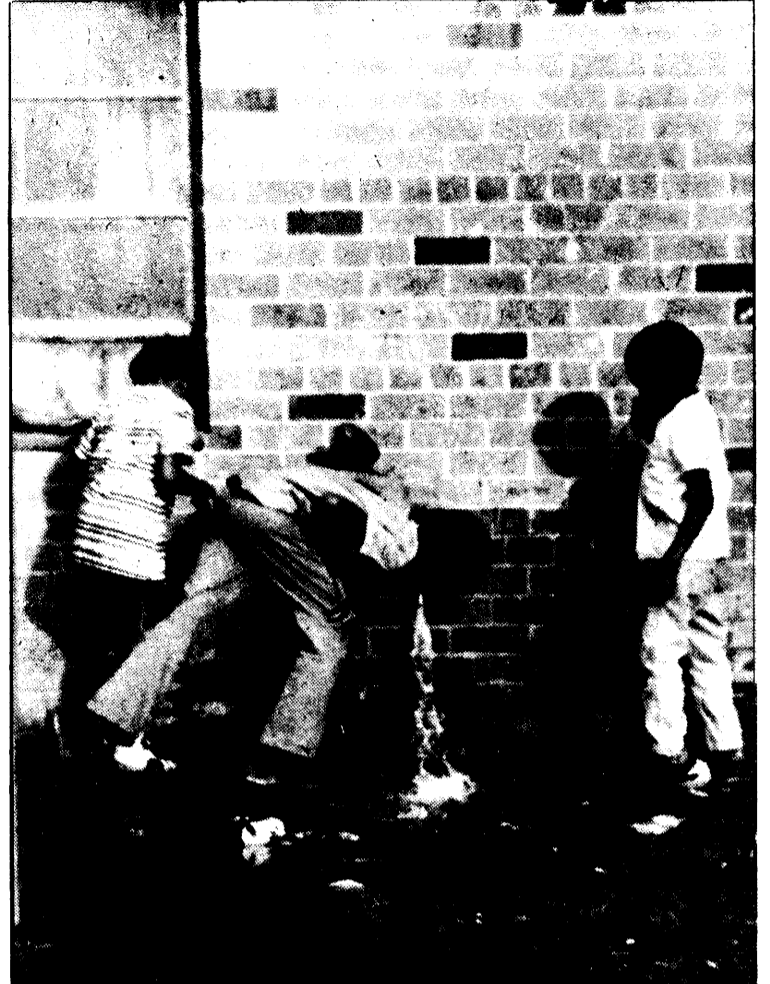
Tenants at one housing project, now threatened with eviction, invaded the rent office to take possession of the housing authority's records.

At one stage housing officials threatened to call the riot police on the tenants.

One of the leaders faced with jail, Toby Henry, president of the local and most militant tenants' association, has now demanded action from the Newark labour movement.

He says Democrats and Republicans alike have failed 'to correct the thousands of recorded abuses in the Newark Public Housing System'.

Henry added: 'All Newark workers are subjected to attacks beyond human toler-



Newark children drink water from a broken pipe on the Stella Wright project, one of the estates involved in the rent strike.

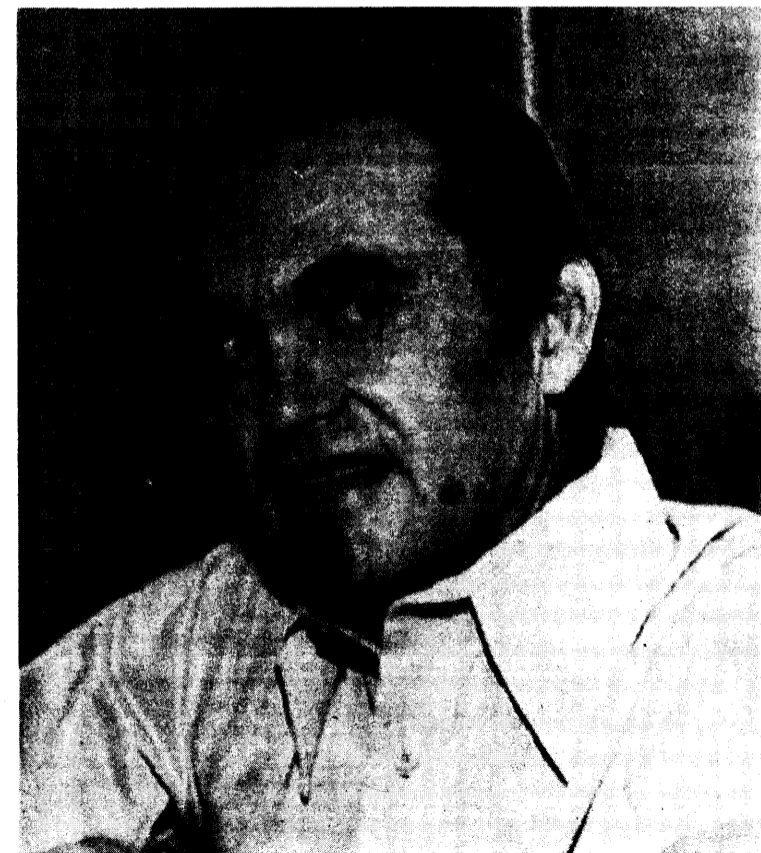
ance: mass unemployment—particularly among the youth—decaying schools, drastic cutbacks in social services, police brutality, soaring prices and wage cutting, attacks on the unions and the jailing of teachers.

'These attacks are part and parcel of the assault by Nixon and big business on the working class of New Jersey and the rest of the country, aimed at busting the unions

with the Pay Board and new anti-union laws.'

Henry called on the teamsters, carworkers, and all trade unionists to 'mobilize their members in a General Strike' in defence of the tenants and their leaders.

The New Jersey labour movement was also urged to convene a National Congress of Labour to fight for the construction of a Labour Party in America.



Supporters of the right-wing Democrat George Wallace, who was shot down during the recent US election campaign, are joining the Nixon administration.

The President has just announced that Claude Brinegar will head the US Department of Transportation. Brinegar is an executive of the Union Oil Company of Los Angeles.

He is also a member of the right-wing Lincoln Club, the group of southern California big businessmen who filled

George Wallace in hospital after the attempt on his life prior to the election.

Nixon's hidden election coffers.

He is also a director of the International Speedway Corporation in Florida. This organization is affiliated to the National Association of Stock Car Drivers which was a staunch supporter of Wallace, financing his campaign plane during the primaries.

Brinegar's appointment is a sure sign that Nixon is putting his administration on a war footing to deal with the American working class in the coming period.

NEW YORK'S POVERTY FAMILIES GET NO BENEFIT

The Federal government is withholding social security funds from New York's poverty-stricken families. This charge is made in a study by the New York Rand Institute commissioned by the city's Human Resources Administration (HRA).

The study said the 1970 census indicated there were 291,000 welfare cases in the city in 1969, for which the city paid out about \$500m (£200m). However, the study cited the city's own social services department record of 470,000 welfare cases in 1969 and a municipal outlay of more than \$833m (£345m).

The Rand study's author, Dr C. Peter Rydell, refused to attribute the undercount to statistical error, but said welfare families were probably reluctant to identify themselves as such to census-takers.

Rydell's statement is the classic theory of the 'work-shy'. This is aimed at absolving the state from any responsibility for the poor by blaming them for 'lack of initiative' in not registering.

BOOKS



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'Patriots' witch-hunt left teachers

THE ROYAL Society of St. George, whose Patron is the Queen and which claims to be 'England's premier patriotic society', has alleged that there is an 'alarming number' of communists, anarchists and other extremists holding teaching posts in English schools.

The Society is to commission an 'independent' study into the influence of

'extremists' on five to 16-year-old schoolchildren.

Parents should protest to protect their children from 'the insidious doctrines which they may unwittingly absorb'.

Several thousand left-wing activists in the National Union of Teachers are organizing 'subversive activities aimed at the destruction of our society'.

Vice-Admiral Sir Ian Hogg, Comptroller of the

Society, said: 'There is a group within the NUT called "Rank and File" and they are self-confessed communists and revolutionaries who do not approve of the existing system.'

The NUT reply to this witch-hunt is not only inadequate but dangerous.

Deputy general secretary Fred Jarvis said that the Society of St. George was being highly irresponsible 'unless it could produce

firm evidence to back up its allegations'.

But he continued:

'It would be a serious matter if any teacher attempted to use his professional position to introduce political indoctrination or influence in the class room.'

'If he was an NUT member he would be in breach of the union's professional code of conduct and could be proceeded against.'

All NUT members must immediately declare their total opposition to all political witch-hunters instead of bending over backwards to placate them, as Jarvis is doing.

● Charles Sheill, new president of the Catholic Teachers' Federation, who last week claimed a 'fifth column in the church and in our numbers' was querying the usefulness of separate Catholic schools.

Union chief, police chief, the judge and Heath's 'war council'

A TRADE union leader, a judge and a police chief are among those who receive high state awards in the New Year's honours list.

The Tories have conferred a knighthood on Dai Davies, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the biggest union in the nationalized steel industry.

This award comes on the eve of the massive attack on jobs by the British Steel Corporation. Davies has already seen the loss of some 31,000 steel jobs since nationalization in 1967.

While workers are toasting the success of Sir Dai, they might also spare some cheer for these other honoured servants of the state:

● Robert Mark, the new head of the Metropolitan Police, has been given a knighthood. But to maintain 'balance' between the Home Office-appointed Mark and the hard-line brigade of career officers, a special honour has also been given to the deputy Commissioner at the Yard James ('Big Jim') Starritt. He is made a Commander of the Royal Victorian Order.

● Judge Melford Stevenson is made a member of the Privy Council. He was the judge who gave jail terms to Cambridge students following the anti-Greek colonels demonstration at the Garden House Hotel. He then went on to sentence Jake Prescott to 15 years on a bombing conspiracy charge. Along with Lord Chief Justice Widgery he also ordered 'The Sunday Times' not to publish its 14,000-word article on Distillers and thalidomide.

● Sir William Armstrong, head of the Civil Service, also becomes a Privy Councillor. This means that Heath is establishing in the Privy Council a 'war cabinet' made up of ministers, judges and senior civil servants. Under Lord Rothschild's Whitehall reorganization Armstrong is to become a 'supremo' directly responsible to Heath's Cabinet Office.

● Mr William Batty, the head of the Ford Motor Company, receives a knighthood. His home was mysteriously bombed during the 1971 wages fight and he is currently facing another tough pay battle.

● Hugh Cudlipp, the head of the International Publishing Corporation, the giant 'Daily Mirror' group, becomes Sir Hugh. He started as a 14-year-old copy boy on a Welsh newspaper. His early life is coloured with left-wing ideas, but in recent years he has been more identified with Roy Jenkins and the right-wing of the Labour Party.

Hopeless picture painted by shipbuilding bosses

BRITISH SHIPBUILDERS have warned that unless European interests in the industry are merged, they will not be able to 'thwart Japan's expansionist ambitions'.

Prospects for shipbuilding in Britain 'are clouded', despite recent 'development work', says the Shipbuilders' and Repairers' National Association.

Their president, T. A. Greenwell, in an end-of-the-year statement, paints an almost hopeless picture as far as the prospects for the British industry are concerned.

They were not afraid of fair competition. 'We are not, however, competing on equal terms, and no matter how efficient we might be, we cannot at the end of the day hope to match those yards in other countries which are supported by their governments.'

Greenwell claimed, in essence, that the failure of the industry flowed from lack of any real incentive to buy British.

In effect, he was making a plea for government subsidies and grants to enable British owners to place orders in domestic yards.

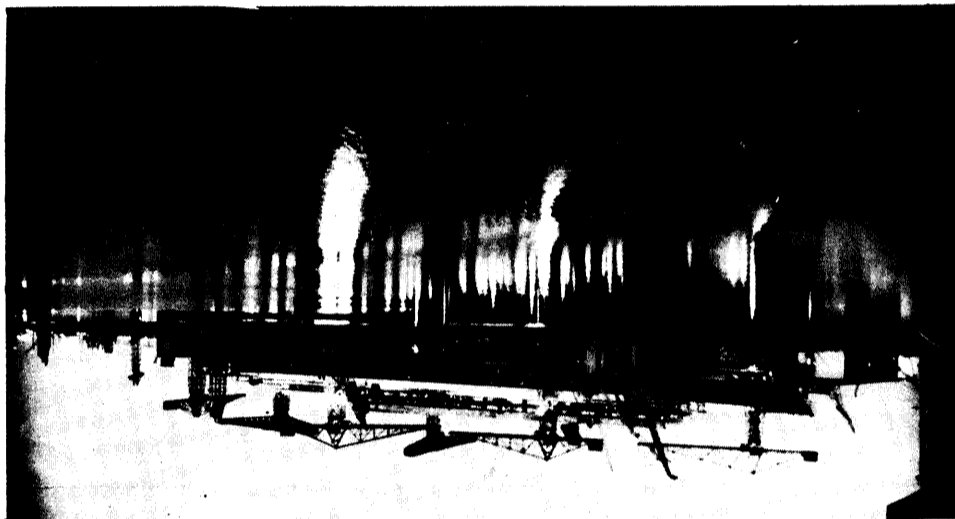
But Greenwell also admitted in so many words that foreign competitors, in particular the Japanese, produced ships cheaper not simply from government subsidies, but mainly because their industry was

more modern and more efficient.

There were cases, he explained, where even if all shipyard labour costs were cut out, Britain would still have difficulty in coming down to the level of prices offered by foreign competitors.

After demanding the Tories make an early announcement on their plans for industry-

Fears about 'ambitions' of the Japanese industry



wide grants—if they had any—Greenwell spelt out his vision of the trade war.

'All western Europe shares our concern about the ambitions of Japan to dominate world shipbuilding and the continual growth of capacity in that country, where there is active encouragement of the industry by the government and a protected home market.'

The answer, he added, was the 'formulation of a Common European Maritime policy'.

But what he carefully omitted to mention was the attack the remaining British shipbuilders must launch on the conditions and wages of shipyard workers if they are to stand any chance of competing against anyone let alone the Japanese.

'Thin books' on the Tyne

SWAN HUNTER shipyard workers on the Tyne face sackings unless new orders are won quickly, it was said yesterday.

The 'Journal of Com-

merce', in an outlook round-up for the Tyne, said Swan Hunter only announced new orders in 1972 for 130,000 tons of new shipping, 'which means the order book is

thinning'. These figures were 'casting a shadow' over the 'upsurge' elsewhere. There was a 'prospect of redundancies occurring during the second half

of the year unless new contracts can be won,' said the 'Journal'.

Union leaders are to have talks with Swan Hunter bosses within the next two weeks.

Mosley's party changes name

SIR OSWALD Mosley's Union Movement—founded in 1948—changed its name from yesterday to the Action Party. It will campaign for a 'true concept of United Europe'.

Before the war, Mosley was leader of the British Union of Fascists. Not opposed to Common Market entry, Mosley's group—which boasts Smithfield porter Danny Harmston among its ranks—said the government had gone into Europe 'in the wrong way and on the wrong terms'.

HMSO bookshop assistants walk out

A STRIKE by bookshop assistants yesterday closed the Stationery Office's retail outlet in High Holborn, London, and the mail order department.

The strike is in protest against the discontinuation of a 48-year-old agreement linking the assistants' pay and some conditions of work with agreements reached between the print union SOGAT and the Federation of London Wholesale Newspaper Distributors.

Negotiations broke down in June and the Stationery Office gave formal notice of terminating the old arrangement from December 29.

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BRIEFLY • BRIEFLY

FORMER chairman of the Kwik Save Discount Group, Albert Gubay (45), is estimated to have made between £12m and £13m from share sales beginning in 1970. He has now resigned from the board and is in New Zealand 'building up property interests'. The group's profits were 40 per cent up on last year, it was announced yesterday.

SLL LECTURES TODMORDEN

Monday January 8

'The economic crisis'

Monday January 22

'Stalinism'

Monday February 5

'Trotskyism'

THE WEAVERS' INSTITUTE, Burnley Road, 7.30 p.m.

SHEFFIELD

Monday January 8

Marxism and the revolutionary party

YOUNG SOCIALIST PREMISES

Portobello, Sheffield 1 (near Jessop's hospital)

HULL

Wednesday January 17

Stalinism and Trotskyism

Wednesday January 24

Marxist theory and the revolutionary party

WHITE HART HOTEL Alfred Gelder Street (near Drypool Bridge) 8 p.m.

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THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186a CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON SW4 7UG.

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JANUARY FUND STARTS WITH £13.50

AFTER a magnificent year during 1972, help us now with a great start for our fund this month.

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There can be no doubt that for the working class, the Common Market will only bring increased prices, redundancies and wage-cuts. As a result thousands more workers are joining the fight against the Tory government.

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January Appeal Fund
186a Clapham High Street
London, SW4 7UG

OTOs demand speed-up deal is stopped

TELEGRAPHISTS' leaders from Electra House, London's overseas cable headquarters, yesterday met Union of Post Office Workers' chief Tom Jackson to demand that a pay-and-productivity deal is stopped until the result of a ballot is known.

The deal was signed at the end of October last year, in anticipation of the Tory clamp down on pay increases.

But Jackson and the UPW executive pledged that it would be rescinded if the ballot went against.

Last Friday, however, the management informed the telegraphists that the first stage of the deal was going ahead in advance of any ballot result.

A delegation to UPW headquarters that same day pointed out that a first ballot on the issue had been declared invalid by the executive and demanded a standstill on implementation of the agreement.

This was refused by the union's assistant secretary, Kim McKinlay. Delegation members also say that they were threatened with disciplinary action by Norman Stagg, UPW deputy general secretary.

● NIGHT telephonists at London's Garrick overseas exchange returned to work yesterday after a five-day strike over threats of disciplinary action against them.

The strike ended after agreement had been reached between management and the Union of Post Office Workers on an inquiry into industrial relations on nights in the international exchanges generally.

BBC RADIO is to put on a 'good-news-only' style of news bulletin at weekends. The ten-minute programme will go out on Radio 3 and be called 'Positive World', it was announced yesterday.

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

Meat trade black held off

FROM DAVID MAUDE

DOCKERS at Thames Stevedoring Ltd, in London's Royal group of docks, yesterday voted not to black South American meat ships in protest against the proposed transfer of the trade to Southampton.

They decided to work normally until redundancy notices were actually received from the firm.

Later this week, union officials will meet representatives of the Port of London Authority to work out proposals for pushing up the meat tonnage handled in the Royals.

These proposals will be submitted to the four shipping lines involved on Friday and a reply has been promised by January 12.

But at a meeting with union officials and shop stewards last

Thursday, the lines' representative would hold out no hope that the meat trade will be retained in London, whatever tonnage increases are proposed.

Two of the lines—Holwer Bros and Elma, the Argentine state line—have already definitely decided to pull out of London.

Bill Knight, chairman of the joint stewards' committee at Thames, said yesterday it was his committee's opinion that the company intended to close.

A key factor in turning yesterday's meeting against the stewards' recommendation of blacking action—adopted by a similar meeting ten days ago—was the absence of any policy for united action in the port as a whole against the attack on jobs.

From the floor of the meeting dockers questioned the difference between an effective black and a strike. South American meat constitutes the major-

ity of Thames work, and refusal to handle it could quickly lead to dockers' pay being withdrawn.

Yesterday's meeting was told of assurances to the unions that if the firm closed, its 850 dockers would be reallocated to other employers under the terms of the Jones-Aldington report.

What they were not told is that Jones-Aldington provides for work-sharing scheme—with a loss of earnings by all the dockers concerned—in the case of reallocation to firms with insufficient work.

Bernie Steer, National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' steward at Thames, reported to the meeting that the Southampton stewards had agreed to back any action taken in the Royals—but only of the Londoners could guarantee the trade would not be transferred to another port.

If there was any danger that

a port other than London or Southampton would get the trade, Southampton would work the ships, he said.

Steer went on to call for support for the stewards' recommendation, while warning the meeting of the serious implications of the vote they were about to take. 'It's your decision', he stressed.

Although transport drivers' leaders were present as observers at the hour-long meeting, no appeal was made to them for support for any action the dockers might take.

Neither was there any reference to the drivers' approach to docks stewards offering joint action.

● Officials of both docks unions stayed away from yesterday's meeting. The Transport and General Workers' Union man was not there because all T&GWU officials were on holiday on January 1, dockers were told. And the NAS&D man did not attend out of courtesy to his T&GWU opposite number.

Civil servants planning pay strikes

CIVIL SERVANTS are planning short, selective strikes against the Tory government's state pay laws which have held up negotiations over their annual review.

The Civil and Public Services Association, which is recommending the stoppages later this month or in early February, is also calling joint branch meetings with the Society of Civil Servants during working hours on January 10.

Bill Kendall, CPSA general secretary, is annoyed at the TUC economic committee's rejection of his union's proposal for a TUC-sponsored meeting of public sector unions affected by the Tory laws.

'We cannot stand by and see the TUC kowtowing in Downing Street while the living standards of members have been savagely reduced in the last two years and will be reduced still further in 1973,' he said in a bitter attack on the Heath-TUC talks on Thursday. His members needed a 20 per cent rise, he said.

He called on the Society of Civil Servants, the National Association of Local Government Officers and the National Union of Teachers to join the CPSA in considering a widening of industrial action 'to hit the government where it hurts'.

Action could hit the preparation for the introduction of Value Added Tax and the payment of Social Security benefits.

● The SCS placed a full-page advertisement in 'The Times' yesterday protesting that the 'government are breaking the pay agreement they have with their own employees'.

Tories stop actors' rise

TORY Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan has signed an order stopping pay rises of £5 a week for West End actors. Leaders of Equity—the actors' union—will meet today to decide what action to take over the order.

Staff supervisors in the South Eastern Gas Board joined manual workers yesterday in their overtime ban and work-to-rule, which has been going on since last Thursday against the pay-control law.

And there were also moves against the law in many of Britain's hospitals.

The order against the actors' rise, which is likely to be published on Thursday or Friday after being laid before parliament, follows one last week stopping electrical contracting firms paying a wage increase due yesterday.

Some 70,000 sparks were due for rises of between £2.80 and

£3.80 a week in the second phase of a two-stage agreement signed before the pay-control law was announced on November 6 last year.

The actors' minimum rate was due to rise from £25 to £30 a week from yesterday.

Government sources were anxious to make clear yesterday that they do not intend to take the provocative step of forcing the actors to give back the £7 rise paid since last November.

Equity yesterday issued figures proving that during 1966-1971 its members' earnings hardly rose at all.

In 1971 median annual earnings, including repeat fees, royalties and other extras, were £835 for all ages. The figure for men was £1,031 as compared with £800 in 1966. Comparable figures for women were £583 and £450.

So far the gas men's action is unofficial, but at a delegate con-

ference next Monday union leaders are expected to come under strong pressure to spread it, strengthen it and make it official.

Yesterday also saw the first of a series of special meetings—due to end on January 15—at which hospital members of the National Union of Public Employees will be asked to vote on nine alternatives.

These range from withdrawal of facilities to other hospital staff, to all-out strike against the stopping of negotiations on their £4-a-week claim.

● The Tory Cabinet meets early this week to complete its tactical planning for Phase Two of the pay-control law. At its meeting with the TUC on Thursday the government is expected to press for union co-operation with a corporatist-style system involving a permanent wages board.

Leeds engineers stop over fines

ALL MAIN engineering factories in Leeds and district were closed yesterday as workers responded to the call of the AUEW district committee for a one-day strike.

The action was in protest against the £55,000 fines imposed on the union by the National Industrial Relations Court. But some some engineers were critical of the choice of New Year's Day as the strike date.

Tom Thornton, a 24-year-old

assembly line worker, told Workers Press:

'There's a general feeling that this is a foolish day for a strike. It made united action impossible.'

'I moved a resolution in my AUEW branch criticizing the district committee for this day and calling on the national Con-

federation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to hold a national indefinite strike.

'By splitting the fight up into local areas the national leaders have opened the door for the right wing who are saying we should go to the court.'

'"Defend the union" is too vague. The right wing says we can defend the union by chang-

SWINDON'S two main engineering plants, the railway workshops and Plessey's, will be closed today for a day-long strike against the fining of the engineers' union. A march and demonstration has been organized. Yesterday all engineering firms closed down in protest against the NIRC fines.

ing our policy and accepting the Act. This has got to be rejected and the leaders should call a national strike now.'

Frank Sissons, AUEW shop steward at Yorkshire Vehicles said: 'It's ridiculous to call a strike on New Year's Day.'

'All of Leeds should have come out together. It's time to stop shilly shallying. If we don't win it'll mean the smashing up of our union.'

Dick Mitchell, convenor of Wilson and Mathieson, a gas cooker manufacturing firm, said:

'Like they did on the wage claim, the leaders pushed this back to local level and said, "Get what you can lads". They're just dodging their responsibilities.'

LEON TROTSKY ON EUROPE

In 1940 Trotsky gave an interview to the St Louis 'Post-Dispatch.' In it he discussed World War II and the prospect of European unification. He pointed out that only the working class could lead the struggle for a united socialist Europe.

◀ The capitalist system is in a blind alley. Without an entire reconstruction of the economic system on a European and world scale our civilization is doomed.

The struggle of blind forces and unbridled interests must be replaced by the rule of reason, of plan, of conscious organization.

For Europe economic unification is a question of life and death. The accomplishment of this task belongs, however, not to the present governments, but to the popular masses led by the proletariat.

Europe must become a Socialist United States if it is not to become the cemetery of the old culture.

A socialist Europe will proclaim the full independence of the colonies, establish friendly economic relations with them and, step by step, without the slightest violence, by means of example and collaboration, introduce them into a world socialist federation.

The USSR liberated from its own ruling caste will join the European Federation which will help it reach a higher level.

The economy of the unified Europe will func-

tion as one whole. The question of state borders will provide as few difficulties as now the question of administrative divisions inside a country.

Borders inside the new Europe will be determined in relation to language and national culture by free decision of the populations involved.

Will this seem Utopian to the 'realistic' politicians? To cannibals, in their time, the giving up of human flesh was Utopian. ▶