

Socialist Worker

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BERNADETTE:



At last the press takes an interest...

LAST FRIDAY a large crowd of press photographers swarmed around Bernadette Devlin, MP, when she arrived to speak at an International Socialists' rally in Barking, East London. They crowded onto the platform and clicked and flashed away for the duration of her speech.

One trade unionist in the audience was so outraged at the pressmen's behaviour that he yelled at them: 'Put your cameras away and get your notebooks out—she's saying some important things.' But next day, although there were many pictures of Bernadette in the national papers, there were no reports of her speech on the need to kick out the Tories and to build a revolutionary socialist organisation.

Fleet Street's antics in the last week are a grisly example of the priorities of the millionaire Tory press barons, interested only in sensation and scandal. There has been a deliberate press blackout of Bernadette since she arrived in parliament and horrified editors discovered that the 'mini-skirted girl MP' was a convinced fighter

against British imperialism and for a united socialist Ireland.

In recent months she has been engaged in an arduous speaking tour of Britain, talking to big audiences of never less than 200 and often as many as 800 on the need for a mass working-class campaign to defeat the present government. Not once has the national press reported these meetings, any more than they have covered her activities in her constituency in Mid-Ulster.

But last Friday Bernadette told the Irish Times that she was expecting a baby. Immediately every sensation-hungry news editor in the Fleet Street sewer was detailing squads of photographers to hound her while the feature writers went to town on the world-shattering importance of one pregnancy.

Meanwhile Socialist Worker will continue to treat Bernadette Devlin as a serious and committed revolutionary socialist politician, fighting to end Britain's political slum in Ulster and arguing the case for sweeping social change both in Britain and Ireland.

TORIES' PRICES SWINDLE

ALL THE TORIES' election promises of last year are now seen to be a monstrous swindle against working people. In place of the slick talk we now get the grim realities of ruling class politics. The Tories waged the election around one slogan—'Stop price rises'. Enough working-class people were taken in by such talk to allow Heath to win. Yet over the last year prices have risen faster than ever before.

In order to try and give themselves some appearance of credibility, the Tories have been forced, like any swindler on the run, to resort to one more con-trick. They are trying to sell this week's Selective Employment Tax cut as a miraculous cure for rising prices.

It is an expensive cure. It is being paid for by workers in the form of increased insurance stamps, welfare cuts and increased health charges. But above all, it is a cure the Tories know won't work.

The bosses' own paper, the Financial Times, has pointed out that even if the full amount of the SET cut was passed on to shoppers, 'The effect on the consumer price index is unlikely to be more than ½ per cent'—at a time when prices overall are rising at 10 per cent a year.

BOOST PROFITS

In fact even this miserly cut is not being passed on. Take Marks and Spencers. They sell several hundred different sorts of goods. Only 23 of these are to be cut in price at all.

What in fact is happening is quite simple. The SET cut is being used to 'improve the profit margins' of employers. Like the income tax and surtax changes in the Budget, it is a method by which the



HEATH: con-man on the run

Tories are 'syphoning still more into the already bulging pockets of the well-to-do.

Meanwhile, for the rest of us, every possible means is used to hold down wages. The steel workers last week were the latest group of workers to have their buying power cut. They were given a wage increase of only 6 per cent—4 per cent less than the rate of price increases.

Every day more information appears about the impact of such a policy on the living conditions of millions of people. Experts are worried about the spread of

malnutrition among children as free school milk and free orange juice for babies is done away with. As prices rise working people have to cut back on necessities. A million children have been forced to give up school meals since the charges were increased.

And in the background there is the growing number of unemployed—hundreds of thousands of people put on the dole by the Tories to frighten the rest of us into accepting a fall in real wages.

A united fight back of the entire working class is necessary if such measures are to be resisted. This does not mean merely waiting four years to vote for Labour politicians who, after all, prepared the ground for all the present Tory policies.

What is needed is preparation for militant action NOW.

Action in support of those fighting unemployment.

Action in solidarity with all workers in the firing line over wages.

Action to force local councils to defy the government over the issues of school milk and school meals.

Action to keep up the fight against the anti-union and immigration laws.

Yahya fails to crush Bengalis

by NIGEL HARRIS

FOR MANY WEEKS now the military president of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, has promised a new major speech which would show how the country could return to civilian rule.

The promise was important: it kept the opposition to military rule in West Pakistan reasonably quiet. It was also something for foreign governments, who will not resume aid to Pakistan until there is 'normalisation' in the East.

Two-fifths of Pakistan's need for foreign exchange—to buy essential imports to keep industry and agriculture going—comes from foreign aid, so it is vital for the general to get the flow restored.

Normalisation in the East requires a civilian government of Bengalis who will act as the agents of the military mafia. Over

the past few weeks the generals have searched desperately for Bengalis prepared to betray Bangla Desh.

The failure stands out in Yahya Khan's long-promised speech. Instead of a constituent assembly, elected by universal suffrage in order to draw up a constitution for Pakistan, Yahya Khan promises a committee, appointed by himself, to introduce a constitution acceptable to the generals.

He hopes piously that it may be possible to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people in a few months.

But power cannot be transferred to the 'elected representatives of the people'. That means, in the East, the Awami League which won a landslide victory in the polls last December with an absolute majority of the seats. The President, however, has a trick up his sleeve.

He has ordered the Committee to ban

any political party 'confined to a specific region and is not national in a practical sense'. To be strict, that rule would probably ban all existing political parties, but it is aimed simply against the majority party—the Awami League.

For three months the army has waged a war of physical annihilation against the Awami League and its supporters.

But still they cannot end martial law or find a civilian administration or entrust the drawing-up of the new constitution to an elected assembly.

Yahya also said that 'everyone of us is a mujahid' (warrior). The Bengalis must prove him right. The national liberation forces are already beginning to do just this.

As the guerrilla bombs explode wherever the military vehicles pass, Yahya Khan will be forced to recognise that the mujahid of Bangla Desh cannot be defeated.

CLYDE BUTCHERY: SPECIAL REPORT P. 2&3

What happens if the Tories fall?

LABOUR PARTY leaders are split down the middle over the Common Market. On one side stand Roy Jenkins, Denis Healey and Harold Lever, dedicated supporters of the plans of British big business to enter the European rich man's club. Their friends in the ruling class are urging them to defy the Labour Party, if necessary, in order to make sure that Heath gets a parliamentary majority to join the Market.

Barbara Castle, James Callaghan and Peter Shore claim to oppose Jenkins and Co. That is strange, for just 14 months ago they were all members of Wilson's government and unanimously supported Labour's decision to try for European entry.

The overnight conversion of such people to the anti-Market position is in line with their sudden change of attitude on a number of other issues.

Take unemployment, for example. When they were in government, Labour encouraged the number of jobless to rise by 50 per cent. Now they condemn the Tories for following their lead. Again, the ardent supporters of union-bashing in In Place of Strife now attack the Tories' union-bashing Industrial Relations Bill.

Such twists and turns are not accidental. The role of the Labour leaders forces them to act in this way. Wilson, Castle and the rest depend on winning working-class votes and trade union money. That means, in opposition, making anti-Tory speeches. But, because they are committed to the present form of society, they carry out the demands of big business when they are in government and act very much as the Tories do.

Labour leaders have to balance between the working class and the employing class. The political somersault becomes second nature to the Labour leaders.

Normally this does not worry the ruling class. They know that Labour's gyrations are the price they have to pay for having a moderate leadership within the working class.

But on the Common Market, the somersault threatens to upset the ship of state. Heath's government might capsize if the entire parliamentary Labour Party and a few dissident Tories vote against entry. And so the ruling class is exerting every conceivable form of moral and physical pressure to stop this happening. The most outspoken supporters of big business interests in the Labour Party are being encouraged to defy the whip if necessary.

Normally, replacing one party for another in parliament would do nothing to alter the balance of power in society. But in the present situation, a defeat for the Tories would present the possibility of workers having a positive influence on political events.

The election of a Labour government in the near future could lay the basis for a broad political movement of workers that would go far beyond what Labour has to offer. The pre-condition for the development of such a movement is that the anti-Tory feelings of millions of workers is not frittered away by a passive vote against Heath and reliance on Wilson.

Only a very small section of workers at present support revolutionary politics as the alternative to the Tories. But millions are opposed to Tory policies which a Labour government, committed to the big business system, could not repeal. The task of socialists and militant trade unionists is to turn opposition to Tory policies into a willingness to fight.

A campaign must be waged at every level of the trade union movement not just to defeat the Tories but to commit a Labour government to:

1. Unconditional repeal of the Industrial Relations Law and all anti-union laws.
2. No incomes policy under capitalism.
3. Restoration of all welfare cuts. No welfare charges, no means-testing.
4. An end to unemployment. Work or full maintenance at trade union rates.
5. Repeal of all racist legislation, including the present Aliens Bill.
6. Renationalisation without compensation of all sectors of industry returned to private hands.

Many workers believe that Labour can be reformed or won to left-wing policies. The undoubted refusal of a Labour government to put such demands into action will help destroy illusions in Labour and aid the building of a genuine revolutionary socialist alternative.

INDEPENDENCE VITAL

AS THE PRESSURE to enter Europe mounts there are many pitfalls ahead for the labour movement. The move is clearly an attempt to shock the backward elements in British capitalism into dynamic, productive activity. Or, in other words, to screw more profits out of the working class under the threat of British capitalists going broke if they fail.

Just as we oppose the effects of productivity deals, of speed-up, of mergers and redundancy, we are also utterly opposed to the effects of entry into Europe on working-class conditions and standards of living.

But saying no to Europe on its own is no programme to advance the position of the working class a fraction of an inch forward. If we stay out of Europe, what will British capitalism do? It will rationalise, prices will rise, unemployment will grow. In or out, there is anti-trade union legislation, the Immigration Bill, the erosion of the social services. The attack on the working class is going on daily. The to-ings and fro-ings in Brussels have diverted attention from this as much as posing a threat to the working class in their own right.

Michael Foot foams about the threat to our 'national sovereignty'. The Morning Star moans that Britain is betrayed. The only logic of seeing the threat of the Common Market in isolation like this—seeing it in petty, nationalistic terms—is to make common cause with right-wing Tories such as Enoch Powell. And that would be the biggest betrayal of them all.

Class politics is the only answer to the Common Market: struggling for the construction of an independent, international socialist movement that defends workers against each and every attack made on them by successive capitalist governments and fights for independent, united action by European workers. Fighting to smash the Tories' plans for saving British capitalism is part of this struggle to create a revolutionary socialist alternative.

CLYDE BUTCHERY—

THE COLLAPSE of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders is a direct result of the corruption of the present Tory government and its gang of political cronies. The jobs of thousands of shipyard workers have been threatened by the intrigues of these businessmen. The livelihoods and future of almost 40,000 workers have been callously ignored in their sordid manoeuvres.

Unemployment in Glasgow is already 9.6 for males and these figures will shoot upwards if the Tories' scheme for the destruction of UCS is successful. This government of the wealthy has again put the interests of profit before the interests of working people.

Upper Clyde Shipbuilders was formed in February 1968 out of a general crisis within British shipbuilding. In 1966 the industry was almost on its knees. Despite the fact that there was a boom in world shipping, the orders for ships built in British yards had shrunk from 16 per cent of the world total in 1960 to a mere 8 per cent by 1966.

Confronted with this alarming situation, the Labour government set up the Geddes Committee to investigate the industry. This recommended that the British shipyards should be merged into four or five large groups and that substantial government loans should be made available. It was decided to set up a three-man Shipbuilding Industry Board to administer the changes. One member was Mr Anthony Hepper. He previously worked for the Pretty Polly firm of stocking manufacturers and is now the chairman of UCS.

Upper Clyde Shipbuilders was a product of one of the suggested mergers and immediately began to receive government aid. One of the main reasons why the British yards had failed to be as competitive as their rivals was due to the failure of the owners to invest properly in new machinery.

According to one expert, investment between 1951 and 1954 did not even cover the wear and tear of the industry. Only about £4 million a year was invested while some £9 million worth of equipment was written off annually as worn out.

SUCKED PROFITS

In 1958 the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research revealed that the entire industry only spent about £282,000 on research and development. Even as recently as 1964, a survey of John Brown's yard showed that more than 50 per cent of its machinery was more than 40 years old.

The shipyard owners sucked the profits out of the industry, refused to invest and then shrieked about lazy workers and demarcation disputes whenever anything went wrong.

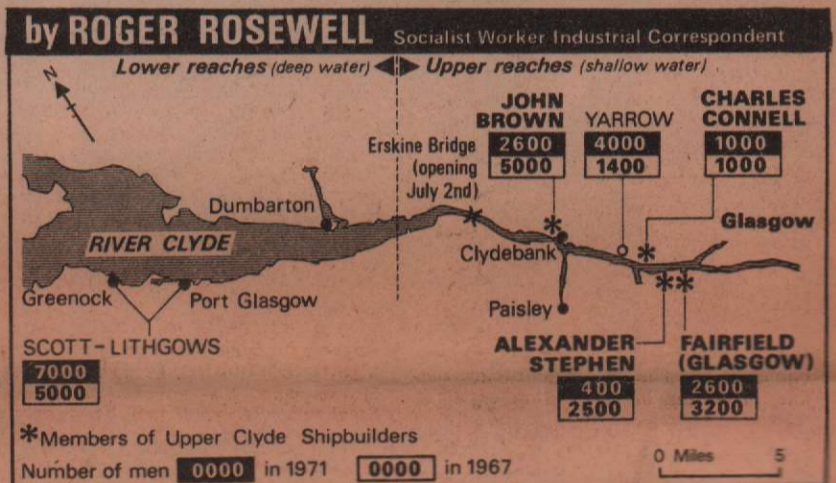
Upper Clyde Shipbuilders initially consisted of five yards—John Browns, Connells, Stephens, Yarrows and Fairfields. Over a period of 2½ years it received a total of £24.8 million in public money, something that was always bitterly resented by the other firms and some of the old family concerns that had been induced to join it.

The two leading opponents were the Yarrow family and the Scott Lithgow Group on the Lower Clyde. The latter firm objected particularly to the prospect of a successful competitor. It wanted to take over the more profitable parts of UCS itself.

The best equipped yard for instance—Fairfields—used to be controlled by the Lithgow family until it crashed in 1965 when a receiver from the Bank of Scotland was appointed. Sir William Lithgow is a director of the bank.

Fairfields was dramatically saved from closure and a new company was formed. The first chairman of this was Sir Iain Stewart, a director of Babcock and Wilcox,

40,000 jobs at stake as sharks move in for kill



Eagle Star Insurance, Scottish Television and many other companies.

The government, private industry and some trade unions all financed the new company and an immediate attack on workers' conditions was launched.

Stewart went right onto the offensive from the beginning and said that the yard would only remain open provided that: 'The unions would give their unreserved co-operation to the management in introducing flexibility and interchangeability between the trades in Fairfields. Broadly speaking this means that the management would have complete freedom to introduce a variety of new techniques.'

SOLD SHARES

Scott Lithgow would now like to resume control of Fairfields, modernised by public money and increased exploitation of the work force.

When Upper Clyde Shipbuilders was set up it received a present of £5½ million from the Labour government. Yarrows did

not want to join but were persuaded to do so following the negotiation of an odd financial arrangement.

Yarrows sold 51 per cent of their shares to UCS for £1 million and then received a government grant of £1.2 million for the construction of the most modern covered berth in Europe. In February of this year they conveniently left UCS and received a further £4½ million loan from the present government.

The other yards also received public money when they joined UCS. Shareholders in Connells got £400,000 and in Fairfields £350,000.

In 1969, after discussions with Scott Lithgow and Sir Eric Yarrow, Mr Nicholas Ridley, a director of a subsidiary of the Swan Hunter shipbuilding group, submitted a special report on UCS. Mr Ridley was the Tory spokesman on shipping and his report was circulated to members of the Shadow Cabinet. Today he is the Under-Secretary of State for Trade and Industry in the Ministry of Mr John Davies, the former boss of the Confederation of British Industry. (Continued on next page)

THEIR WEEK IN INDONESIA

See-through fig leaf: If the election results in Jakarta, the capital, are anything to go on—and they are all the facts we are going to have until the official announcement next month—the army managed to get the 'democratic' trappings it wanted when Indonesia was herded to the polls for the first time in 16 years last Saturday.

It was pretty see-through stuff: Presidential Regulation 1/1970 disenfranchised anybody remotely connected or thought to be connected or accused of being connected with the outlawed Communist Party (PKI) or its associated organisations—perhaps 15 million people. It also set up the Institute for General Elections (chaired by the Minister for Home Affairs, General Amin Muchmud, and with the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Panggabean, on the board) to screen candidates and to block those that might flout the prohibition on 'belittling the government'. A few months before the election two-fifths of all candidates had been screened out.

Presidential Regulation 2/1970 reserved 100 of the 460 seats in the National House of Representatives for nomination by the President, another 68 of the 340 seats in the Provincial Assemblies for nomination by the Minister for Home Affairs, and another 120 members of the Presidential

electoral college, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) for nomination by the President. Since the MPR is made up of the National and Provincial Assemblies plus the Presidential nominees, one third of the votes in the 1973 presidential election were as good as cast before last Saturday's shadow play.

Presidential Regulation 68/1970 was also useful. Part of it specified that 'organisations concerned (with the election) should give notice (of meetings) to the local authorities in charge of public order at least three days in advance' and that 'the texts of straight talk radio and television campaigns will be sent 10 days prior to the scheduled broadcast day by the party or organisation concerned to the Institute for General Elections. The approved texts will be passed on to the Radio and Television Republik Indonesia.'

The Suharto levy: As if this wasn't enough Regulation 2/1970 absolved the President and his Cabinet from responsibility to the partially-elected bodies; and the army set up its own political creature to fight what was left of the election. This Sekber Golkar, the Joint Association of Functional Groups, has 23 million members (!) and includes by army orders, all civil servants from village headmen to the three million

or more central government employees. Golkar got, or was given, 45 per cent of the poll for the Jakarta city assembly and will probably equal that in the rest of the country.

The prison isles: So much for the electoral farce. Behind it there's depravity and murder of Pakistan proportions. (Indeed late last year there was dinner-table talk in West Pakistan of 'doing an Indonesia to teach those Bengalis a lesson'). There are 350 military prison camps in the islands; more than 100,000 political prisoners in them six years after the army-induced civil war; the memory of half-a-million to one million deaths (nobody really knows) during that slaughter.

The warders' friends: None of this could have happened without the enthusiastic support and participation of the Great Powers, notably Russian arms—\$1 billion worth up to 1965 and replacement spares since—and massive US military and economic subventions since. Brezhnev and Nixon have got a lovely ball game going there, played with Indonesian heads.

Contributions to this column are welcome. Addressed to Their Week, they should reach The Editor by first post Friday.

BY TOP TORY PROFITEERS



The old Stephen's yard seen from the derelict Barclay Curle yard. Will Tory policies turn more shipyards to wasteland?

The conclusions of Ridley's report were
 1. Give no more public money to UCS.
 2. Let Yarrow leave UCS if they still want to and facilitate their joining Lower Clyde [Scott Lithgow] if they still wish to do so.
 3. This would mean the bankruptcy of UCS. We could accept this in which case Lower Clyde would take over one or two of the yards.

We could put in a government 'butcher' to cut up UCS and to sell (cheaply) to Lower Clyde and others the assets of UCS to minimise upheaval and dislocation.

Since the Tories came to power last June the principles of this report have been implemented. The government is responsible for the present threat to thousands of jobs.

Both Mr Anthony Hepper, the chairman of UCS, and Mr Ken Douglas, the managing director, were involved in the 1969 discussions with Ridley.

After the announced bankruptcy of UCS some weeks ago, the government established a small advisory committee of three businessmen to investigate the possible restructuring of the yards. The first member of the committee was Mr David MacDonald, the head of the corporate finance section of the merchant bankers Hill Samuel and the representative of the bank's interests on the board of the profitable North-East shipbuilding concern of Austin Pickersgill-Appledore International.

Mr Ken Douglas, the UCS managing director, came from Austin Pickersgill and on the board of the 1965 reformed Fairfield's yard sat Mr Derek Palmer, a director of Hill Samuel. In March 1969 the bank gave £25,000 to the Tory Party's funds.

The other two members of the advisory committee were Sir Alexander Glen, a shipping and travel tycoon, and Mr Alexander MacDonald from the Distillers Company—the huge whisky makers of brands like Haig and Johnny Walker. A fourth member

of the committee has since been appointed: Lord Robens, the former boss of the Coal Board and an expert on screwing more work from a declining labour force.

On Clydeside there are many opinions on what conclusions the committee will reach, but the strongest and most credible is the following:

Both John Brown's yard and Connells will be closed and production concentrated at Fairfields. This is in line with certain recommendations made by a special working party of the Shipbuilding Industry Board in 1967.

The chairman of this was Mr Anthony Hepper, the present chairman of UCS and a party to Ridley's 1969 discussions. It is also expected that some of the berths at Stephen's old yard will be re-opened. Although it was closed only one month after the formation of UCS it is conveniently situated next to Fairfields.

KNOCKDOWN PRICES

This smaller joint yard, it is thought, will be sold off cheaply to either Scott Lithgow or Yarrow or both.

Scott Lithgow have had some past experience of picking up yards at a knock-down price in which the government had previously invested taxpayers' money. In 1967, for instance, they took over the Firth of Clyde Dry Dock Company for the exceptionally low price of about £1m.

The dry dock had been built originally in 1960 at a cost of £4½ million, of which the government had contributed £3 million. The yard went broke and was sold to private industry only after Mr Wedgwood Benn, then Minister of Technology who is currently campaigning to save UCS, had refused any more government money.

In the first year of Scott Lithgow's ownership of the yard they recorded a profit of £200,000.

It is also clear that Yarrow, which is

run by Tory Sir Eric Yarrow who wanted to build naval vessels for South Africa in 1967, is in the hunt. This is a profitable yard and is awarded frequent rich Royal Navy contracts by the Ministry of Defence.

Yarrows took a share of the government money while a member of UCS. It benefited from the various productivity concessions that were made by the trade unions and is thought to have received the £4½ million from the Tories as help for their possible participation in the purchase of the left-overs of UCS.

This opinion is reinforced by the fact that, although the loan was announced in February when Yarrows left UCS, Mr Ridley stated in parliament on 25 March: 'In fact, I do not think that any money has been drawn yet by Yarrow, nor do I think that it is likely to be drawn all at once. It may not be drawn—any of it—for several months more...'

It is also expected that the closed yards will be sold to private industry. One opinion that I heard was that the West Dock of John Browns will be sold off to the Distillers Company as a whisky warehouse—hence the interest of Mr Alexander MacDonald, a member of the government's advisory committee.

The East Dock may be purchased by the Tunnel Cement Company. This firm already owns the Rothesay Dock which is adjacent to Browns and is rumoured to be anxious to expand.

In March 1968 Tunnel Cement donated £2600 to the British United Industrialists, an anti-nationalisation organisation that distributes funds to the Tory Party. Distillers have also given money to both the Conservative Party and British United Industrialists.

Ever since 1965 the Clydeside workers have been victims of joint government and management blackmail. They have been threatened with the closure of yards unless they agreed to major productivity concess-

ions and redundancies. 4,500 redundancies have taken place in UCS during the past three years and although the labour force has been cut by 25 per cent steel workers' productivity has risen by 87 per cent since 1967.

The trade unions have been guilty accomplices. Dan McGarvey, the Boilermakers' leader, has gone out of his way to praise the 'humane redundancies' carried out by the UCS management.

WARNED WORKERS

Wedgwood Benn, despite his present activity, was particularly responsible for the attacks. He made frequent trips to Clydeside when he was a Minister to either warn the workers to obey the management and co-operate in the redundancies or else run the risk of 'forcing' the yards to close.

He refused to nationalise the shipbuilding industry when in office but now that he is safely in opposition he has been suddenly converted to the workers' cause.

The shipyard workers can not defend themselves from the plots of the Tory sharks and the menace to jobs that their secret intrigues have created by relying on those like Benn who have failed and betrayed them in the past.

On the contrary, it is by opposing them and the profiteers with militant action—the occupation of the yards if one worker is sacked or suspended—that a real counter-offensive can be successful.

The attempted butchery of UCS is part of the Tory attack on all workers' jobs and wages. The fight of the Clydeside workers against the misery of mass unemployment must be supported by the entire labour movement which must mobilise its enormous resources to give them all possible assistance.

German workers start to show their strength again

THE MYTH of Western Germany as the place where workers are so contented they never strike is dying. Faced with inflation, the German working class is slowly recovering its militant traditions in increasingly sharp wage struggles.

The latest example is the chemical workers, who have been striking for the last fortnight.

The chemical industry's high profits have allowed it until recently to grant wage rises almost before the union got around to asking for them. Conditions are comparatively good and the rapid growth of the industry created a labour force with no experience of militancy.

Rank and file organisation has been non-existent, and the union, IG Chemie, has only organised 30-40 per cent of the work force. Many factories are striking for the first time since the war.

Ever since the wave of unofficial strikes of September 1969 the German trade unions have been determined not to allow a strike movement to get out of control. The chemical union is demanding 120 DM for manual workers and 11 per cent for white-collar workers.

Provoked

The form of the first demand is the result of some limited rank and file pressure, while the second is an attempt to recruit the higher paid levels. In fact most of these have been strike breaking, even though 11 per cent is considerably more for them than 120 DM.

The wage demand as a whole was initiated by the union leaders to forestall any spontaneous movement from below, which could have been provoked by the pathetic offer of the bosses of 6.5 per cent.

Yet the chemical industry is in no position to give in. Profits have fallen, while the government and the other employers are demanding 'no surrender' to hold down wages in general and to create a 'favourable' climate for the wage claim of the more militant metal workers this autumn.

The union therefore has to keep the struggle as quiet as possible, for fear it could spill over into a serious conflict. This explains the strategy of each factory deciding how and when to strike, with no indefinite or national strikes.

Prepared

This is presented as democratic and as 'taking the bosses by surprise'—but they have been prepared for a long time. The union, meanwhile, does its best to ensure that no real contacts take place between factories, and has encouraged its members to 'take a holiday' instead of organising more militant picketing and democratic strike committees.

In some areas wage agreements have already been signed well below the strike demand, and this will probably be repeated nationally. In some factories democratic strike committees have been elected, and successful cross-factory rank and file links established.

The experience of this strike will be the basis for future, more militant struggles.

JAMES WICKHAM

The Market: how long before you

join with the flag wavers?

RECENTLY Socialist Worker has abandoned its principled position on the Common Market. To call for the support of anti-Common Market resolutions (19 June) is to encourage nationalism and the illusions spread by the Labour left.

It is not just 'unfortunate', as you say, that the 'left' leaders oppose the Common Market in nationalist terms.

It is part of their whole strategy of canalising mass discontent into safe channels. For them to really fight the issues that face working people—unemployment, rising prices, the attack on the social services—would mean unleashing mass struggles that would lead many people to a socialist way of solving the problems of British capitalism—by abolishing it.

Ranting about the threat to British sovereignty is going to lead nobody to socialist ideas. Socialist Worker has not yet indulged in flag waving of this sort, but to say that we will make fine speeches about internationalism and then vote with the anti-marketiers is to fall into their trap.

REMEMBER THE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR!

With the lack of a mass socialist movement it will be easy for nationalist ideas to take root in sections of the British working class as the crisis of British capitalism deepens. If Britain does not enter the Common Market it will be the result of Powellism, social chauvinism and nationalism. It will not be the result of a working-class victory.

Inside or outside of the Common Market British capitalism will be forced to continue to rationalise, and that means clobbering the working class. As Socialist Worker used to argue, that means we must, firstly, defend working-class conditions, and not be diverted by calls either for an

'independent' British capitalism, or for a 'united Europe' of the big firms.

Secondly, we must begin to fight capitalism on its own scale, internationally: we must begin building up links with European workers and organisations. To allow ourselves to be stamped into an anti-Common Market position is to tail the Labour lefts into their biggest cover-up job yet, and to make the building of an international socialist movement yet more difficult.—PAT DENNY, Frankfurt am Main, West Germany.

The Editor comments: The editorial in question, in spite of Pat Denny's interpretation of it, attacked the 'little Englander' position of the Labour left. It stressed that socialists should fight vigorously for the internationalist position within the labour movement—against the Common Market AND an 'independent' capitalist Britain, for a united socialist Europe—but

said that if such attitudes were defeated it would be wrong to abstain in a vote against the Market. There will be a special feature on the Common Market in our next issue.

Vitality not enough

ALASTAIR HATCHETT (good name that) said that my article on the TUC and the General Strike 'focussed exclusively on the official leadership' (26 June). This meant I have a 'betrayal' analysis, and believe that it is only the sell-outs by people like Feather and Scanlon that hold back the mighty forces of the socialist revolution.

Actually I think it is mainly capitalism and its currency in ideas which is the enemy. On the whole, of course, the TUC leadership subscribes to capitalist ideology. It believes in rubbish like 'the national interest' and that the class war is old-fashioned 'dogma'.

Leadership is very important. Organisations like IS must dig themselves into the labour movement and set the pace in building an alternative to the present leadership, which isn't all that different from the 'rabbits' of 1926. Congratulating workers on their 'vitality', as Alastair Hatchett proposes, isn't enough.—PHIL EVANS, Canterbury.

FASCISM

**BIG
BUSINESS
KNUCKLES**

by **CHRIS HARMAN**

Laws designed to cripple effective trade union activity, legislation aimed specifically at black people, underlined by growing support among the Tory rank and file for politicians like Enoch Powell: these dangerous trends have convinced many people in the labour movement that Britain is moving rapidly towards 'fascism'. But while it would be wrong to underestimate the current dangers, we are not yet facing the legalised tuggery of fascism, used by the capitalist ruling class to smash the workers' movement. A short series of articles on Italy, Nazi Germany, the Spanish Civil War and Britain today will tackle the problem of the real nature of fascism and how the working class can prepare to meet such a menace if the present employers' offensive fails to solve the problems of British capitalism.

In the years before the Second World War the scourge of fascism swept across half Europe. The crudest barbarities became official state policy. Basic democratic rights were crushed. Trade unions and Labour parties were completely destroyed. Millions of people were swept into concentration camps. In the end more than five million Jews were exterminated.

Today respectable politicians and historians treat the whole episode as a peculiar break with normality, a nightmarish interlude in the forward march of society. On the Left, on the other hand, there is a tendency to treat every unpleasant measure by almost any government as 'fascist'. A fight against any recurrence of such horrors demands a more exact understanding of what fascism is.

Mussolini established the first fascist regime after his 'March on Rome' in 1922. Yet only three years before the general feeling at all levels of Italian society was that socialist revolution, not fascism, was near at hand. The socialist and trade union movement was gathering tremendous strength while Mussolini had few supporters and little backing.

This period saw an upsurge of militancy among workers that had led to repeated strikes, demonstrations and bloody conflicts with the police. In June 1914 and again in August 1917 only vigorous intervention by the army had been able to put down an almost revolutionary wave of strikes and factory occupations.

But force could not end the conditions that were giving rise to the strikes and militancy of the workers. Nor could the army and police, for all their viciousness, destroy the ability of workers to organise for renewed struggle.

In 1919 the workers' movement went from strength to strength. There were massive strikes against the cost of living, in solidarity with the German and Russian revolutions, for the eight-hour day and for the recognition of workers' committees in the factories.

In the first half of 1920 there was a general strike of half a million workers in Turin, followed five months later by the workers occupying their factories throughout heavy industry.

At the same time, the peasants of the countryside, who then made up the majority of Italy's population, were involved in repeated battles with the police as they fought to seize the large land-holdings for themselves.

The Socialist Party had grown to be the biggest political party, with more than 200,000 members, controlling more than a quarter of local councils. And officially the party was committed to 'revolution'.

MISERABLE

The ruling class despaired of keeping the situation under control. They could not afford to give reforms to placate the workers. The international condition of capitalism would not permit it.

But workers were not prepared to put up with their miserable situation any longer. 'Peaceful co-existence' between the organisations of the opposed classes in Italian society was no longer possible.

But this did not mean that a workers' revolution was inevitable. An organised and directed movement was necessary to channel the energies of the workers in a fight to destroy the employing class.

But that direction did not exist.

The leaders of the Socialist Party claimed to want a revolution. And they certainly made many speeches that frightened the middle classes.

But they did nothing to turn their words into action. They refused to break with MPs and union leaders who were openly against revolution.

COMPROMISE

When the mass strikes took place, they considered the most important thing to do was to arrange a compromise with the employers that would improve workers' conditions slightly. But this left the employers with the power to fight back against the workers later, when conditions favoured them.

Workers never enjoy going on strike indefinitely. It means hardship and shortages for themselves and their families. Workers in Italy at this period were no exception.

But though they were tired after so many years of struggle and so many sacrifices, in 1919 and



Mussolini the Mob orator, haranguing a crowd in Rome

1920 they were prepared to put in one last great effort. They believed, from the speeches of their leaders, that the result would be the complete transformation of society they desired and the beginning of a new world they ardently longed for.

But after the occupation of the factories, the greatest movement Italian workers had ever participated in, this new hope was not fulfilled. Instead they were told to go back to working for the bosses, to clocking in to the factories day after day under the eye of the same foremen as before, tied to speed-up and threatened with unemployment.

No wonder that many felt it was not worth going on strike in future.

But the discontent throughout Italian society remained. Tens of thousands of former soldiers found that the promises made to them in the war were not being kept. In the countryside the peasants remained in poverty, often

without land. They felt their condition. Everywhere was predominated.

In 1919 and of these groups to accept their solution as a way out of their problems. After reason to love politicians.

ADVANCE

Now, however elsewhere for socialists.

Mussolini's the opportunity argued that Italy 'not a socialist national revolution' against the workers' attacks as well as the attacks to be in worse ideas appealed worse-off sections who disl

NEXT WEEK: HITLER?

'LIKELY

JAKE PRESCOTT and Ian Purdie, arrested for their alleged part in the bomb attack on Tory Employment Minister Robert Carr, have been committed for trial at the Old Bailey.

The charges are 'conspiracy to cause explosions likely to endanger life and cause serious injury to property between 30 July 1970 and 5 March 1971.' They now face a wait of up to six months before they come up for trial at the Old Bailey.

Apart from the disturbing way in which both men were arrested—Prescott was denied any access to his solicitors for 48 hours and another man detained for questioning described his time at Barnet Police Station as 'the most terrifying 48 hours in my life'—the committal proceedings revealed several puzzling contradictions in the prosecution case.

Brain

It was also said that a former girl Irene Jameson, that Purdie had into 'radical' and that she became active.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

THE International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations through-



out the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen/Dundee/Edinburgh/Fife/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling

NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Grimsby/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds York/Selby/Sheffield

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan

Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/Northampton/Redditch/Telford

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

SOUTH
Ashford/Brighton/Canterbury/Crawley/Folkestone/Guildford/Portsmouth/Southampton

EAST
Basildon/Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Acton/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Havering/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Notting Hill/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

Address

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

SS's EDUSTER



Mussolini told them they could do so by 'cleansing' Italian society of its 'rotten' elements. He provided them with arms, uniforms, and cash hand-outs.

The fascist movement started in a few localities, far from the centres of the workers' movement. Fascists would travel around the countryside and pounce on outposts of the socialist movement—trade union halls, co-operatives or socialist municipalities, burning them down and shooting anyone who resisted.

The frustrations of the middle-class rank and file found an outlet in the intimidation and bullying of others. And a service was provided for which the ruling class was prepared to dole out large sums of money.

Such expeditions were carried through on a bigger and bigger scale in 1921 and 1922. Their very success provided fascism with more support. Mussolini could provide no solution to the problems of Italian society, but he could give many of his supporters money, excitement and jobs as they took over the position of socialists who were forced to flee.

CAREFUL

Mussolini promised his supporters an attack on both capitalists and socialists. But he was careful to attack the capitalists with words only, and the socialists with deeds. This guaranteed that the police were rarely ordered to interfere with the fascists' actions.

The working-class movement tried to fight back. But it faced immense difficulties. The fascists had the time and the money to move from one part of the country to another at speed.

Workers were tied to the towns they worked in, exposed to sudden attacks. And after so many years of struggling to no avail, many workers felt demoralised. But the role of the leaders of the workers' movement was the most important factor in the fascists' victory.

The fascist leaders knew what they were after. They wanted to build a mass middle-class movement that would prove to big business that it could smash the workers' organisations, so that the ruling class would give it political power.

The official workers' leaders, on the other hand, thought that they could peacefully build up the strength of the workers within capitalist society, without ever really raising the question of who had power.

The middle classes... fear and anxiety... early 1920 many... had been willing... of solving their... all, they had little... big business and its

ADVANTAGE

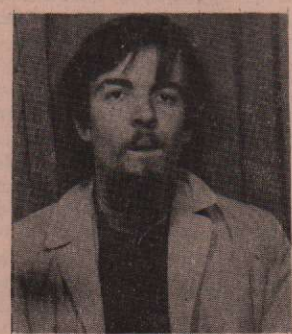
... they looked... advantage of... His propaganda... needed a 'revolution'... directed... against capitalism... big business were... only. But such... particularly to the... of the middle... the power of

THEIR VICTORY OVER A DIVIDED LEFT

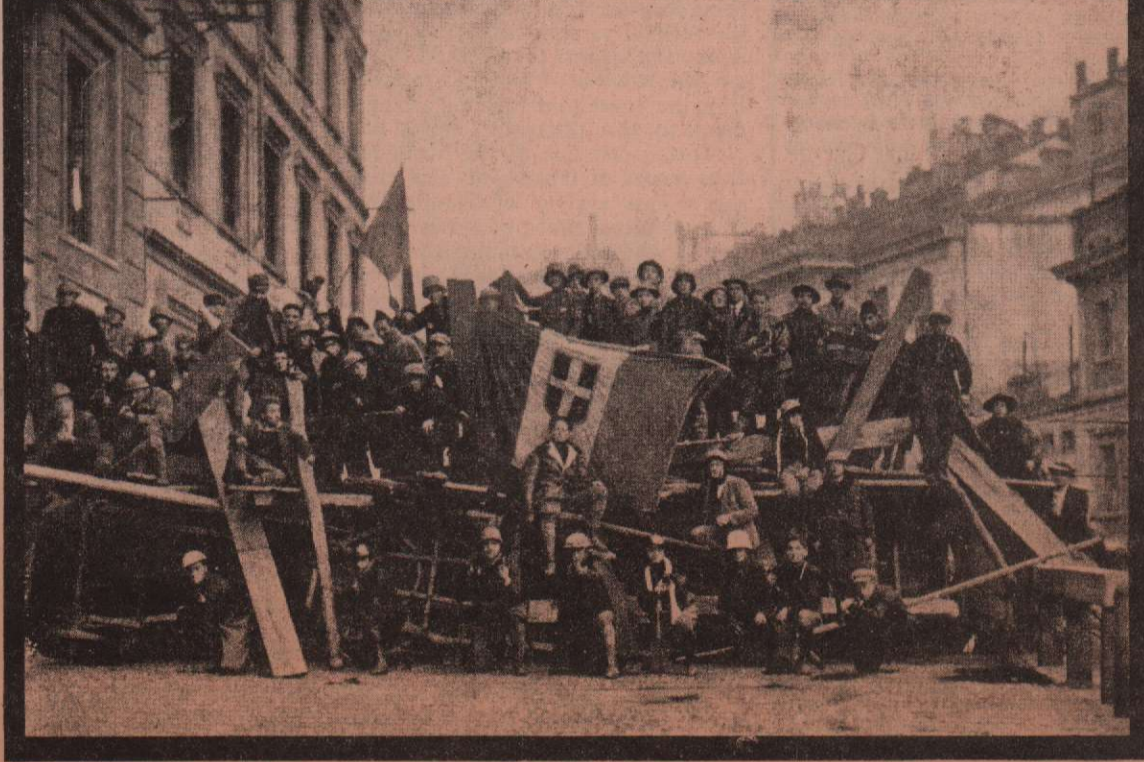
CANDIDATES FOR AN OUTRAGE'

...ged that two prison... (Messrs A and B)... to the effect that... a cell with them... to being responsible... bombings. Mr A, who... convictions for various... this in court, but... to corroborate his... simple reason. He has... washed... by the prosecution... friend of Prescott's... would tell the court... brainwashed Prescott... anarchist attitudes... alarmed that Pres... involved in anarchist

In court, prosecuting counsel asked Miss Jameson: What were his [Purdie's] views about society? Did he say anything about that?
Miss Jameson: No more than just socialist generalisations. I only know the impression I was left with was that he was not a conservative, let us say.
She added that she did not discuss politics with Prescott and Purdie very much and that all she could remember were general impressions.
The prosecution also claimed that two girls would tell the court that they had stayed at a house in Islington and that they had left the house because of planned incidents and because 'they increasingly disliked what they felt about the place. They disliked the background—sometimes secretive, sometimes brazen—but always in this anarchistic context.'



Purdie: 'On trial for my views'
In court, Miss Steer, one of the girls, was asked why she left the house.
Miss Steer: Because I wanted to go home.



October 1922: (above) the March on Rome, (below) fascist barricades against socialists in Milan

So they 'respected the law', and refused to organise a proper fight back against the fascist attack. They gave no support to the workers' defence groups, organised independently by rank and file workers. They even tried to sign a peace treaty with Mussolini.

BITTER

A large section of socialists had split away from the old leadership to form a genuinely revolutionary Communist Party. Unfortunately, they were so embittered with the betrayals of the official socialist leadership that they did not see the need for united action to protect all working-class organisations.

By 1922 the fascists had taken control of most of the countryside and small towns. Now they began to attack the main centres of the workers' strength in the industrial cities.

In general the Italian ruling

class were delighted with the results. Politicians who had always proclaimed their dedication to 'liberal' ideas, applauded as the fascists 'taught a lesson' to the Left.

Finally, in October 1922 they decided that Mussolini had proved both the effectiveness of his methods and his trustworthiness to big business and they agreed to make him Prime Minister.

But Mussolini had to give the impression to his followers, many of whom genuinely hated big business and the official politicians, that a 'revolution' of some sort had taken place. So he organised a mass fascist 'March on Rome'—even though the city had in reality already passed into his hands.

In the years that followed the fascists operated against the working-class movement on an unprecedented scale. The official army and police were now at Mussolini's disposal and he waged a reign of terror against socialist and trade union organisations.

The Italian Left rapidly learned the difference between fascism and other forces of dictatorial rule. Previously the police and army had been used against strikes, pickets had been shot down and leaders imprisoned. But the ruling class had not had at its disposal a vast mass of activists in the civilian population dedicated to the destruction of workers' organisations.

DESTROY

Mussolini exploited the frustrations that capitalist society itself had bred among hundreds of thousands of middle-class people to build his movement. He was then able to destroy completely the labour movement, from the smallest local branch to the biggest national union.

Once in power, fascist policies helped big business, not the middle classes. But the followers of Mussolini learned that to their cost when it was too late.

Nevertheless, both Purdie and Prescott were committed for trial.

In a statement to the court, Prescott alleged: 'I have committed no criminal acts and am being tried purely and simply for my political views.'

Conspirators

And Purdie stated: 'I am innocent of all these charges. The Crown has tried to put me on trial for what it suggests are my political views. Millions of people in this country could be standing in this dock instead of me, because they are totally opposed to the political system in this country... History will show who are the true conspirators.'

Purdie and Prescott are in solitary confinement while they await trial. They are allowed, weather permitting,

one hour's exercise a day.

There are many disturbing features of the case, but perhaps the most serious is the admission by Detective Superintendent Habershon, the policeman in charge of the case, that despite having given a voluntary statement to the police after the Carr bombing, Purdie was considered by the police 'a candidate for the outrage'.

How many more socialists and opponents of the system are earmarked in a similar way, ready for any future 'outrages' that may or may not take place?

Martin Tomkinson

A defence fund for the two men urgently needs money. Donations to: Purdie and Prescott Defence Fund, Consolidated Credits and Discount Ltd, 23 Dorset Street, London W1T.

It's time to start shouting

THE IMPORTANT PART played by the mass circulation newspapers in defending the interests of the employers class is as clear today as ever. While successive governments have been pushing through wage freezes, incomes policy and anti-union legislation to force workers to carry the can for the chaos and inefficiency of British industry, the press has mounted a continuous propaganda campaign.

From the Mirror to the Mail, the Express to the Sun, the aim has been the same—to use every lie, distortion and half-truth possible to persuade public opinion (in other words, workers and their families) that workers taking industrial action are selfish, power-hungry men determined to wreck the economy and their own jobs into the bargain.

We have seen the attacks on the car-workers and powerworkers, on the dockers and the postmen—always justified because of a mythical 'national interest', 'balance of payments' or 'inflation'.

The real facts that have faced workers in the past few years are left behind: That despite all the militancy, most workers have not even kept up with the cost of living. That over the last five years the proportion of national wealth going in wages and salaries has gone DOWN.

Even the 16 per cent won by the men at Ford after the long strike has barely met rising prices after tax deductions.

Excesses

There is no doubt that these distortions have had some effect in blunting the opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill and isolating workers on strike. Many lower paid workers have been convinced that the Bill is justified in order to curb the excesses of the rich—of the rich motor workers, that is, who are not satisfied with £60 a week!

The decision of the Ford Motor Co to switch production of engines for its Pinto small car from Europe to the USA has been jumped on by the gutter press as further proof of the British worker ruining the economy. The facts about the switch are a lot different, as The Times was at pains to point out to its readers.

The original plan to build engines in Britain and Germany for the new American small car was based on Ford's fears that its first four cylinder engine car for 30 years might prove a flop and leave it with engine production lines it could not use. Ford also expected to cash in on the comparatively cheap labour of European car workers, which would more than pay transport costs.

With the Pinto now established in the USA and with the 'parity' struggle pushing up labour costs in Britain, Ford has decided it makes more sense to build its USA engines in Lima, Ohio and use the European engines for European cars.

As The Times put it, Ford has decided that 'the balance of comparative advantage does not lie in producing these engines in Britain or indeed, in Germany'.

Crumbs

There are two ways of fighting the Tories and their friends who own the press. One is to follow the TUC and union leaders and get on to our knees to beg for work, for economic growth and for the crumbs from the rich man's table.

The TUC's present overtures to the government to be allowed to trade OUR future wage increases for meaningless promises to halt the rise in prices will not only get us exactly nothing but goes a long way to backing up the lies and distortions of the press.

The union leaders are really saying: 'Yes, we have been bad boys with inflationary wage increases pushing up prices, damaging exports and ruining the economy but if you put away the big stick we promise not to do it in future!'

The real way to fight the Tories and at the same time to show other workers the truth behind the press propaganda is to shout out for all to hear: It's THEIR industry, THEIR economy and THEY must take the blame.

We are internationalists who have no interests in competition with our brothers in other countries. We will join together with the motor workers of America and Germany to fight the small minority who own industry across the world, to fight for a socialist society in which we, the workers, will run industry in order to produce cars and other goods, not to boost the profits of Henry Ford or to swell a mythical balance of payments but simply because PEOPLE NEED THEM.

Chris Davison

FARM WORKER EVICTED BY MIDDLE AGES' LAW

KEN DAWSON, a farm worker, was evicted from his cottage at Matching Green in Essex last week. Watched only by pressmen and police, the bailiffs moved his belongings out of the house, damaging some of the furniture.

One week before, a group of about 50 people had waited for the bailiffs to come, prepared to obstruct the eviction. But the bailiffs stayed away and a social worker from the County Welfare Department arrived with the keys to a flat in Harlow New Town, one of 12 dwellings made available by the Urban District Council as 'welfare accommodation'.

Mr Dawson had the threat of eviction hanging over his family's head for several months. The offer of alternative accommodation and the release from the constant pressure seemed attractive.

But he was aware that he was being accused of 'jumping the queue'. He decided to seek legal aid and an injunction against the landlord carry-out the eviction. While he was away from the house to make final arrangements for this, the bailiffs moved in.

This is just one of the many sad experiences of tenants of 'tied cottages'. This system of tenure dates from medieval times, and reflects the way in which the serf was tied to the master and was dependent upon his grace.

No security

The 'tied cottage' goes with the job, it is included in the wage, and tenants have no security of tenure. If for some reason the farmer is cutting back staff he can immediately repossess the tied cottage, and evict the tenant.

And, if the farm-worker is unable to work or wishes to change his job, he will be evicted. In Mr Dawson's case, a back injury had made him unable to continue working on the farm.

At present there are about 100,000 families in England and Wales living in tied cottages. Every week the Agricultural Workers' Union has to give legal representation in 10 more

by BRIAN TRENCH

cases where court proceedings have been initiated by landlords or employers wishing to regain possession of the houses.

At the moment, 188 possession orders are being processed in the courts. The occupants of tied cottages live under the constant fear of eviction. And when the evictions do occur, it is most often quietly, and without any publicity.

Ken Dawson is an active member of his local branch of the union, and he had succeeded in mobilising the support of other trade unionists and of members of political and other voluntary organisations. On the admission of the County Council social worker, it was because of the publicity surrounding the case that his department had decided to give it preferential treatment.

But Mr Dawson saw his fight as being not only for his own family but for all other families living in tied cottages.

For 50 years the Agricultural Workers' Union has been officially opposed to the system of tied cottages. Its campaigning has yielded little to date.

Because of the isolation of farm workers it has been possible for landlords to continue to push them around, as and when they please. With the increasing interest of sections of the urban middle classes in



Ken Dawson and his family after being thrown out of their home

having a 'house in the country', landlords often evict farm workers in order to get high rents, or a high purchasing price, from non-agricultural tenants.

With the election of a Labour government in 1964, the union thought that it would see its demands translated into law. In the election campaigns several Labour politicians had made categorical promises that the system would be fundamentally changed.

No change

But nothing was done to deal with the question of tied cottages as a distinct problem. And there was no change in the number of threats, or in the number of court proceedings, and only a slight drop in the number of recorded evictions.

Local authorities do not recognise the specific problem of tied cottages. When Mr Dawson's case was raised in the Housing Committee of the Epping

and Ongar Rural District Council, they simply 'passed the buck' to the County Council.

One member of that Housing Committee is Mr Michael Collins, the farmer of the 800 acres on which Dawson worked and owner of the cottage.

The tied cottage system serves to hold down wages—farmworkers still only average a £16 basic wage. By means of the system farmers also exercise almost complete control over the lives of the farmworkers.

It acts as a deterrent to any action to increase wages and improve conditions. Farmers promote their interests on yet another front: they are well represented on the rural councils in whose jurisdiction the tied cottages and their tenants are.

In the English countryside, in spite of the 'rationalisation' and automation of agriculture, remnants of the Middle Ages live on. Farm workers need the active support of other trade unionists to overcome them.

IDEAS IN SOCIETY

by DUNCAN HALLAS

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, we are often told, are representatives, not delegates. The people they are supposed to be representing can't give them orders. The Tory philosopher Burke, who first emphasised this odd distinction between a delegate and a representative, wanted to protect MPs from the influence of what he called 'the swinish multitude'. Nowadays our rulers think it better to be more polite but the intention is the same.

It is a very peculiar doctrine. An ambassador, the representative of his government takes orders from that government. How otherwise could he represent it? Moreover, if he fails to give satisfaction he is sacked. Incidentally, if he is representing his government at the United Nations he is even called a delegate.

The lawyer who represents a client takes instructions from that client and if he fails to follow them a sensible client finds another lawyer. In short the distinction between a representative and a delegate is a distinction without a difference.

It is a fact that because MPs cannot be given instructions by their constituents, and cannot be recalled and replaced, they are not delegates. By the same token they are not representatives either, in any meaningful sense of that word. One of the six points of the Peoples Charter in the last century, annual parliaments, was put in for this very reason. By giving MPs a very short tenure of office the Chartists hoped to force them to act as representatives.

Significantly, this is the only one of the six points that did not eventually become law. As any liberal history book will tell you, it is impracticable because it 'would make stable government impossible'—which amounts to saying that actually people are incapable of self-government.

Naturally the 'free and independent' MPs, protected between elections from the ignorant populace, are in fact slaves to the party bosses. Most of them are willing slaves. A wit said of the parliamentary Labour Party when Labour was in power that 'one third of them hold government

MPs: keeping aloof from the 'swinish multitude'

office of one sort or another and so are loyal, one third hope to hold office and so are even more loyal, and the remaining third haven't got two political ideas to rub together.'

There are exceptions of course. Left-wing Labour MPs will criticise their leaders and even, very occasionally, vote against them. But only very occasionally. Persistent offenders are cast into the outer darkness. They lose the whip. What a significant phrase!

This is the ultimate horror for your Labour left. Frank Allaun was recently admonishing the International Socialists in the pages of Tribune, for being 'out in the wilderness' by which he meant out of the Labour Party. Those who use this homely biblical phrase really ought to remember that it was only by going out into the wilderness that the chosen people were able to come to the promised land.

The truth is that Frank Allaun and the rest of the handful of socialists in the parliamentary Labour Party have not the slightest influence on the policies of that party in office and cannot have if only because, not being delegates, they have no base to appeal to against the right. They exist, as lefts, on suffrage.

If working people are to rule it must be through representatives and through representatives that they effectively control. This is what a soviet system makes possible. Soviets—the word means council—were bodies of delegates in Russia elected by their organised fellow workers in the workplaces and subject to recall and replacement at any time.

The local soviets elected delegates on the same basis to city soviets, these to provincial soviets and to a supreme soviet. Elections were held by show of hand at open meetings. Everyone knew who and what he was voting for. There was no 'separation of powers', soviets were both legislative and executive bodies. This system does not, of course, exist in the 'Soviet Union'—only the name is preserved. The reality was destroyed by stalinism.

It is the system the Communist Party of Great Britain was founded to fight for. The first congress of the party declared 'The CP repudiates the reformist view that a social revolution can be achieved by the ordinary methods of parliamentary democracy... It declares for the soviet (or workers council) system as the means whereby the working class can achieve power, and take control of the forces of production.' Now the party stands for the 'parliamentary road'. But as Rosa Luxemburg said, 'those who claim to be choosing another means to the end are in reality choosing a different end.'

Socialism means a society based on the voluntary co-operation of the majority of the working people. It is no more compatible with parliamentary government than it is compatible with the private ownership of industry. Workers power through workers councils is the essential instrument for the transition to socialism. When it is achieved parliament, as Engels said, will go 'where it will then belong—into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze axe'.

MORE LETTERS

NEIL ROGALL complains (19 June) that the review of Carry on Henry was a disgrace to Socialist Worker. Quite so; but not nearly as disgraceful as the offensive twee-and-breezy rubbish which dribbles weekly from the pen of TV 'critic' David East.

I thought that Mr East had gone as far and sunk as low as possible when, a few weeks back, he wished 'more power to his elbow' on millionaire margarine salesman Bernard Braden. I didn't know my David East.

He wrote of 'Paul Temple': 'As I have been pretty rude about this series before, let me say that the first of the new run was excellent entertainment... what a lift real talent gives to even the most tired and jaded series. If we must have froth, let it be good froth.'

As an example of pompous middle-class pedantry this might just about pass—although most of the middle-class pedants I know have higher critical standards. But it is not and makes no pretence to be marxist criticism.

It is no part of the function of a marxist critic to be 'fair'. It is his function to demythologise the media, to lead the working class to see the way the ruling class uses the media and the arts to maintain its ideological hegemony. Programmes like Paul Temple are crucial in this regard. They invite the working-class audience to escape for an hour from the dullness and boredom of life under capitalism into the glamorous fantasy world of Paul Temple/ Joe Hine/Man at the Top.

To say that one such programme is 'good' is to say that it does its job well, that it is sufficiently well-acted, well-written and well-produced to give a large number of workers an effective booster-shot of spurious contentment.

If we must have froth—and we will as long as capitalism exists—let it be bad froth so that it does least harm. And if we are to have TV criticism in Socialist Worker let it be marxist criticism.—EAMONN McCANN, London W3.

Pentagon panic

THE PUBLICATION of parts of the Pentagon's Vietnam documents by various American newspapers and the resulting controversy surely merit more serious consideration than Michael Kidron's comment in Their Week (26 June).

Whatever the motivations of the newspapers involved and whatever their rhetoric about 'freedom of the press', the fact that the US ruling class is so obviously divided and that those in power have been shown to be such outright liars and murderers is one more important step in undermining the confidence of the American people in those who rule.

It is the job of the revolutionary left to provide a progressive alternative. George Wallace or others may try to suggest another. And for revolutionaries in Britain, the demand should be made for full publication of such documents. What were Wilson and others saying and doing?—A SMITH, London SW11.

Buckling bridges

IN your article on the Milford Haven Bridge disaster (26 June) and the box girder bridge crisis, Dr Oleg Kerensky was mentioned in passing as a member of the working party that issued a report on the 'new engineering outlook'.

Dr Kerensky is not only a partner of Freeman, Fox and Partners but was also chief designer of the Milford Haven Bridge, where four men died, and Yarra Bridge in Melbourne, where 35 men died. You quote the working party as saying: 'There is no justification for increasing risks unless market economic advantage ensues.'

In Construction Plant Hire, July 1968, Dr Kerensky said 'that different classes of design offices might use different classes of specification according to their status. Top teams would not be tied by the more conservative standards but would work to specifications which allow them to sail closer to the wind and skate on thinner ice.'

Tests taken at the Milford Bridge by the British Aircraft Corporation and Sir Alfred Pugsley, an engineer, show that the tube at Milford Haven was likely to buckle at a bearing load of around 500 tons. The maximum forecast loading at Milford Haven, as one of the drawings made clear, was 1285 tons.

When the bridge collapsed, the loading on the breaking point was 970 tons, nearly twice as heavy as the first buckling point. If that isn't premeditated murder I don't know what is.

Freeman, Fox and Partners, including Dr Kerensky, were awarded the much-prized McRoberts Award for 'outstanding contribution in the field of engineering which has enhanced and will enhance the national prestige and prosperity'.

Kerensky should be convicted with the murder of all the men who died so that he and Freeman, Fox could make a quick profit. We must always remember the men who were sacrificed through the ages to line the pockets of the bosses.—SEAN D HALPENNY, Ipswich, Suffolk.

David East is ill. He hopes to resume his TV column next week.

NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



CINEMA

A KIND OF LOVING, Billy Liar, Darling, Far from the Madding Crowd, Midnight Cowboy. Not a bad list for any director: each film made or consolidated the reputation of a star, and each film stands out, when one looks back, as typical of its time. But with his latest work John Schlesinger earns his place among the greats.

Sunday, Bloody Sunday (which is at the Leicester Square Theatre, ie 50p) has Peter Finch as a successful Jewish doctor with a London practice, Glenda Jackson as a youngish, newly divorced employee of a lush City business, and a new star, Murray Head, as a designer of expensive ornaments, a sort of pseudo-artist. The doctor, Daniel, and the woman, Alex, are both competing for the love and attentions of the artist, Bob.

It is a film about the upper middle class, about the tip of the social iceberg. Throughout, there is no question of money running short—everyone is quite nicely off thank you. And yet the story, in which both lovers eventually lose Bob, who leaves them for life in America, takes place at a time when Britain is in the throes of her worst financial crisis since the war. And we are continually made aware that the people who live outside this circle have quite different problems to face.

But these 'other people' only make themselves felt when they do something extraordinary to attract attention. To Daniel, other people are the drunk football fans and the drug addicts he encounters as he drives through Piccadilly having lost Bob for the night to Alex. Other people might include the male prostitutes whom he occasionally needs. Other people are his neurotic strikers. They would include strikers, not workers.

For Alex, the human chain that maintains her in her position simply does not exist. It comes as a revelation, for instance, that the voice behind the telephone answering service which serves all three of them actually belongs to a human being, and that this human being provides unwittingly the vital link in their desperate affair. This revelation strikes her as hilarious.

To Bob, who is the self-involved, beautiful young man, other people are a market for his wares. And this includes, in a way, his two lovers, with whom he is prepared quite honestly to trade love for love—but only so long as he is in control of the sale. Once demands are made, he's off.

'Possessions, possessions', remarks Bob, mildly taunting Daniel for his acquisition of yet another valuable Greek icon. Yet it is natural that men who fail to get fulfilment from their relations with humans should look for comfort from objects. The houses in this film are full of beautiful objects, the people live in a cocoon of splendid decor. When something goes wrong, they need, more than anything else, distraction.

It is a melancholy work, but if I have made it sound like a load of theory, that is simply because these things have not been said or emphasised enough elsewhere. It's not a socialist film, but its analysis of its characters is like that of a socialist.

Rich in detail, brilliantly acted, often hilarious, beautifully photographed—other films have had all this and been nothing much. It is its exposition of the relation between class and individuals which raises this film way above the rest.

James Fenton



COTTONS COLUMN

CLIVE JENKINS, genial gensec of ASTMS and defender of press freedom, is much in demand as a public speaker. Always quick to see the showbiz potential in any situation, Clive has turned his vocal talents into quite a money-spinner.

A group of lawyers invited him to speak to a meeting on the Industrial Relations Bill. Back came a reply from his secretary, saying he would be pleased to do so for his usual fee of £50.

Then, post haste, another letter correcting the first: for £50 read £150.

Priorities

THE Clydeside strikes and marches last month against unemployment and in support of the UCS workers was without doubt one of the most magnificent examples of working-class solidarity seen in the post-war years. The 'free press', of course, rose to the occasion to give the events the coverage they so richly deserved.

Only one paper, the Express, mentioned the story on its front page: six lines. 40 lines were devoted to a tale about hot pants being made in Wormwood Scrubs prison. The Guardian, that famed radical paper, tucked its report away on page 7, with just three column inches devoted to Wedgwood Benn's speech.

The Telegraph gave eight lines on page 5 and the Financial Times had six inches on page 29. The Mirror, the Sun and the new compassionate, caring Mail ignored the event completely. The Sun, of course, only reports strikes in which the workers remove their clothing.

THE left-wing press has its troubles too. Last week an evil gremlin transformed a front-page headline in Socialist Worker from 'Prices jump—and worse to come' to 'Prices jump—and to come worse', which sounds extremely painful.



ROBENS: black handshake

But poor old Tribune had greater problems. It has been running a front-page slogan Common Market No! General Election Yes!

Last week some paid agent of Roy Jenkins reversed negative and affirmative, transforming the slogan into Common Market Yes! General Election No!

At least, we assume it was a mistake. With Barbara Castle speaking at a Tribune rally on the Market, you can never be sure what the line is from one day to the next.

Rayner day

THE HOO-HAA at the BBC over their lampoon of the Labour leaders in the 'Yesterday's Men' programme continues unabated, with Wilson and his gang of cruds alleging anti-Labour bias at the Shepherds Bush supermarket.

Anxious to dispel this foul slander, the Corporation has appointed a committee of inquiry which, according to the Daily Telegraph, will have the advice of a man with 'exceptional experience of the sensitivities of both politicians and broadcasters'.

He is Edward Rayner, who has just rejoined the BBC as assistant head of publicity. He is a former BBC political correspondent.

We can expect a fair and unbiased

interpretation from Mr Rayner. Inbetween his spells at the BBC he was the Tory Party's parliamentary press officer and arranged Ted the Teeth's telly appearances.

LORD ROBENS of Aberfan retired as head of the Coal Board last Friday. Two days before, the heads of some nationalised concerns had their salaries increased from £17,500 to £20,000 a year. Mineworkers, particularly those made redundant under the regime of Baron Robens, will be glad to know that Alf's pension will be based on £20,000, not £17,500.

He knew how to mine a good seam.

Flashpoint

BIG SURPRISE for militant electricians. The EEPTU has finally stirred itself over the Industrial Relations Bill.

And—second surprise—the Electrical Contractors' Association has voiced its concern too. The problem, apparently, is the standing of the Joint Industry Board for Electrical Contracting under the new laws.

Unbelievably, this organisation designed to hound militant trade unionists and turn the profit screw on those with jobs is currently registered as a trade union for tax purposes. Now it will have to register as a company. The board of directors should make interesting reading. And the fees.

MR ARTHUR BOURNE of Brighton is such a keen racegoer that he has decided to move permanently into the stand at Lewes race course. Mr Bourne is no down-on-his-luck punter looking for somewhere to kip—he is buying the race course for £100,000 and will spend £25,000 to £30,000 in turning the stand into a home, complete with swimming pool.

Socialist Worker

CRISIS HITS BRITISH COMMUNISTS

by FRED HALL

THE SMOULDERING CRISIS in the British Communist Party flared up this week with disciplinary action taken against leading Young Communist League supporters of the pro-Moscow oppositional tendency around Surrey District Secretary Sid French.

The formal charge against the dissidents is that they hired their own coach to travel to the Scarborough YCL congress and undercut the official fare.

This is farcical. The real reason for the censures and suspensions handed out by the disciplinary sub-committee is the Gollan leadership's fear that it may lose control of its youth organisation.

Faced with this threat, Gollan and his supporters will not hesitate to imitate the Labour Party bosses and purge 're-organise' and, if necessary, close down the youth wing.

The YCL, in any case, is in a parlous state. The youth paper Challenge has ceased to appear. The opposition mustered some 40 per cent of the votes at Scarborough.

And in Leeds, young Communist Party members have been warned by the district office to steer clear of their own youth movement!

The politics of the opposition are confused and, in part, backward-looking. The French tendency chose to fight, both at the party congress and the YCL congress, on the issue of support for the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia.

HOSTILITY

At the same time, a good deal of their support arises from hostility to Gollan's emphasis on electoral activity and his relative neglect of industrial work. The decline in the numbers and effectiveness of the factory branches of the Communist Party is one of the opposition's strongest points against the leadership.

Gollan is wholly committed to a left-reformist policy, centred on parliament. Given the electoral strength of the Labour Party, this is sure to fail, even in vote-catching terms.

The Party vote goes down and down. As Paul Foot pointed out in the Morning Star last week, 36 Party candidates got 45,086 votes in 1964 and in 1970 after six years of right-wing Labour government, 58 Communists polled 37,996. All this is grist to Sid French's mill and many of the better militants in the party and the YCL are becoming increasingly uneasy.

Will matters go as far as a formal split in the Party itself? Gollan controls the apparatus but French enjoys significant support from Eastern Europe. A Czech Party journal recently praised the 'strong anti-revisionist stand' of the Surrey District.

If Gollan goes to the limit, he may lose the Morning Star's East European sale—reputedly a sizeable proportion of total sales—and the paper is financially shaky. All the same, the signs are that the conflict is sharpening.

PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS MAY UNITE ON WAGE CLAIMS

by SW Industrial Correspondent

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS has called a special conference of 60 unions in London next month to discuss possible united action on wage claims in the public sector. Some six million workers will be represented at the meeting on 13 August.

Since the Tories were elected a year ago, an offensive has been launched to hold down wages in the public sector. Last autumn, council workers staged a six-weeks' selective strike and won 15 per cent. Then the miners settled for 12 per cent.

Electricity supply workers held a work-to-rule after their unions rejected a 10 per cent offer. Then in January 230,000 Post Office workers struck for 47 days and were defeated.

Their dispute went to a court of inquiry that gave them 9 per cent.

Now wages are being forced down even further. The British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association has just accepted between 6 and 7 per cent for 100,000 of their members in the steel industry and the government has made a 'final offer' of 8 per cent to 200,000 industrial civil servants.

The trend is clear. While prices rocket up, wages are being held down. The result of such a policy is to inflict a real wage cut on millions of workers.

PICKED OFF

One by one, the key public sector unions are being picked off. It is because of rising resentment by the rank and file that 60 union leaders, have arranged next month's conference.

But the meeting will be successful only if a militant policy is adopted and meaningful rank and file unity built.

The conference must also oppose the Industrial Relations Bill and the rising level of unemployment. Both issues are vital weapons in the Tories' drive to cut real wage levels and enable profits to rise.

It is unlikely that such a fighting lead will come from the conference. It is essential that local united action between public sector workers is established quickly and a campaign developed within the unions for militant fight against the government.

NOTICES

Notices must be pre-paid, 5p per line, six words per line. Copy deadline with cash: first post Tuesday. Notices will be accepted by phone on Tuesday but cash must arrive within 24 hours. Invoices can not be sent. Socialist Worker receives no revenue from commercial advertising and receipts from classified notices help meet our weekly deficit.

IS BOOKS will be shut next week.

KENT REGION IS meeting on Stalinism in Britain, Friends Meeting House (nr Odeon), Canterbury, 3pm, 17 July. Speaker Ian Birchall. All socialists and trade unionists welcome.

IS Women's Newsletter. Latest issue now available, 5p, from Anna Paczuska, 31 Canton Street, Southampton.

LAMBETH IS public meeting: Fred Scott (NUT) on Education and the working class. Wednesday 14 July, 8.15pm, Tulse Hill Taver, junction Tulse Hill and Norwood Rd.

YORK IS public meeting, Wednesday 14 July, 7.30pm, Lowther Hotel, The Way Forward. Speaker John Deason.

KINGSTON IS open meeting: Peter Osborne (ASTMS) and Chris Davison (TGWU) on Unemployment and the Tory Offensive. 8pm Friday 9 July, Three Compasses, Eden Street, Kingston.

IRISH Solidarity Campaign. Irish Citizen Forums, The Earl Russell, Pancras Road (between Kings X and St Pancras stn) 8pm Thursday 15 July. Bowes Egan: The North, British law and order.

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NUM leaders get off pay hook

ABERDEEN:- Delegates to the National Union of Mineworkers' conference told their leaders on Tuesday to submit a pay claim for 'substantial increases' for Britain's 280,000 miners.

They called on the union executive to aim for a £26 minimum wage for surface workers, £28 for underground men and £35 for power loaders.

But the motion carried by the conference does not bind the leaders to submit an immediate pay claim for a £26 minimum. This was the intention of a motion from the Yorkshire region, but

its sting was removed in a composite motion made up of several points.

The final resolution merely commits the executive to seek to establish a £26 minimum as a long-term aim. The delegates also voted in favour of industrial action to back any future wage claims, but again there was a let-out clause that said the leaders should 'consult' the members about possible action.

Several delegates stressed that the conference should spell out definite action in the form of selective strikes

One important decision was taken

that will make strike action easier in future. The conference decided that in future a 55 per cent majority in a national ballot will be enough to start an official strike.

In the past a two-thirds' majority was necessary. Failure to reach that proportion last year allowed the union leaders to call off their planned strike action

ON WEDNESDAY the conference instructed the executive not to register under the Industrial Relations Act and to refuse to co-operate with any of the government's anti-union bodies.

Bosses' 'choice': the sack or short-time

by VINCE HALL

LEEDS:- Workers here have been feeling the effects of the employers' iron-fist policy of the last six months. The latest group to be hit are erection fitters at Hoe-Crabtree, a firm which is part of the massive but ailing Vickers group of companies.

Over the past couple of years the Crabtree printing machinery group has been a good money spinner for Vickers—this was why it was bought in the late 1960s. The last two years' profits have been £1.9m and £2.1 (well above the Vickers' average).

As a result bonuses were high in the Water Lane plant while the orders rolled in. Organisation has been built up to a 100 per cent union works and the bosses have been using the kid-glove approach to a large extent.

But now, with the economy stagnating and inflation hitting every developed country, the firm that has made printing presses ranging from the Daily Mirror to Pravda is having difficulty in getting orders. Already the men at Water Lane have seen the highest paid department shut down, with the convenor among those made redundant. Recently the Cylinder department has been moved and trimmed and other re-organisation moves are being pushed through.

Fiddling money

Last week management accused some of the erection fitters of fiddling their money for 'waiting time'. They gave the fitters three unwanted choices: either 75 per cent on waiting time or a four-day week or redundancy.

One older shop steward told me that the management have been really vicious. He said: 'Many of the younger shop stewards just don't know what has hit them. In the last few years we've had a lot of it our own way. Now the pressure is on.'

He added: 'Most of the lads were knocked back by the bosses' either/or approach. No question of 'what do you think?', just either/or! This is what we are going to face from now on.'

The men will meet this week to make a decision.



Workers leaving the Water Lane Crabtree works this week

FIFE UNIONS TO LAUNCH DRIVE OVER JOBLESS

SW Reporter

A CAMPAIGN against unemployment in the Fife area of Scotland was launched at a meeting in Cowdenbeath last Saturday called by four local trades councils.

All the speakers backed the UCS workers on Clydeside for their militant fight against redundancies. The call for the occupation of the yards was seen as a big step forward in the fight against the government and the employers.

And the linking up of the struggles of those with jobs and those on the dole queue was also recognised as vitally important to stop any splits in the workers' ranks.

J McIntyre, full-time group officer of the Transport Workers' Union in Fife, said trade unionists should not be content with weekend demonstrations but should hit the employers where it hurts most—in the profit margins.

He said that money spent on rail fares to talk to Heath in Downing Street was wasted. The only way to make Heath listen or, better still, to get him out, was to take strike action against his policies.

DEMANDS

Jimmy Milne, assistant general secretary of the Scottish TUC and a member of the delegation to Downing Street, called for demands to be made of Heath. These were nothing more than appeals to the Tories to reflate the economy, increase public expenditure and entice more industry to Scotland. Delegates laughed when he said the government could be made to 'change course'.

Milne clashed with Colin Cameron of Kirkcaldy Trades Council, who argued for a ban on productivity deals. Cameron pointed out that many of today's redundancies are a direct result of productivity deals and that it was essential for this type of wage bargaining to stop.

He also called for a reduction of real working hours coupled with a militant fight for higher basic wages.

'It is essential,' he said, 'to go on the attack and not fall into the trap of trying to solve the employers' problems for them by accepting lower wages to allow profit margins to rise.'

COLLABORATE

Jimmy Milne claimed that this was a 'luddite' attitude and that productivity deals were 'old hat'. Rather than fight, he seemed to prefer to collaborate with big business in an effort to get it back on its feet, with all that means in greater exploitation of workers and decreasing control of working conditions.

Workers should be wary of the line that Milne and his sort are peddling. They have no intention of leading an all-out fight against the government or the employers.

When Milne, Wedgwood Benn and Co try to cool things down they should be told to jump in the Clyde and let those prepared to fight take the lead.

The meeting agreed to organise demonstrations and marches in the main Fife towns and to campaign for this through trade unions, trades councils and at the dole queues.

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