

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 231 31 JULY 1971 2½p

Unemployment—Tory figures hide grim truth, page 8

## CLYDE ON BRINK

From PETER BAIN

GLASGOW:- Clydeside is on the brink of the most momentous event in modern working-class history. Shop stewards at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders announced on Wednesday that they were ready 'at a moment's notice' to tell workers to occupy the yards if the government declared any closures or redundancies.

And a meeting between the stewards and Scottish TUC leaders cleared up for the moment the stewards' fears that the union officials would not back their occupation. Spokesmen for the STUC General Council stated that they would support the UCS workers if they marched into the yards in a bid to safeguard their jobs.

Jimmy Reid, chairman of John Brown's shop stewards' committee, said when discussing the possible recommendations that the government's committee of inquiry presented this week: 'If the outcome is less than we are demanding, then let no one be in any doubt, we will occupy the yards.' The yard workers say they will take over if there are any redundancies, or if any part of UCS is closed or 'hived off'.

The committee of inquiry and assorted government ministers and MPs have been asking shop stewards how the yard workers would react to partial closure, double-shifts, partial takeovers, and various other possibilities. They have been left in no doubt that none of these would be acceptable.

### SELL OFF

There is also widespread suspicion that there are businessmen who might take over part of UCS, run it for a short period, and then sell off the machinery and land.

Raymond McDonald, chairman of the STUC, later told the press: 'I appeal to all trade unionists throughout the country to give every assistance to shipbuilding workers should it come to the stage where they have to occupy the yards.'

The STUC's declaration of support for the occupation is a victory for the UCS workers. But that support should not allow the STUC to take over the leadership and control of the struggle.

Scottish unemployment rose by

### Stewards are ready for occupation

more than 12,000 in July. One-fifth of the rise in UK unemployment took place in Scotland, which has one-tenth of the population.

This illustrates the seriousness of the situation, especially on Clydeside. Despite the mini-Budget, the number of unemployed will increase substantially in the coming four months.

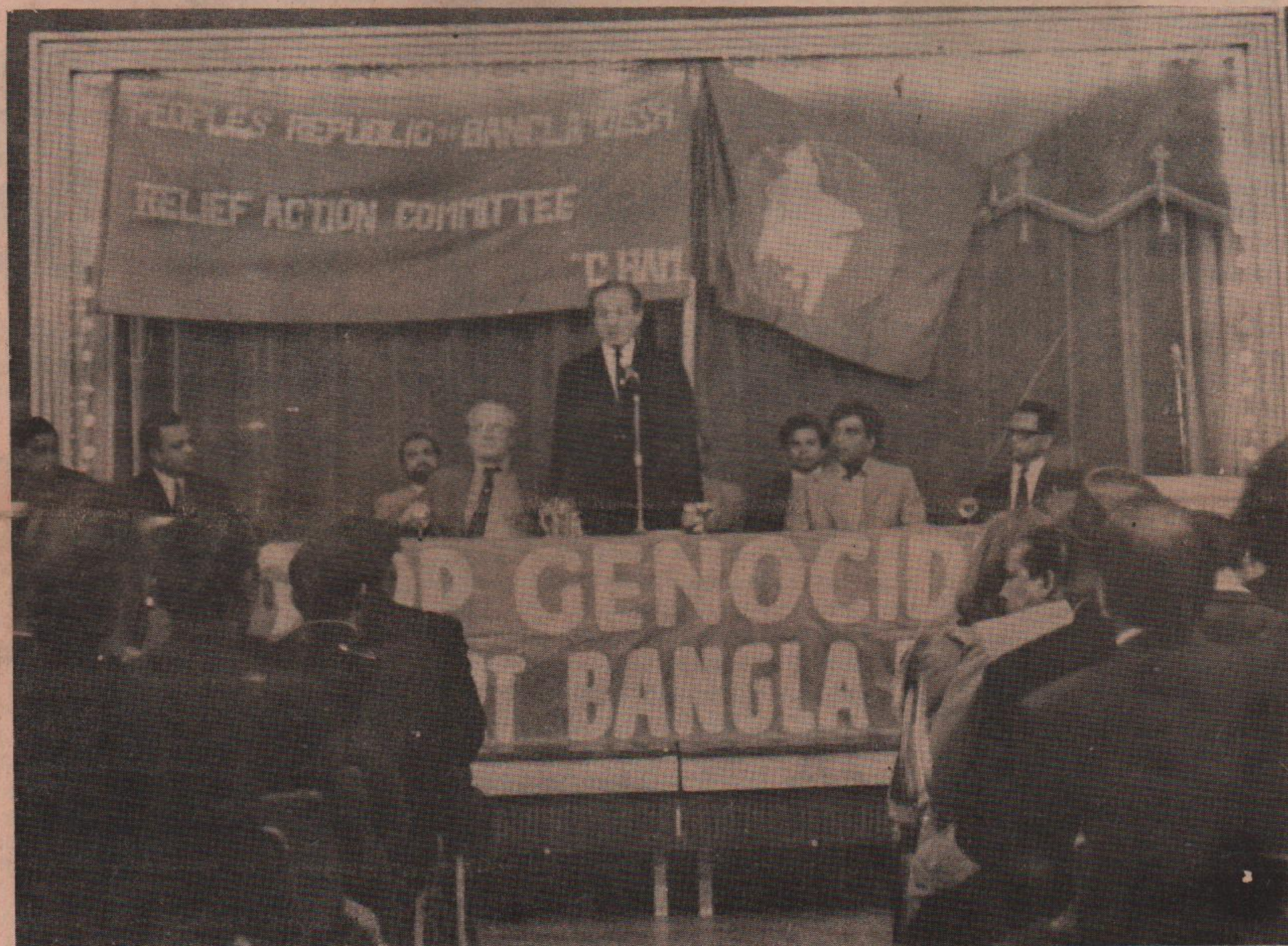
A potentially explosive situation is developing on Clydeside. In addition to UCS, large-scale redundancies are threatened at Babcock and Wilcox, Singer, Glacier Metal and a number of other factories.

### DEMANDS

It is important that these struggles should be linked into a general offensive against unemployment. The campaign for the following demands has to be taken up throughout the labour movement:

1. Full support for UCS workers and for a strike and lobby of the STUC on 16 August.
2. 35-hour week.
3. Ban on overtime.
4. Work-sharing with re-training where necessary on full pay.
5. No productivity deals.
6. Work or full maintenance.
7. Nationalisation of UCS, without compensation and under workers' control.

### 2000 at rally for Bangla Desh



2000 supporters of Bangla Desh packed a rally in Birmingham on Sunday. Report: page 8

## New army attacks in N Ireland

by Brian Trench

AT 5.30 on Monday morning Frank McGlade, a member of the Belfast executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, was wakened by soldiers kicking at his door. When he opened it, a group of soldiers and Royal Ulster Constabulary men entered the house and started to ransack cupboards and shelves.

McGlade challenged the Special Branch detective who was leading the raid and asked him under what law they were doing it. The answer was, the Special Powers Act.

This is the 'new phase' of British Army operations in Northern Ireland: the use of uncontrolled political and military repression under the Special Powers Act. This legislation, which has been on the statute books in Northern Ireland as long as the region has existed, reflects more accurately than any other the nature of the state.

Under its provisions some 100 homes and other premises throughout the Six Counties were raided early last Friday morning.

More than 2000 troops and police were deployed in these raids, which took place at 4.30am. Files and documents were seized, and other materials, mainly belong-

ing to members of Republican Clubs was confiscated.

On Monday evening, in a further raid, Des O'Hagan, a member of the NICRA executive, was arrested in his home.

Behind this operation lie two main factors: the need by the British Army and the Stormont and Westminster governments to head off any attempt by loyalist extremists to take 'law and order' into their own hands, and the massive build-up during the past year of British intelligence

### Massive reply

In the Six Counties there has already been a massive reply to the 'new' offensive. More than 1000 people met in Belfast on Sunday to demonstrate their opposition. They represented a broad spectrum of radical opinion in the North. Protest demonstrations are being held during the week.

At the same time, the pressure from the Unionist Right is increasing. Rafton Pounder, a Unionist MP at Stormont, has

said that many Unionists are unconvinced that there is a sufficiently strong will to 'stamp out the terrorists'.

In order to satisfy this movement among Unionists and Orangemen, the British Army will have to take further action against republicans.

The British Army and the Stormont and Westminster governments are entering into a spiral of escalating repression. When it is stated that 'officially the velvet gloves are off'—more accurately, the knuckledusters are on—there can be no doubt what the position of socialists must be. When republicans are under attack from military, political and judicial repression, socialists stand firmly on their side.

The International Socialists intend to organise pickets on Army recruiting centres and barracks throughout Britain on 4 September to give force to the opposition to the Army's role in Ireland. Socialists should aim at the largest possible mobilisation in the campaign for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

## Butchery in Sudan

A NEW MEMBER has joined the international butchers' club this week. Hard on the heels of Ceylon's Mrs Bandaranaike and Pakistan's Yahya Khan comes President Nimeiry of the Sudan. Regaining power after last week's abortive coup, Nimeiry has unleashed a wave of bloodshed and terror in a bid to stamp out the discontent sweeping the country.

Leaders of last week's attempted takeover, including trade union leaders and Communist Party leader Abdel Khalig Mahgoub, have been shot or hanged after a series of short mock trials at which Nimeiry acted as prosecutor, judge and jury.

And cheering from the sidelines at this carnage and murder are the so-called 'progressive' regimes of Libya and Egypt, hoping that Nimeiry's savagery will be an object lesson to workers and peasants in their own countries to think twice about challenging their dictatorial rule.

Socialist Worker urges all trade unionists and socialists to protest in the strongest possible manner at this butchery by flooding the Sudanese Embassy, Cleveland Road, London SW1, with telegrams and letters and by supporting any demonstrations that take place.

### 'RECOGNISE BANGLA DESH' RALLY

Sunday 1 August, Trafalgar Square, 2pm. All London IS branches must support with banners



# Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E28DN  
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## Behind the Chinese twists and turns

WHAT are the Chinese leaders up to? For years they have been denouncing the Russians for putting 'peaceful coexistence' with the Americans above the needs of revolution elsewhere. Now suddenly they are going out of their way to be friendly to Nixon to the point of inviting him to visit Peking, although American bombs continue to fall on Vietnam.

The invitation is in line with other policies of recent months. The bloody slaughter in Bengal has been carried through with arms supplied to Yahya Khan by China—although the Americans have also refused to stop sending arms to West Pakistan. And in Ceylon the Chinese, like the Americans, the British, the Russians, the Indians and the Pakistanis, rushed to offer Mrs Bandaranaike aid after she had wiped out her revolutionary opponents.

The shift in Chinese policy must be most upsetting for those people on the left who were taken in by Mao's revolutionary talk. Now they have to decide whether they are for revolution, or for Mao's collaboration with Yahya, Bandaranaike and . . . Nixon.

Elsewhere on the left, there is the danger of another reaction, to draw the conclusion that China's behaviour shows that all revolutions inevitably become corrupt, and that there is little we can do about it. In order to understand why such an argument is wrong, it is necessary to be clear about the kind of society China is.

The victory of Mao Tse-tung's armies in 1948 was an enormously important event. The various western powers that had divided China up between themselves and pillaged its wealth for the best part of a century were driven out. The corrupt and parasitic regime of Chiang Kai-shek was forced to flee to Formosa. But this did not mean that there was a socialist revolution in China.

The regime that took over from Chiang was not based on the working class. Power was not held by workers' councils, nor was industry run under workers' control. The working class paid virtually no part in the coming to power of Mao Tse-tung.

What happened was something we have seen since in various parts of the world. Both foreign imperialists and the local private capitalists lost their power. Not to the working class, but to a new bureaucracy. In China this was made up of elements from the old middle classes who had built up a mass peasant-based army in the countryside, which they used to defeat Chiang-Kai-shek. They then took industry under their own control.

They use revolutionary language. But they have shown themselves to be more interested in international deals that make it easier for them to build up the industry they control than in international revolution. For instance, it was the Peking leaders, as well as the Moscow ones, who put pressure on the Vietnamese in 1954 to accept a division of their country at a time when the western powers could have been driven out for good.

The ganging up with thugs like Yahya Khan and Mrs Bandaranaike might be more unpleasant than previous examples of Chinese policy, but it is not really a new departure. What it does show, however, is that the type of bureaucratic regime that exists in China cannot begin to cope with the problems that face the mass of people in the Third World. These problems arise because for hundreds of years imperialism pumped the wealth out of the Third World. They cannot begin to be dealt with until revolution on an international scale undermines imperialism.

For the peoples of the Third World the real alternative to their present appalling conditions cannot be to put faith in regimes like that of Mao's. What is needed is real workers' revolution that is concerned with fighting imperialism internationally, not with trying to expand bureaucratically-controlled industry in one isolated country.

## BACK TO BACKBITING

THE SPLITS within the Labour Party leadership over the Common Market issue seem to be growing wider. George-Brown has followed Roy Jenkins in making bitter attacks on Wilson.

It is important that the left appreciates what is happening. Until 13 months ago the present bunch of Labour leaders were in government. While there they paved the way for all the present Tory policies—on unemployment, welfare cuts, anti-union laws . . . and the Common Market.

But since they have been in opposition, they have felt it expedient to attack the Tories for continuing in their footsteps. There has been no other way for Wilson to ensure that he will benefit electorally from the anger with Tory policies that is growing among working people.

Big business and its spokesmen have not been unduly worried about this Labour turnabout. They know that if he won an election, Wilson would rapidly revert to type and put their policies into effect.

But the Common Market does present a problem for big business. A few Tory MPs are likely to vote against the government. If the Labour Party were to vote solidly against entry, the future of Heath's government would be in danger. And so the ruling class has been exerting pressure on other Labour leaders to come out openly against Wilson.

The position of the real left on this issue should be clear. A defeat for the Tory government would represent a blow at the policies that big business is trying to impose at our expense. It would also be a boost for the struggle of millions of workers. We have to demand that the organised trade union movement does its utmost to prevent individual Labour leaders getting Heath off the hook and helping the Tories to stay in power.

But we also have to be wary. Wilson, Peter Shore and the rest of them have not changed their spots. The alternative they offer to the Common Market is an isolated capitalist Britain in which unemployment, price rises, welfare cuts and the like will continue.

Only the building of an independent movement based upon class, not nationalist demands, can really pose an alternative to the Tories and the Common Market. That means fighting against the wide range of the Tory attacks, not against the Common Market alone. And it means posing as the only meaningful alternative a socialist transformation of this country as the first step towards a united socialist Europe.

## THEIR WEEK IN THE EAST

### Russia signed

an agreement with Jordan to set up a trade mission in Amman the very day (19 July) the Palestinian guerrillas were massacred. The next day they signed another agreement, this time with Indonesia, to start up again on two major Russian-aided projects.

It's not long since Moscow Radio warned its Indonesian listeners that the forthcoming general election was 'another farce being planned . . . under the threat of bayonets and suppression' (10 December 1970). They were right: the elections turned out to be just that (see Their Week, 10 July), but by then the Russians were supplying Indonesia with military stores and spares (Foreign Minister Adam Malik in Jakarta Radio—22 March) and preparing for the new agreement.

Don't think the Russians like only ordinary soldiers. They give comfort to

### Monopoly capitalists

as well. They refused to join their East European allies (and western consumer interests) in breaking the aluminium producers' tight hold over prices. This they could easily have done by switching sales from the western aluminium 'club' to the London Metal Exchange which is trying to set up a free market in aluminium.

The Russians value their connection with the 'club' too highly for that: it provides an assured market for 140,000 tons a year on condition they don't try to undermine the international cartel by trying to sell more.

Russia is not the only capitalist east of the Elbe.

### Hungary too

was very active in Western Europe's money markets while all this was going on, and floated the first-ever

Eurodollar loan by a 'Communist' country. The flotation was a resounding success not only for the National Bank of Hungary which got the funds but for the consortium of banks which managed it.

That consortium, by the way, consisted of National Westminster, Morgan Grenfell and—wait for it—Moscow Narodny Bank. City circles now think 'it would not be surprising if another Communist organisation floated a loan on the Eurobond market within the near future'.

Why not? Clearly they need to borrow



money and like the western competition because they spend it in the same way—even to the extent of advertising Black and White whisky (the ad reads: People who know choose . . .) But Hungary's £50 million a year on advertising (three times as much last year as it was four years ago) is small beer compared with

### Rumania's invitation

to western capitalists to invest in Rumanian industry. This month she became the first Warsaw Pact country to encourage joint domestic-Western companies on her soil, and so followed Yugoslavia's 1967 example. Profits will be repatriable to the West after payment of taxes. Surplus value will roll off Rumanian workers' backs and on to the western capitalist gravy train. And how

### The Americans love it!

A joint meeting of Senators and Representatives decided to scrap the prohibition on export credits to 'Communist' countries under which their Export-Import Bank was operating. Their move is unlikely to be opposed in either House or by the President, since it is likely to boost America's flagging exports by up to \$2 billion a year and add another feather to dovey Nixon's image.

But East or West, capitalism is capitalism, and

### The small go to the wall

or at least feel the push. So North Vietnam is terrified that Mao will do the dirty on them when, or before, he meets Nixon. As Nhan Dan, the Hanoi daily, said about the new Washington-Peking warmup: 'Nixon's policy also consists of trying to achieve a compromise between the Big Powers in an attempt to make smaller countries bow to their arrangements'.

And Rumania has barred Russian troops from crossing her borders into Bulgaria for Warsaw Pact manoeuvres next month.

And Yugoslavia is daring—hysterically—all (Russian) comers to intrude into her air space—again.

And so on.

# Who benefits? should be demand on the Market

THE CONCLUSIONS argued by Duncan Hallas (17 July) do not necessarily flow from the analysis of the Common Market I outlined in the same issue.

In fact to suggest that the 'Common Market campaign of the ruling class is a further stage in its general offensive against the wages and conditions of the working class' is too simple and sounds suspiciously like a case of the "wicked capitalists" analysis, implying that the only purpose in life of the capitalists is to bash the working class, and that the only reason they want to go into the Common Market is to squeeze another ounce of profit out of the workers in addition to the quite sufficient pounds they are getting already, 'outside' Europe.

This is not the case: the Common Market is much less a consciously chosen alternative by the employers than a case of them being forced to bow before the objective needs of capital accumulation.

The Common Market is one more step forward in the accumulation of capital. The fact that the working class gets swiped in the process is for them a marginal and entirely acceptable by-product.

There is of course nothing necessarily progressive in the concentration of the means of production into larger and larger units. Under capitalism, this process has nothing whatsoever to do with what is ultimately produced: the nature and usefulness of the end product is entirely accidental.

That is why we call the Common Market the bosses' market—because the inevitable working of the dynamic laws of economic development will have as its aim not the betterment of human life, but the maintenance of an acceptable rate of profit. Concentration of capital means the ability to produce cheaper with less workers. Thus to any such development we must reply not that we are against it, but WHO BENEFITS?

We cannot be seen to stand in favour of the old inefficient organisation of the forces of production against the new 'efficient' European capitalism. Obviously we argue for neither and how to fight them both.

If faced with a merger, do we bewail



the tendency to monopoly, as the Communist Party does and call for government intervention on the side of small capital against big? Do we fight productivity deals by defending Payment By Result?

No, we deny the capitalists the right to rationalise industry at the expense of the workers and counterpose to it the right of workers to control the organisation and re-organisation of the economy—which will thereby be in the interests of people, not profit. The question is not how history can be stopped, but who will control history.

It is naive of socialists always to put a minus where the bourgeoisie puts a plus. Furthermore it is naive to automatically put a plus where the left union leaders put a plus.

Why? Because we take as our starting point not the subjective reactions of any particular group of actors on the historical stage, but a marxist analysis of the entire economic, social and political force at work. It is entirely possible for the labour bureaucrats to be 'left' on one question and 'right' on another. The Labour Party is now 'left' on the Market. Does that mean it was 'left' on In Place of Strife, Immigration Laws etc? The argument is a non-starter.

In fact in their verbal opposition to

## NO NEED FOR A NEW PARTY

MIKE COOLEY says (17 July) we need a Marxist-Leninist party, with its roots deep in the working class. Such a party exists and has existed since the 1920s, when the various small left-wing parties merged to form the Communist Party.

It may well be that because the party made such serious mistakes it failed to become a mass party. But then, outside the Labour Party, no other left-wing party did. The mistakes of the CP can never explain this.

In fact, Mike Cooley simply ignores Britain's special historical conditions, although his whole article breathes hostility to right-wing social democracy. The working people of Britain still have a long road to tread: after all, not even France

and Italy, with their mass Communist parties, have achieved the revolution yet.

But as we all know, and Mike Cooley himself makes abundantly clear, conditions are maturing. What we therefore need is not another party but simply a grouping together of left forces. This is being widely achieved on the trade union front. It can be achieved politically, provided there is a willingness to shelve certain ideological differences in order to go forward on a broad front.

The Communist Party, which is a Marxist-Leninist party, is willing to cooperate on this basis. But, being a long-term battle, it needs patience and compromise between the left organisations, not turning a blind eye to each other's existence.—H FRANKEL, London SW11.

## First priority -smash the union Bill

FORGET about the Common Market first. The only way we can have a socialist Britain is to smash the Industrial Relations Bill.

This can be done only by a massive general strike on the day the Bill becomes law. It is no use Vic Feather saying the TUC isn't going to register. It is up to the militants and the left-wing press to call for a general strike.—A J BANNISTER Richmond, Surrey.

the Common Market, the left union leaders are doing a dangerous thing—precisely by creating illusions that there is some future—and a better one at that—under an 'independent' British capitalism. The result of all this windy rhetoric is to disarm the working class in the face of the concrete problems which will face British workers when we do join the EEC.—TONY POLAN, London NWS.

A RECENT article in Tribune was headed: One Year of Misery under the Tories. One of the paper's readers pointed out that the misery was just the same under Labour.

He was right. When Labour lost office there were 600,000 unemployed and some of their measures like SET bore no resemblance to socialism, in fact they were a perversion of socialism. Any Labour government gets no more than one spell in office and this situation has gone on for years.

The answer is that they are committed to a policy of reforms and they will never be any different until they are replaced by real socialists who mean to carry out real socialist policies and are subject to recall.

The reformists would do well to reflect on what Lenin said to Bertrand Russell 50 years ago: 'Anyone who thinks he can reform this system is either a social traitor or a fool'. He was right then, he would be right now.—B SCALES, York.



# Workers were first target for Yahya's bloody massacre in Bangla Desh

Says ABDUL MANNAN



Picture courtesy Workers Press

**STRIKES**, factory gate meetings and the forming of a workers' militia—this was how the small but militant working class of East Pakistan played a key role in the struggle before the West Pakistan army moved in. And today Bangla Desh workers are still keeping up the fight, keeping production in the factories at a standstill and making up half the strength of the liberation army.

These points were made by Abdul Mannan, a leading Bangla Desh trade unionist on a visit to Britain to raise support from British workers for the struggle in Bengal and for the blacking of Pakistani goods.

Like the rest of the country's 75 million people, the four million workers of East Pakistan voted overwhelmingly in last December's elections for Mujibur Rahman's Awami League and its six-point programme of home rule—not even independence—for the province, ruthlessly exploited as a colony for 25 years by the landlords, generals and capitalists of West Pakistan.

## Homes destroyed

When the army moved in on 25 March to smash the people, it made the workers' quarters of the big cities its first targets, together with students and members of the Awami League.

More than 100,000 workers were killed, and the workers' quarters in industrial centres such as Dacca, Chittagong and Khulna were completely destroyed.

Mannan explained why the army

## Interview by Stephen Marks

made the working class, small though it is, one of the chief targets for its genocidal attack.

As early as the end of February and the beginning of March, it became obvious that the elected parliament would not be allowed to meet. The regime of General Yahya Khan was not prepared to hand over power to the Awami League majority.

The workers began to organise. On 28 February there were mass meetings at every major industrial centre. The workers decided to prepare to fight back.

'They decided if everybody falters,' says Mannan, 'if the students falter, if the politicians falter, the workers will not falter.'

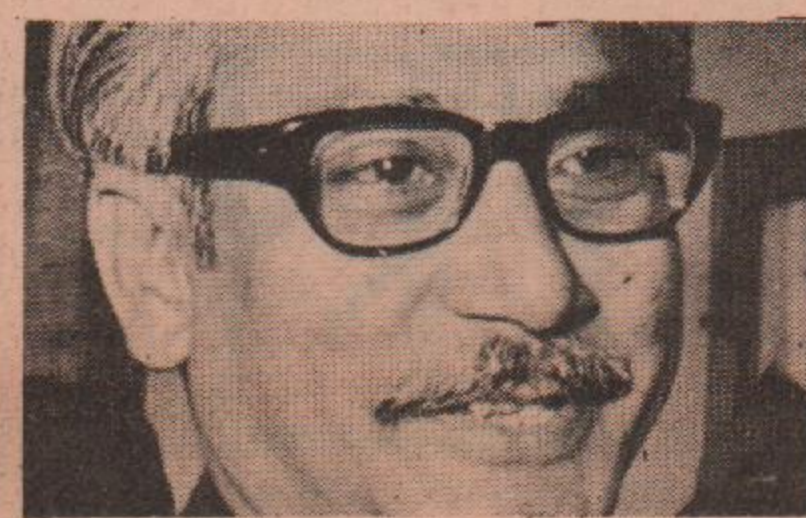
From 1 March there was a general

strike, which from 7 March was replaced by a boycott of the West. In most industrial centres the unions had bought fields to use for open-air meetings.

Here or at the factory gates at the end of each shift, meetings were held at least daily until the army struck.

## Military training

An armed workers' militia began to be formed. The nucleus of this was in the defence squads the workers had set up over the past 20 years to protect strikers and pickets against the armed police and the army during disputes.



RAHMAN: victory crushed

Many workers had some military training from the Pakistani equivalent of the Territorial Army, especially during the 1965 war with India. And the trade unions had given semi-military training to some of the defence squads.

'So they were prepared,' says Mannan. 'They knew their power, and the army's fear of it.' When the army struck, they fought back. And today, Mannan claims, half the Mukti Foj—the Bangla Desh liberation army—are workers.

Since the army moved in and started its butchery, there has been an almost total stoppage of production. In Dacca, the capital, only 10 per cent of the workers are at work,

these mainly from the non-Bengali minority.

The situation is similar in Khulna and Chittagong. The skilled workers have all left, some taking crucial machinery parts with them, and cotton machinery, which must stay in constant use, is rusting through lack of production.

But the very thoroughness of the boycott makes help from outside all the more important. Mannan stresses the need for solidarity action from British workers, the purpose of his four-week visit.

## No more aid

In particular, dockers must black goods bound for West Pakistan, especially arms, he says. Food should only be loaded if its distribution will be supervised by international agencies, not by the generals.

In addition, he stresses, the trade union movement must press for immediate recognition of Bangla Desh and demand the ending of all aid to the butchers' government in West Pakistan.

# Bengali seamen 'booked for hell'

by TONY CORCORAN in Newcastle

IT WAS early April when the Cunard-Brocklebank Mwanna sailed into the Tyne for dry dock repairs. Three months earlier she had left Chittagong with 40 new crew from the East Pakistan port.

No sooner was the ship docked than Cunard sold her in a lightning deal. The Bengali seamen were now 'surplus to requirements'.

With nine months to run on their one-year contracts, they were declared redundant. So, as required by International Shipping Articles, Cunard were obliged to return them to their port of embarkation.

Because of the Bangla Desh 'emergency', however, this was impossible. But Cunard recognise no divisions in Pakistan and blithely proposed to fly the Bengalis to Karachi.

The sailors were horrified at the thought of being booked for hell. They feared a bloody reception in West Pakistan's capital.

Besides Karachi is nearly 4000 miles away from their 'port of embarkation'. Sensibly, they refused to move from Tyneside.

Cunard were not pleased. They hoped the Home Office would relieve them of their unwanted contracted

men by refusing them leave to stay in Britain.

Thanks to the campaign of the Tyneside Bengali Association and Chris Mullard, Newcastle's Community Relations Officer, this ploy failed and the seamen were granted leave to stay until August.

Cunard are now trying another mean trick. They allege the cost of maintaining the seamen at Simpson's Hotel, a glorified doss-house in Hebburn, is crippling.

## Leave destitute

So from 1 July the firm are deducting the £8.50 a week board from the men's wages. They are paid only £15 per month gross and they have worked only three months.

As they have already received £10 of this in 'tobacco money' they have only about four weeks' rent left. So cruel Cunard are hoping to force them to leave destitute at the end of this month and presumably will then dump them on Yahya's doorstep.

The seamen have already been threatened by six loyalist members of the crew that their Bangla Desh sympathies will be reported to Yahya's authorities.

The fears of the Mwanna's crew were amply confirmed by reports brought by more than 30 Bengali seamen who joined them in Simpson's Hotel in the first week in July. These men were brought from Chittagong on a British tanker to join another ship in the Tyne.

When they arrived they found—yes, you've guessed—that the company had sold the ship. So we have two stranded Bengali crews—70 odd men—living in a Tyneside hostel.

They tell horrifying tales of the suppression of Bangla Desh. They tell of seafarers forced to work as dockers under military supervision in Chittagong—because most dockers there have fled or been slaughtered.

According to them even the Pakistani Seamen's Union has been purged of Bengalis and the headquarters moved from Chittagong 4000 miles

away to West Pakistan. The result is that the men have no trade union to fight their case.

The National Union of Seamen here have been approached. At first the South Shields organiser said the Bengalis had had a fair deal from the company.

However, the International Labour Transport Federation has promised

to take up their case. Surely though, the NUS should support them. What they need is:

Cunard to pay ALL expenses incurred during their stay in Britain.

Cunard to guarantee the contract for one year's work.

Failing this, to guarantee transport to Chittagong (via India, if necessary).

Cunard to cease all pressure on the Home Office.

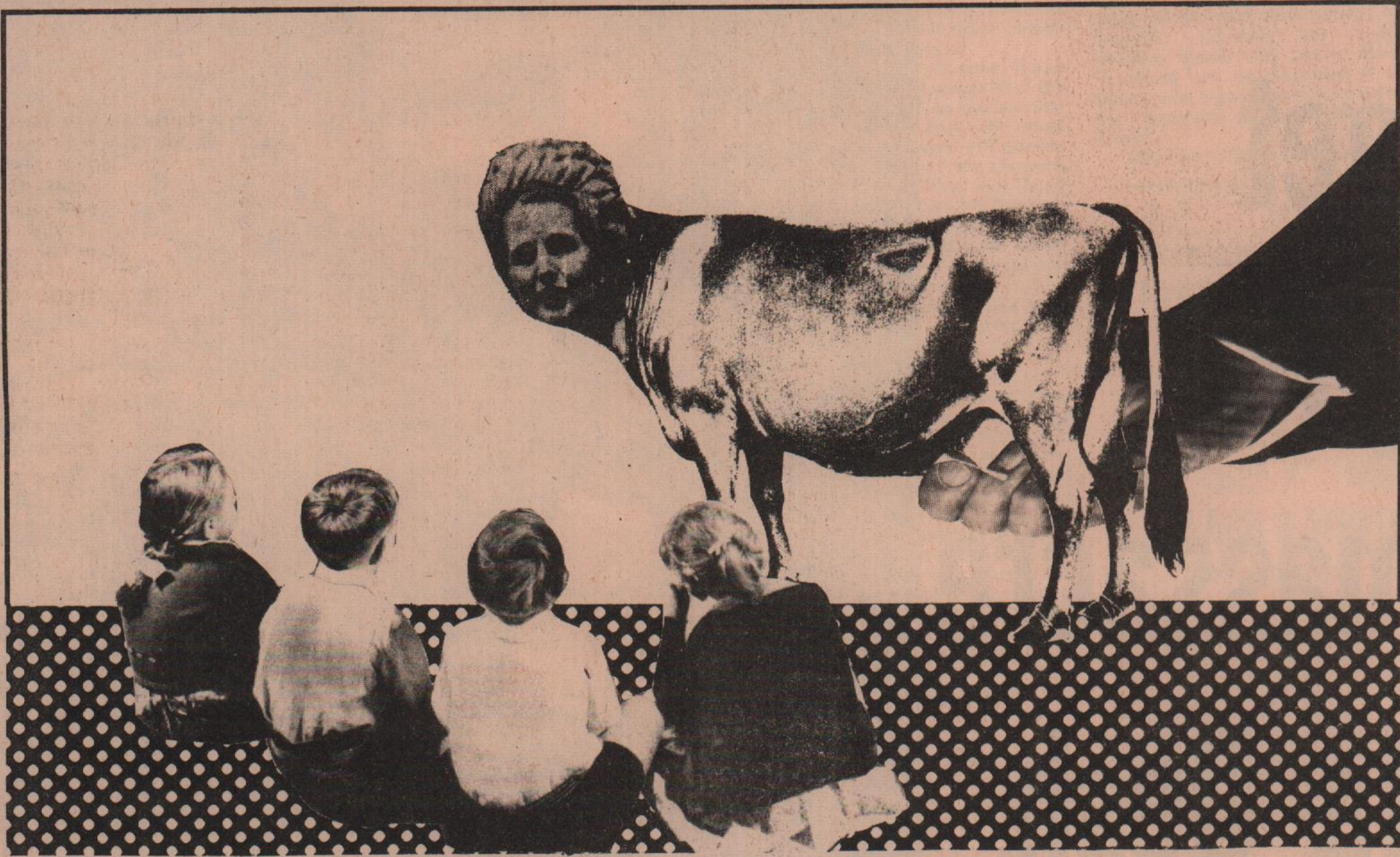
SPECIAL ISSUE ON TRADE UNIONS

## International Socialism 48

Articles by Leon Trotsky, Tony Cliff and Chris Harman Plus Bengal, Ceylon, Black Panthers' split, and the Poor  
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# DAIRY FARMERS BUTTER UP TO



IN 1968 the Labour government abolished the subsidy on milk for families with one better by cutting out school milk for children and the provision of welfare milk for mothers and young children.

These cuts are a serious threat to standards of living. A report from the London University showed 18 per cent of primary school children in 1968 had no school milk. Forecasts for 1970 show the number to 34 per cent. Similarly they expect the number to 39 per cent of primary school children.

The government's aim is to cut milk consumption in schools by 21 million gallons a year. At the same time they have made a further steep increase in the cost of the school dinner, and since last September a million children have stopped taking school meals.

One of the motives behind these cuts is explained clearly in a recent report to the catering industry prepared by a market research company called Maynard Potts Associates. The report deals with some of the opportunities for lucrative profits which Tory policies are opening up.

## OPPORTUNITIES

*'Gradual withdrawal of State support for milk and meals in schools could have grave consequences for the nation's children if the business world fails to recognise the opportunities being offered for participation in the service.'*

*'Recently in a speech by the Minister of Education [Mrs Thatcher] there was an invitation to education committees to combine with commercial caterers... Financially there is a market of millions of pounds and if local authorities accept a commercial solution to milk and sales in schools, they might be equally willing to consider using the same suppliers for milk and meals in the hospital service.'*

At prices allowing for a generous profit margin no doubt. It gives further scope for the bribery and general corruption

## BY JILL BRANS

that is already a feature in the local authority commercial companies to supply goods to the public sector.

In capitalism the services are subordinate to the ruling class. In social services with reluctant popular pressure

The general buy off politics of capitalism by some limited

the human damage inflicted by an whose driving addition, the modern capitalist labour force minimally he vated.

For example Ever since the 1870, which education for king-class children kept pointing children cannot

Free schools introduced in order that children more from education better nourished military authorities that children's diet.

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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.

Mrs Thatcher the Tory cow: 'I prefer to be milked by big business than keep you kids healthy'.

Design: Stephen Place

## 'Fight Franco first—the revolution can wait' said Spanish Communists

Before 1936 the Spanish Communist Party was small and weak from times over the issue of its subordination to the Communist International—with its wildly zigzagging politics controlled by Moscow. From 1936, for example, the Spanish Communists were forced to adopt the lunatic policy to co-operate with other 'left' groups, who were verbally spat upon as 'social-fascists' since, the Comintern said, there was no difference between fascism and fascism.

So, as the Spanish masses streamed into the streets to celebrate the fall of the monarchist government, along with the Monarchists, shouted 'Down with the Republic!' helped an extreme right-wing government to power in 1934 by its policy of boycotting

But suddenly in 1933, when Hitler's power had been consolidated in Germany with the help of these sorts of policies, there came another switch. The 'social fascists' of yesterday became the cabinet colleagues of today as Stalin joined hands with France against Hitler.

A taste of what the new policies of Popular Fronts meant in terms of working-class internationalism came in 1935 when the president of the Russian Young Communist League spoke in Paris:

'If Hitler's fascism wages war against the USSR it will be a war of fascism against communism... If in this period you make your revolution in France you are traitors.'

Here for all to see was the

## FASCISM

Second of three articles by JILL BRANS

absurd conclusion of the idea that you could have socialism in one country—the assumption that socialism is one country, Russia—and it was the duty of other workers to give up 'their own' revolutions to defend the Stalinist fatherland!

In Spain the Communist Party argued that here was simply a feudal country needing a bourgeois revolution to establish a parliamentary style of government. Now

it is true that for example, alongside the Roman slave system, big ones run

Only a tiny owned by the who had no wage labour had built trade socialist and tions in large the landown

### THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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# TORIES TO KILL FREE SCHOOL MILK

free milk for secondary school children, and children under five. The Tories have now gone down aged seven to 11, and virtually eliminating free milk for young children at reduced prices.

health. Recent research by the Social Nutrition Unit at the University of London shows that school children are deficient in calcium intake. The proposed cut will raise the total of calcium deficient children from 28 per cent to 40 per cent. The number of children deficient in riboflavin to rise from 28 per cent to 40 per cent.

## M KINCAID

such a widespread breakdown in relations between the working class and the commercial class, and the services to be provided for the working class.

During the Boer War it was discovered during army recruitment from the working class that standards of health and fitness were inadequate.

Special surveys carried out after the Boer War, stimulated by the rising menace of German imperialism, brought ample confirmation. Three out of five of the young men brought up in the big cities were physically incapable of military service.

Malnutrition at younger ages was clearly a major cause. The government promptly introduced school meals—free of charge in cases of poverty.

It was in the early 1930s that free or subsidised school milk became general. Again—though school milk certainly improved health standards—this was not the reason for its introduction.

## SHARP DROP

The background was a sharp rise in the efficiency of butter production in Australia and New Zealand in the late 20s. Between 1928 and 1934 the price of butter imported into Britain from those countries dropped from 157s to 65s a cwt.

The result was that many butter producers in Britain could no longer make a profit. There was a drop in the amount of milk bought to be turned into butter. At that time working people were able to buy very little milk



Callaghan: tried to cut milk

because the price was so high. This was partly because the government arranged that liquid milk prices should include a substantial subsidy which was used to keep down the price of the milk being manufactured into butter.

Thus families buying milk were being made to pay part of the cost of protecting the remnants of the British butter industry against competition from Empire butter.

During the early 1930s the air rang loud with complaints from the farming interests that more milk was being produced than could be profitably sold. For military reasons the government was unwilling to see a reduction in the number of British cows.

There was also the awkward fact that the milk which otherwise might have gone into butter manufacture was of distinctly inferior quality and tended to cause tuberculosis. This was a further obstacle to a commercial solution to the problem of over-supply of milk.

And so the government introduced subsidised school milk at 1/2d per 1/3rd of a pint including the straw, but free to the children of the poorest families. The agricultural interests were delighted.

In the late 1930s there was much pressure from medical circles for a scheme which would provide subsidised milk to expectant mothers and families with young children. But not until the first major crisis of World War II did the government decide to take the necessary action. The Cabinet agreed to bring in a welfare milk scheme just five days after the evacuation of the British army from Dunkirk in June 1940.

Wars have always had a remarkably stimulating effect on the social conscience of the upper classes. From 1939 to 1941 prices were rising much faster than wages, and the declared profits of public companies rose by 35 per cent compared with only a 10 per cent increase in wages.

The upper classes were mindful of the popular resentment caused in the First World War by the hard-faced business men who did well out of the war. Given this, the government in 1940 became very keen on welfare schemes which might help develop in the British working class a spirit of positive enthusiasm for the social order they were being asked to defend with their lives.

During the early 1930s the air rang loud with complaints from the farming interests that more milk was being produced than could be profitably sold. For military reasons the government was unwilling to see a reduction in the number of British cows.

## SOCIAL DISORDER

This seemed particularly urgent since the authorities expected and feared that civilian bombing—just starting in the middle of 1940—would cause widespread panic and social disorder. Remember too that in 1940 the Nazi-Soviet Pact still held firm and the British Communist Party were still campaigning vigorously against the war.

Besides, there was plenty of spare milk since butter and cheese were price controlled.

Mothers and babies were given subsidised milk, and the supply of school milk was stepped up. Many of the cows were definitely dodgy, and in 1943 the Minister of Food was reporting anxiously to the Cabinet that, 'Much of

the milk is not at present of a high standard as prior to the war it was produced for manufacturing purposes and not for human consumption.'

From 1943 onwards the Medical Research Council had an expert committee investigating the relationship between inferior milk and a rise during the war in the incidence of non-pulmonary tuberculosis.

In mid-1967, when Chancellor Jim Callaghan first tried to get the Labour Cabinet to cut school milk, he was forced to back down. The Sunday Telegraph of 23 July 1967 explained why:

'The main opposition came not from the Education Minister, Mr Crosland, who could well afford to keep quiet in the presence of so formidable an ally as the Agricultural Minister, Fred Peart. 'It will ruin my farmers!' he cried in effect, 'for the children drink their surplus milk production'.

'Faced with the choice of subsidising school children or having to compensate the farmers (who, as is well known, have no inhibitions about subsidies) the Cabinet decided to keep the school milk scheme.'

But a year later, after sterling devaluation, and under strong pressure from the international bankers, Labour caved in and welfare milk was added to the list of welfare cuts made in 1968. Why, at this point, was there no great outcry from the farming interests and from the numerous Members of Parliament whom they control?

And why have they endured in silence the latest Tory cuts in welfare milk? The reason—once again—is butter.

For the first time in a long while there are big profits to be made by selling milk to the butter manufacturers rather than selling it for liquid consumption. The amount of butter manufactured

out of milk produced by British cows has risen fantastically—from 2.5 million tons in 1966 to 5.2 million tons in 1970.

The dairy interests have completely lost interest in welfare milk schemes. They are spending a lot less on public relations handouts about how expectant mothers and school children must get lots of milk. The big money is to be made elsewhere—by getting in on the Great British Butter Bonanza.

The latest cuts in welfare milk must be resisted by the labour movement. They represent a threat to the standard of health and nutrition of every working-class family with children.

## RICKETS BACK

For some of the poorest in the community, the consequences could be the nastiest imaginable. During the 1950s it seemed that rickets had been completely eradicated, even in cities like Glasgow.

Yet in a recent statement (Guardian, 19 November 1970) the Bone Metabolism Research Unit in Glasgow reports that rickets in children are now being diagnosed with increasing frequency.

It is urgent that campaigns be mounted to press local authorities to continue supplying free milk in all schools—and defying the government if necessary. And that the mother and baby milk scheme should continue as before.

For the longer term, the labour movement should insist on a clear commitment from Wilson and his colleagues that if they are re-elected to office they will abolish all charges and means tests throughout the health and welfare services.

The Labour Party leadership claim that they are socialists. Here is one way they can prove it.

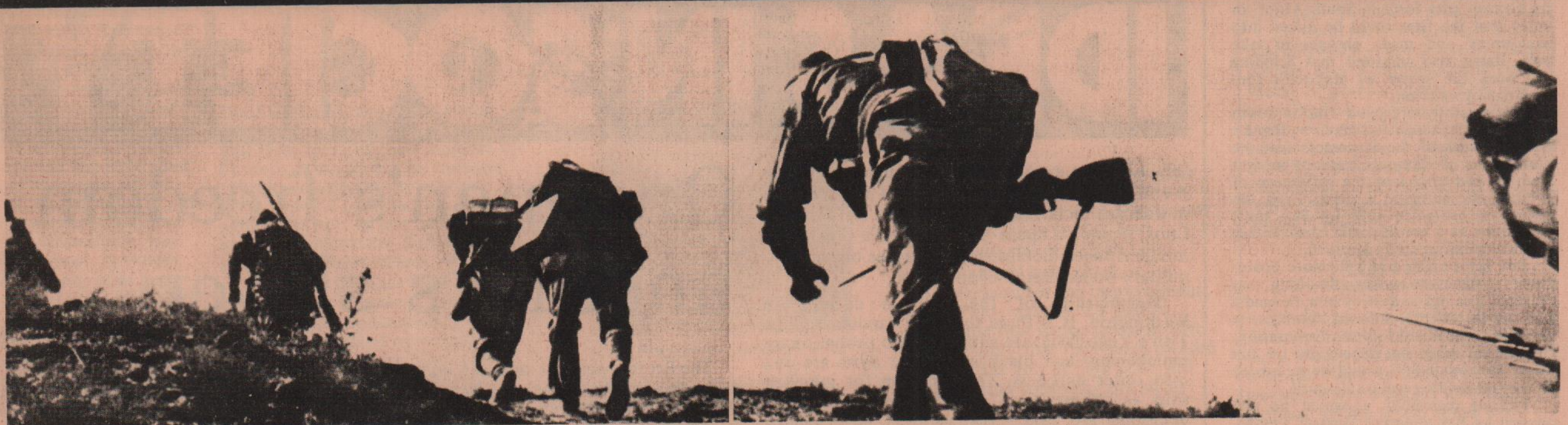
## wait' nists

having split several... the Comintern... 1928 to 1933, for... policies of refusing... by being called... social democracy

archy in 1931, the... Similarly the Party... ng elections.

## THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Spanish agriculture, was primitive, but vast estates run on methods were equally on factory lines. The peasants themselves worked for decades as on the big estates, le unions and joined anarchist organisations. So clearly ers who supported



The front: a famous Spanish Civil War picture by Robert Capa

Franco were far from being parts of a feudal society.

And, unhappily for the Party's arguments, all the big industrialists were also behind Franco when, according to Comintern theory, they should have been leading the bourgeois revolution against him. For quite often the 'city capitalist' and the 'landed proprietor' were one and the same person, or at least closely bound by family ties or the claims of mortgages.

## Confiscated

Neither does the actual position of the Spanish church fit into the Party's neat picture. Far from being the biggest feudal landowner in Spain, the church had had its lands confiscated in 1837 but had been compensated in cash and capital so that by 1936 it was the biggest shareholder in Spain. The church catechism of 1927 reads:

Q. What kind of sin is committed by one who votes for a liberal candidate?

A. Generally a mortal sin. Q. Is it a sin for a Catholic to read a liberal newspaper?

A. He may read the Stock Exchange News.

The logical extension of the

Communist Party's arguments was the Popular Front tactic. This was an alliance of working class and bourgeois parties where the Communist Party merged its identity with that of the Front.

It contrasts sharply with the United Front tactic, whereby different working class parties came together for specific limited ends (eg defence of left-wing meetings against fascist raids) but there was no merging of lines, each party being free to advance its own programme.

Before 1936 no Communist Party had ever joined a government, and the Spanish party's central committee was opposed to joining but was forced to by Moscow. The Spaniards' doubts are understandable.

It sounds sensible enough to join with anyone in the fight against fascism, but in practice there was a fatal flaw which rendered the Popular Front impotent even to fight fascism, let alone carry through the socialist revolution.

This was the fact that ultimately there is a far wider gulf between the interests of employers and workers than there is between

fascism and capitalism. Comes the crunch and the bourgeois allies in the Popular Front had far more to fear from a workers' takeover than they had from fascism which is only an extreme form of capitalism.

This fact was vividly illustrated in Spain, not just by the initial reluctance of the government to arm the workers, but, for example, in the Basque region, where towns were several times betrayed to the fascists by the local rulers.

At the siege of San Sebastian, the workers were prevented from destroying machinery so the advancing fascists would be unable to use it. The owners preferred to hand over 'their' property intact, knowing that before too long they'd have it back from the fascists, but not from the workers.

In line with the rest of their policies, the Communist Party's main slogan was 'Fight Franco first, then make the revolution'. It sounds plausible enough. What it ignores is the fact that many collectives organised democratic militias which fought Franco with more success than the regular armies because the people in them knew that they were fighting for

their full social liberation, not just to re-establish capitalism as opposed to fascism.

In Aragon, the famous Durruti and his men owed their military success to the fact that they marched as an army of social liberation.

Immediately a village was won from the fascists, the Durruti column sponsored elections of village committees to take wealth into collective control, while property titles and mortgages were thrown on bonfires. These fighters knew that every village behind them would fight to the death to defend land that was now theirs.

## Gain help

Meanwhile the Communist Party argued the respectable line that by being good boys and not going in for revolutions the Republic would gain the help of the western capitalist countries against Franco. This too sowed the most dangerous illusions among the courageous supporters of the Party.

British ships, for example, gave help to the fascists very early on. Winston Churchill, later hailed

as the saviour of Europe from fascism, was at first violently opposed to the anti-fascists, and only modified his views when the revolution had been crushed in the summer of 1937, and even then, there was no official help given.

From January 1936 to January 1937 the Spanish Communist Party grew from 3000 to 200,000 members, but this growth was not because the party expressed the needs of the revolutionary workers but to a number of other factors.

Significantly enough, the mass base of the Communist Party was not in the working class but among the lower middle class—small businessmen, shopkeepers and officials. One commentator describes entering the party's Valencia headquarters and seeing a huge portrait of Stalin along with two posters reading 'Respect the property of the small industrialist' and the other 'Respect the property of the small peasant.'

In the countryside the Communist Party protected the wealthier peasants against the collectivisation measures of the revolutionary committees—an ironic step indeed in view of the forced collectivisation in Russia.



# Maxwell report takes the lid off

## big business's real methods

by ROGER ROSEWELL

A RARE glimpse of how big business really works can be seen in the just-published investigation into the affairs of Robert Maxwell's Pergamon Press empire. So startling are the revelations that they have been given little attention by most national newspapers.

The 100,000 words report is the first instalment of a probe by two inspectors from the Department of Trade and Industry into Maxwell's business. They say that the boss of Pergamon and associated companies—he is also a former Labour MP—used confidential information to sabotage and wreck business rivals, made deliberately misleading statements to shareholders and knowingly made false statements during a takeover bid. A number of other 'respectable' City businessmen are also incriminated.

The inspectors started their investigation after the American Leasco company had made a £25 million bid for Pergamon, bought a large number of shares and then realised that perhaps Pergamon was not worth as much as they had been led to believe it was. Leasco's accusations caused uproar in the City of London and the report was commissioned in an effort to find out the truth.

The first instalment deals only with one of Maxwell's associated companies, International Learning Systems Corporation. The full report on Pergamon will be published later.

The story of ILSC begins in 1967 when Pergamon made a successful takeover bid for Caxton Publishing, publishers of the New Caxton Encyclopedia, a serious rival to Chambers Encyclopedia. Chambers was published by the Buckingham Press, a Pergamon subsidiary. Maxwell decided to eliminate his competitor.

In the course of the inquiry, the former boss of Caxton, Mr Hedley Le Bas, complained bitterly about how the takeover bid was conducted. He said:

'Maxwell obtained confidential information about Caxton's business by employing a person to whom Caxton had given notice . . . that he used that information to sabotage Caxton's South African business and that having done so he opened negotiations to buy Caxton at a time when Caxton was handicapped by the virtual destruction of its business in South Africa.'

The inspectors discovered that Maxwell had hired the former secretary of Caxton's, Mr L Schilling, and had also arranged for the head of the Caxton sales force in South Africa to come and see him. They were also told that Maxwell had sent Mr Phillip Harris, a Buckingham vice president, to South Africa some three months before the Caxton takeover bid.

### Cheap to take over

Harris confessed to the inspectors that Maxwell had ordered him to 'knock off the Caxton sales force in South Africa' in order that the firm could be driven into bankruptcy and made cheaper to take over. Harris also admitted that Schilling had been the source of Maxwell's confidential information.

The carefully organised raid on South Africa was successful, so much so that Le Bas protested to the inspectors that the destruction of Caxton's business in that country had cost him the difference of between 40 and 50p a share. Even the inspectors estimated that Le Bas 'must have been at a considerable disadvantage in the negotiations with Maxwell.'

But Mr Le Bas had still more board-room intrigues to suffer. Realising that Maxwell was out to destroy him, he paid a visit to Mr Michael Pickard, the finance director of the British Printing Corporation, printers of both encyclopedias. Le Bas asked Pickard if BPC would be interested in counter-bidding against Maxwell.

Pickard regretfully answered no and advised Le Bas to accept Maxwell's terms. Defeated and depressed, Le Bas agreed. What he didn't know and wasn't told was that BPC were already in partnership with Maxwell in his scheme for taking over Caxton's.

### 'Tug of war'

Even as Pickard was advising Le Bas to accept Maxwell's terms, BPC were negotiating with Pergamon for 50 per cent of Caxton's holdings.

When questioned about this deception by the inspectors, Pickard, who was sacked last week from the post of managing director of Trust Houses/Forte, replied: 'It was a perfectly standard commercial tug of war'.

Recovering from these experiences, Le Bas took a job with Maxwell. He didn't last long. According to the inspectors' report: 'On 15 May 1968, Mr Maxwell removed Mr Le Bas and Mr Jenman from their appointments . . . by dating resignation letters which he had required them to sign undated.' Le Bas had been the managing director of ILSC and Jenman his sales director.

A year later Maxwell told Leasco's that Le Bas had been fired because he was 'too fond of liquor'. The inspectors' report says that at the time of his dismissal they believe that Le Bas was 'an abstainer'.

International Learning Systems Corporation, jointly owned by BPC and Pergamon, started operating in August 1967. It proceeded to employ the same kind of tactics that had been used so successfully during the Caxton affair.

Both Pergamon and BPC began by issuing a joint press statement describing

ILSC to the business community. This suggested that BPC was putting assets worth £600,000 into ILSC.

This wasn't exactly true. BPC transferred only £54,000 of stock into the new company. The rest of the £600,000 consisted of debts owed to BPC by Caxton Publishing. The debts remained payable to BPC.

The government inspectors questioned Pickard about this misleading information and received a cynical reply: 'I must admit I do not remember being very worried about its contents . . . I thought "good luck to anybody who understands it" . . .'

On 11 October 1967 it was announced that Pergamon, through Ansbachers Mer-

chant Bank, proposed to make a takeover bid for Butterworth & Co., the law publishers. The offer document produced by the bank said: 'The Board of ILSC has informed Pergamon that sales and profits for the first three months of operations are running at the level forecast when the arrangements were negotiated.'

### Deplorable state

According to the inspectors, this was presented in such a way as to give the impression that the newly formed ILSC was expected to make at least £500,000 profit a year.

Again, things were not all they seemed. According to the inspectors' report, the

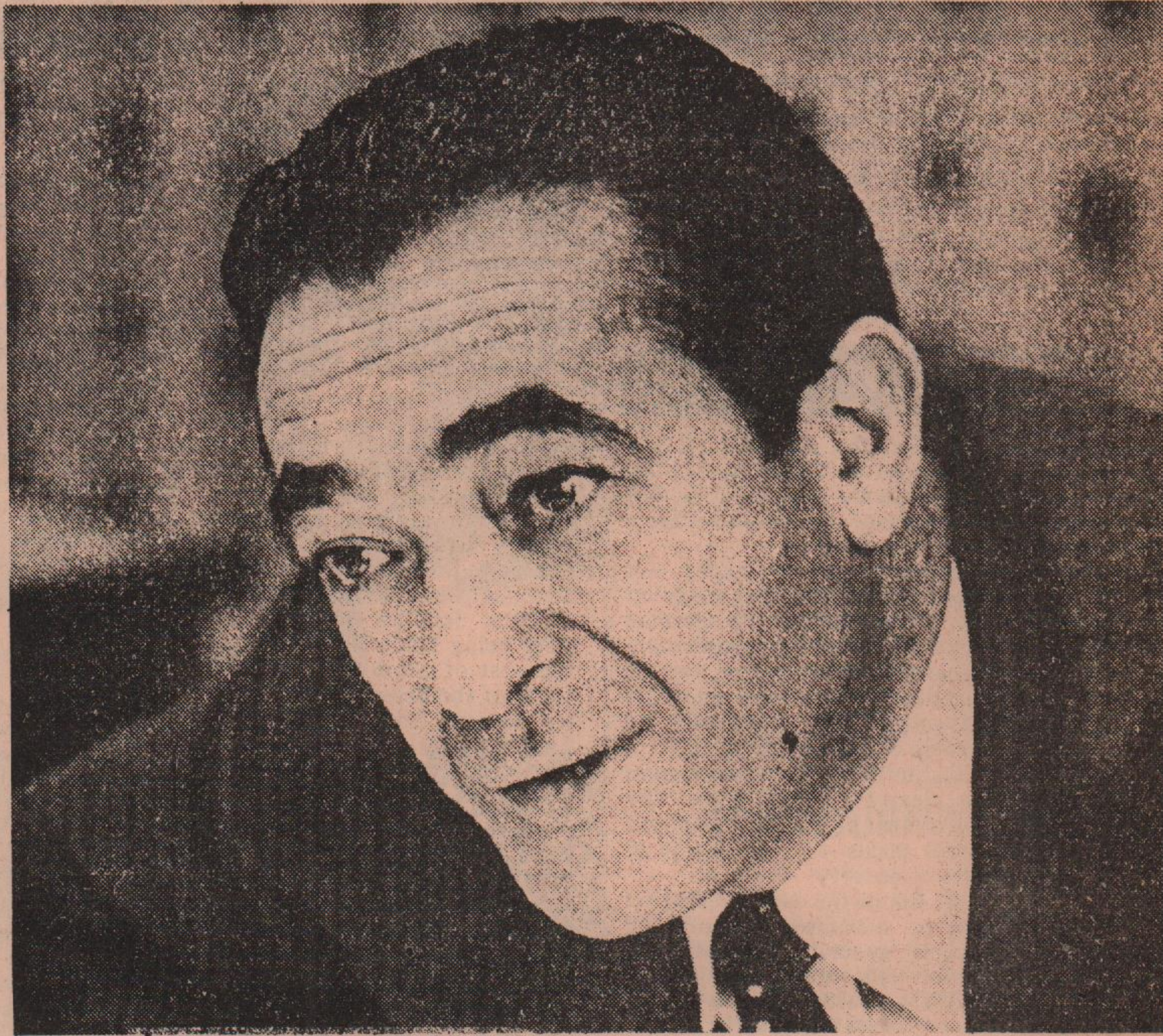
ILSC board was told by its auditors in September 1967 that 'the whole of the accounting and book-keeping of ILSC was in a deplorable state.' The inspectors concluded that the management of ILSC didn't have any reliable information available about this company at the time of Pergamon's offer for Butterworths 'and that Maxwell was aware of it . . .'

When properly audited accounts for ILSC were at long last produced they revealed that ILSC had made a loss of £2,598,000 in its first 18 months of trading and a further loss of £1,089,000 in the next nine months. Not only was misleading information given to the Butterworth shareholders but when Leasco made its bid

for Pergamon in September 1969 the ILSC losses were kept secret.

On 17 May 1969, for example, Maxwell wrote to Leasco and said: 'ILSC made a substantial profit for its first 18 months of trading'.

Maxwell was not alone in giving Leasco a misleading picture of ILSC's profitability. According to the inspectors, a meeting of accountants, lawyers and bankers held at the offices of Robert Fleming & Co, merchant bankers, on 21 August 1969 also declared that 'the management accounts of ILSC show that it is now trading profitably.' Robert Fleming & Co gave £500 to the Tory Party in 1969.



MAXWELL: sabotaged and wrecked his rivals

## IDEAS IN SOCIETY

by  
DUNCAN  
HALLAS

WE LIVE in part of what is called the 'Free World'. It is a very odd place. It includes the murderous dictatorship of Haiti but not Castro's Cuba, Franco's Spain but not Mao's China, the military-police dictatorship of Greece but not the military-police dictatorship of Iraq.

Membership of the club is decided in Washington. It is there that new candidates, like Tito's Yugoslavia, are admitted into probationary membership and black sheep like Syria are cast into outer darkness. The criterion for membership is subservience to US capitalism. Once decisions are taken the member governments obediently echo them.

There are degrees of servility of course. No governments in the world, except perhaps those of a few banana republics, have grovelled so abjectly as have successive Labour and Tory administrations in Britain. The British Foreign Office has been, for most of the post-war period, little more than a branch office of the US State Department.

If there have been fine shades of difference between the two parties in this respect—and there have—they can be summed up by saying that Tory Foreign Secretaries have done what they were told with occasional faint protests—Suez, for example—whereas, say, Mr Michael Stewart has behaved at all times as though he was on the State Department's payroll.

So much for 'national sovereignty'. But wait a moment. Mr Stewart was not in fact paid in dollars. Nor were his Tory predecessors. Nor is Sir Alec Douglas-Home today. It is not the case that British foreign policy was and is determined by American interests. It was and is determined by British interests. More exactly it was and is determined by the interests of the British capitalist class.

Which brings us back to the 'Free World'. Its freedom consists in this: that the big capitalist companies are free to invest in, and withdraw profits from, the member countries. And since in the case of the economically weaker or more backward countries this involves the distortion of their economic development and the plunder of their resources, a bully with a big stick is needed to keep them in line.

## One man's freedom is another's slavery...

The British capitalist class can no longer afford a big enough stick. That is why they lean on the USA and willingly pay the price of subservience to US policy. Sheer naked self-interest is what makes them pro-American. It is a choice they freely make.

'Freedom' in fact is a meaningless conception unless you specify freedom for whom to do what. One man's freedom is another man's slavery. At one time a group of employers in this country organised a Free Labour Association. It was made famous by the Taff Vale strike which led to the formation of the Labour Party.

### Class interest

The Free Labour Association consisted of men who exercised freedom to refuse to belong to a trade union and to take the place of workers who were on strike. For the trade unionists these were freedoms which had to be suppressed so that workers could limit the petty tyranny of the bosses of the Taff Vale Railway Company by asserting their freedom to insist on collective bargaining.

The present Industrial Relations Bill defends the freedom of workers to opt out of union membership and suppresses the freedom of other workers to refuse to work with 'nons'. 'Freedom of choice' for the well to do to buy better medical attention—to jump the queue—means curtailing the freedom of the rest of us to enjoy equal access to medical facilities.

And so on in every field. In a society where there are conflicting class interests, 'freedom' always means the interests of one class against another. There is no freedom, only freedoms.

Years ago, when the capitalist class was

struggling against the rulers of a pre-capitalist society it fought, under the banner of 'liberty' of course, for a number of freedoms. For the freedom to buy and sell freely, charging what the market would bear and therefore against the price regulation favoured by medieval governments. For the freedom to drive the peasants off the land, on which they had customary rights from time immemorial, turning them into wage slaves. And for the freedom to exploit men, women and children without guild or government interference. The capitalists won these freedoms by political action, by successful revolutions.

The struggles of the labour movement have been struggles against these freedoms and for the freedom of working men and women to defend themselves against exploitation. The capitalist 'head-fixing' industries—the press and so on—naturally defended the capitalist interests in the sacred name of freedom. Legislation to prohibit child labour in mines and factories was denounced as an intolerable interference with the freedom of fathers of families to better their conditions.

Attempts to establish minimum rates by trade union action were denounced as a denial of the freedom of men to work at whatever wages seemed good to them. So too today. Whenever the mass media start shrieking about 'freedom' you can be sure that it is a smokescreen for an attack on some working-class interest.

Socialism too is about freedoms, specific and definite freedoms. It is about the freedom of working men and women to be free from exploitation and manipulation, the freedom to organise society on the basis of collective, democratic decisions, the freedom to regulate production for use and not for profit. To achieve these freedoms means destroying the freedoms of the capitalists. It means leaving the 'Free World'.



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! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



## Russell gives us hell

KEN RUSSELL's new film *The Devils* (Warner) has provoked a huge uproar in the press and on television. The film has been denounced as obscene, blasphemous, vile, revolting and nauseating—all of which should ensure that it plays to full houses in the West End for months to come.

Sadly, one gets a whiff of suspicion that the whole affair is part of an elaborate conspiracy. Russell will make violent, gruesome films, the reviewers will denounce the films but in terms sufficiently grandiose as to ensure massive publicity which will in turn lead to big profits for all concerned.

This is obviously not explicitly true but *The Devils* in particular seems to give this impression. The story is fairly closely based on Cardinal Richelieu's struggle for power in 17th century France.

Richelieu wishes to centralise all power in his own hands and to do this he has to destroy the autonomy of all French towns. In this attempt, he is momentarily thwarted by the town of Loudun where the local inhabitants, led by their priest, Grandier, successfully petition the king to keep their independence.

It is therefore Richelieu's problem to discredit the priest Grandier by whatever means possible. The rest of the lengthy film is taken up with this attempt and with the efforts of Richelieu's henchmen to prove that Grandier is a magician, a servant of the devil. Now, here are interesting and important themes—the relation between the state and the individual and the power of organised religion to totally distort, to make black equal white and good appear evil.

Unfortunately, Russell does not choose to highlight these problems but rather to use the occasion for a gargantuan display of one overpowering visual image after another.

Moreover, Russell cannot plead naive ignorance. If you show a nun ecstatically licking the blood from an imaginary Christ's wounds, this will inevitably tend to stick in the viewer's mind more than the moral issues involved. If you show a man slowly and horribly being burnt to death, then again this will be what sticks in people's minds.

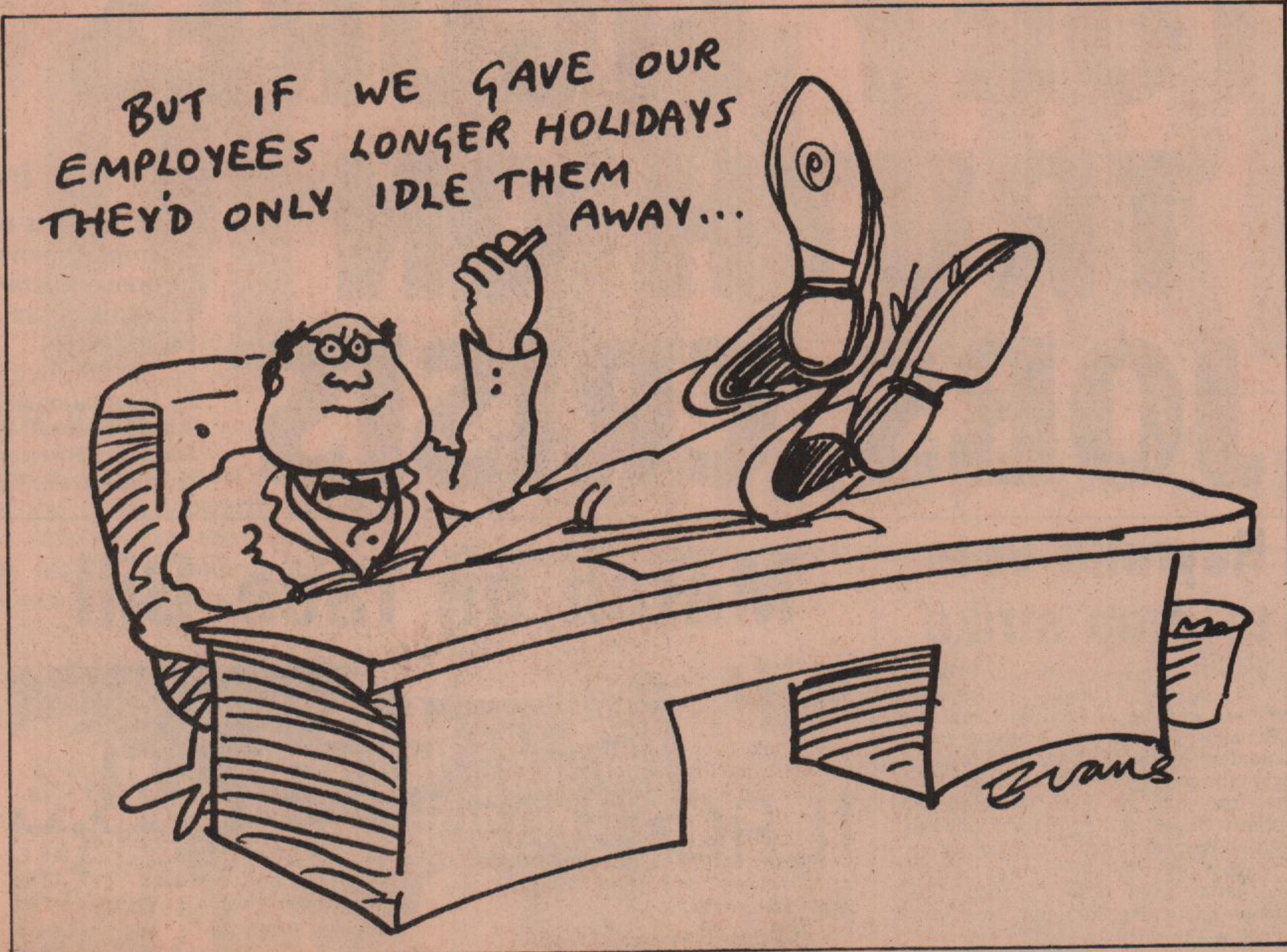
The point is not that it is wrong or obscene to show violence on the screen. The objections are quite simply artistic. It is possible to show the power of violence in 101 subtle different ways.

Russell only knows one—lots of blood, lots of visual suffering and a fascination for ritual and the spectacle. The result is quite naturally that the viewer becomes more and more immune and less and less in sympathy with the tortured priest and demented nuns.

I am sure this was not Russell's avowed intention and it is on these grounds that *The Devils* must be termed a failure. Emotionally and nervously battered as I was as I left the cinema, I did not feel I had learnt anything about the psychology of religious persecution or even of man's inhumanity to man.

Russell has certainly succeeded in shocking the bourgeoisie, but that remains his sole achievement. And surely we have a right to expect a little more than this from Britain's supposed leading film director.

Martin Tomkinson



# COTTONS COLUMN

IN an age when the political con man reigns supreme, the pledge by 200 firms that they will support the Confederation of British Industry's appeal to restrict price increases to 5 per cent will be greeted by most working people as just another cheap, phoney stunt by the Tories and their pals to hold down wages.

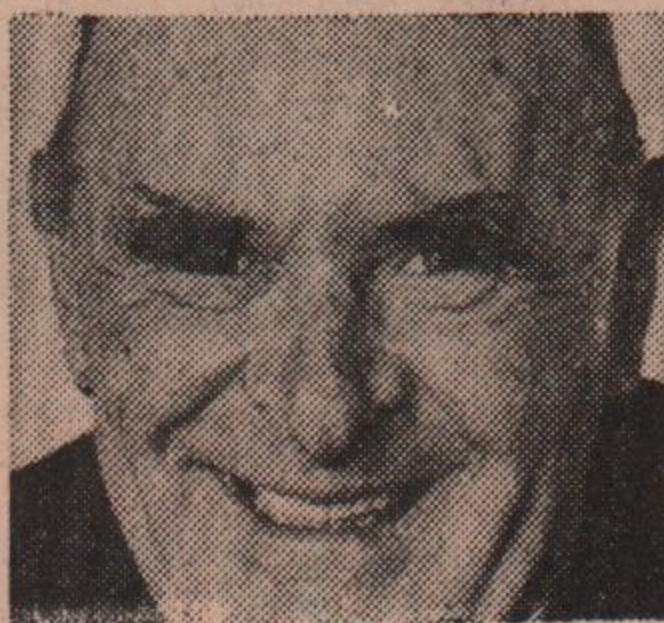
But let us for once (and only once) take the bosses at their word. The 200 firms concerned account for about two-thirds of manufacturing output, which in turn accounts for about one-third of total output or the 'Gross National Product'. So even if the bold 200 were to honour their pledge, it would affect about only one-fifth of all goods and services.

Agriculture, housing, rents and the social services would all be excluded. And you will have noticed that the government is already preparing for savage increases in rents and no doubt there will be further pickings from the cadaver of the social services. The experts reckon that the overall effect will be not a price freeze, as the government and bosses are pretending, but a 1 per cent less increase in the cost of living in the next 12 months, say 8½ per cent instead of 9½ per cent.

And the CBI pledge has a marvelous get-out clause: firms will restrict price increases only if the government raises the growth rate from 3 per cent to 4 per cent a year. If they don't, no price 'freeze'. And who will they blame? Trade unionists, of course. Keep slapping in the wage claims.

## Incystent

WHILE we anxiously bit our fingernails as the British press described the removal of Princess Anne's ovarian cyst, continental readers were enjoying more sensational reading. Returning holidaymakers tell us that the French yellow press



Lord Pilkington: profitable strike

(its the Gauloise in the air) was insisting that the term ovarian cyst was just a polite cover-up for an operation usually performed on the quiet for not less than £100. London-based French newshounds are thought to be diligently searching for the taxi driver who took the Princess to the nursing home.

SO poor old Harold found himself worse off financially after six years of Labour government than before it. So did the rest of us, mate, so did the rest of us...

## Bed and board

A GRISLY footnote to Tony Corcoran's report on page 3 about the disgraceful treatment of Bengali seamen in Newcastle. The men are staying at Simpson's 'hotel' in Hebburn where an elderly man was found dead in his room last week.

His body was not discovered for four days until a rare cleaner went in. The corpse was in an advanced state of decay. The scandal gives the lie to the hotel management's claim that it provides a service for its patrons.

The Bengalis are staying in bare concrete rooms with iron bunks. Says Corcoran: 'The conditions are probably worse than prison, the difference being that the inmates of Simpson's pay £8.50 for their primitive cells.'

## Wisecracks

PILKINGTON, the St Helens glass monopoly, went 'public' this year and duly published its first accounts last week. Group profits were £6,340,000 after tax, £400,000 more than had been forecast.

One reason for the improvement, boasts Pilks, was the '£5 million cost of the first major strike in 100 years'. Funny that they seem pleased by the strike and its high cost. But they add that following the strike they took the opportunity to overhaul the wages structure and negotiating machinery. That's a polite way of saying they weeded out the militants with the help of the General and Municipal Workers' Union and are now happily turning the screws on the workers left behind.

The Pilkington strike last year was sparked off by a 'mistake' in the workers' wage packets. Having seen the euphoria in the annual review at the profit figures and the help given them by the strike, we wonder just how accidental that mistake was.

THE former boss of the record-player firm BSR, Dr Daniel McDonald, is making a £5.5 million bid for the motorbike firm of BSA (whatever happened to Lord and Lady Docker?) McDonald is raising the cash from his personal fortune of £19.5 million. The Doc also owns a £500,000 private jet, a luxury villa in Geneva, a large estate in Donegal and a house in Bermuda.

BSA workers may care to know Dr McDonald's attitude to trade unions. He closed two of his factories in Londonderry on the grounds that the unions were pressing for recognition and declared, 'In my experience, the more disciplined people are the happier they will be.' Start pedalling, lads.



There is something niggling about Alan Whicker in Whicker's World (ITV, Monday, 8pm). It's not just that I remember reading a few years ago that he owned over £1 million of shares in Yorkshire Television, nor is it just that he is for two months taking over the much more radical World in Action team.

Nor is it really the subject matter of his recent programmes, the new gigantic and phoney Florida Disneyland of last week or the gigantic waste of an unused space station in French Guinea in this week's programme. It's rather that, as is accurately suggested by the title, you see Whicker's World and much too much of Alan Whicker.

With the World in Action team you saw a lot more of the world and very little of the interviewer. This is a method that Whicker has disdained in print, though he has at least once used it himself.

## VISUAL

Whicker takes a particular subject and, apart from stating his opinion, he endlessly repeats himself with high-flowing phrases, each supposed to be more vivid than the last. He practically forgets that TV is a visual medium which does not need such a cluttered commentary, which would be a bit long-winded even on radio.

Whicker's intruding immodesty also makes it difficult to get people to talk at more than a superficial level. To do this requires that you encourage the person interviewed often to speak at length, if you want to get at his real motives, feelings and reactions.

To do this means usually that you must demonstrate a proper respect for human beings. Whicker does neither. He treats most people (with some exceptions, I should add) with an amused and detached irony, an 'I'm-above-it-all attitude.

This will do sometimes, but his speciality is too much the amused wonder at the immense folly and vanity of human beings. This is all explained by nothing more than some well-rounded and weakly-amusing metaphor. Anything else would be presumably 'to carry the conscience of the world and wag reproving fingers' (Whicker in Radio Times).

## EDITED

Documentaries by World in Action, or the recent Wednesday night *Where I Stand* series dealing with the views, in consecutive weeks, of five working men and women, let the world speak for itself. World in Action's more radical outlook finds itself therefore a more democratic way of making a programme, and is able thereby to get the less articulate and confident people to be effective on TV.

Getting people to speak at length means that a mass of material has to be edited down to programme length. In this process of course some interpretation has to be put on this material according to the way it is edited.

But this is inevitable and the editing should be able to pick out the most important. One may disagree about what is important but in the way that Whicker interprets his world nobody else gets a chance.

Commentators such as Whicker, political experts and interviewers, comperes, quizmasters and other such TV types will face, deservedly, the full force of the bludgeoning humour of Monty Python's *Flying Circus Show* (BBC Monday 10.10) in the next few weeks. This particular group has given us too many bores and smoothies.

Phil Hall



# Socialist Worker

## Genocide in Bangla Dosh

BIRMINGHAM:-A crime equal to Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Dachau and Buchenwald—that is how one speaker described the actions of the West Pakistan Army in East Bengal at a 2000-strong rally on Sunday organised by the People's Republic of Bangla Dosh Relief and Action Committee.

Labour MP John Stonehouse has just returned from Bangla Dosh, where he met soldiers of the Mukti Fauj Liberation Army. 'This is genocide,' he said, 'the deliberate murder of hundreds of thousands as a state act.'

The main demand that came from the meeting was simple: the people of Bangla Dosh have the right to decide their own future. The troops of Yahya Khan must be withdrawn, and all the political prisoners, including Awami League leader Sheikh Mujib, released. The moment that Yahya's murderous army is withdrawn or driven out, Bangla Dosh will become an independent republic.

The meeting called for the British government to recognise Bangla Dosh, but there were no illusions in the role of the British ruling class. As Professor Frank Girling of Sheffield University

said, the struggle for Bangla Dosh is the culmination of 300 years' struggle against British imperialism.

Most of the Bengali workers at the rally work in the factories and foundries of the industrial Midlands, often as unskilled labourers. There are immigrants from West Pakistan as well. Several speakers called for unity between Muslims and Hindus, Punjabis and Bengalis and one added: 'The military dictatorship of Yahya Khan is as much the enemy of the people of West Pakistan, workers and peasants, as it is the enemy of the people of Bangla Dosh.'

## Disaster faces Doncaster

by John Grime, ICI shop steward

DONCASTER:- Redundancies threaten to turn this town into a disaster area. Following hard on 500 sackings at International Harvesters, 116 apprentices chopped at British Rail Engineering, with 500 more men being lined up there, and short-time at Fowlers, come rumours of impending sackings at Peglers and Crompton-Parkinsons.

But the real blow came last Thursday, when ICI's nylon plant announced 740 redundancies. Unemployment will leap to 6.2 per cent and, with school leavers, a figure of 8 per cent or more is likely within a few weeks.

ICI's sackings, following hard on Barber's mini-Budget, give the real facts. Unemployment will continue to increase—and entry to the Common Market holds out no hope for any improvement.

The ICI collapse is the result of the world overproduction of nylon and the competition from other man-made fibres. The result is 1500 sackings spread over Doncaster, Gloucester, Pontypool and Harrogate.

The crisis has exposed all the paternalist nonsense about ICI. With its £200 million profits and £80 million state subsidy, it can buy up the Atlas Co. in the USA but it cannot save jobs in Britain. The company's profits are assured. They are not dependent on nylon. Out of the profits of boom years, they have diversified and developed other fibres.

### Only reward

But the factories have not been placed near the nylon plants. The dole queue is the only reward for all the profits from the nylon workers.

ICI and the local Tory press are hard at it, pushing the kindness of ICI. 'We have considered the human situation,' claims production boss Dr Standing.

Who are they trying to kid? Most of the redundancies are to come in Doncaster, with its high unemployment rate and work is to be transferred away from here.

It is essential that the redundancies be resisted as strongly as possible throughout the Fibre Division of ICI, and by the Combine Committee by fighting for:

Open the books on the Fibre operation. Work sharing and a shorter working week.

No speed up or productivity concessions which ICI are hinting at.

The nylon overproduction, following overproduction of fertilisers leading to 1000 plus sackings at Billingham, on Teesside, exposes the failure of the chemical industry to guarantee employment for its workers.

Under WSA, ICI's productivity scheme, management said 'natural wastage' would solve any labour problems. Their promises have been shown to be worthless.

The moral is clear: ICI and the whole of the chemical industry should be nationalised under workers' control, to guarantee full employment.

# TORY FIGURES HIDE TRUTH ON JOBS CRISIS

by JOHN PALMER

THE LIE has been given to Tory promises to cut unemployment. Just seven days after Barber's phoney 'instant boom Budget', redundancies totalling more than 5000 have been announced by industry.

This involved the sacking of a further 1800 workers by International Computers. The giant machine tool firm, Alfred Herbert, has warned of further sackings to come while the government was due to announce redundancies and closures at Upper Clyde.

The Tory figures for unemployment show that nearly 830,000 workers are already on the dole. In whole areas of the country more than one male worker in 10 is without a job. In some parts of Northern Ireland, Scotland and the North of England, the male unemployment rate is even higher—up to one in five without work.

The official figures do not tell the whole truth. They do not include the full increase in unemployment among women workers. Because job prospects in so many parts of the country are non-existent for women workers, many do not bother to register with the employment exchanges.

As a result, the real level of unemployment is far higher than the official figures indicate. This can be measured by the fall in the total labour force during the past year which indicates a true unemployment level of already more than one million.

### SCANDAL

The outlook for new work for the unemployed is bleak. The July figures also show a further decrease in the number of jobs unfilled. In cities like Glasgow there are now 10 unemployed for every job and in other parts of the country between 20-30 unemployed workers for every notified vacancy.

The only answer of the Tories in the face of this scandal is the bleak 'It must get better'. But must it? The Budget and the massive tax give-away to big business assume that jobs will be increased when the bosses lay down more productive plant and machinery.

But why should industry invest to produce more? Factories are already working at an average of 25 per cent below capacity. That means one machine in four is idle. In some sections of the engineering industry between one-third and a half of the existing plant and machinery is unused at present.

On the other hand the Tories also hope that working-class families will be bamboozled by the Budget publicity to go on a spending spree. But this is most unlikely.

In the absence of a spending spree by either big business or working people, the economy seems bound to stagnate and unemployment to increase.

### INSULT

In the face of this social and human tragedy, the artificial indignation about unemployment of the Labour Party leaders is an insult to those without work. The fact is, the Labour leaders' unemployment policies are indistinguishable from the Tories'.

Trade unionists must take up the fight now before unemployment spreads to the point where it could break the back of the labour movement. The only people who can fight this scourge of unemployment are the employed. A programme of opposition to redundancies must be fought for in the unions and in the factories and imposed on the union leaders. This must include:

1. A ban on all future productivity deals—they have been responsible for the murder of tens of thousands of jobs.
2. An immediate national ban on overtime working.
3. No redundancies without guaranteed alternative employment at commensurate rates of pay.
4. Full pay for all unemployed workers.
5. Nationalisation under workers' control of all firms facing closure.
6. Unity of the employed and unemployed. The right of all organisations of unemployed workers to be affiliated to the trade union movement.

## Reyrolle vote to drop strike

HEBBURN:-A mass meeting of 1100 service workers on Tuesday at Reyrolle's Tyneside switchgear factory voted by a 200 majority to accept a strong recommendation by their union, the GMWU, to accept the company's offer of £1.50 a week. The firm had dropped flexibility and mobility clauses in the offer which led to a decision last week to put in strike notices.

Each worker had been given an individual letter from GMWU official Peter Gannon explaining the union's reasons for accepting the paltry pay offer. The vote to withdraw strike notices was close and some sections, particularly the transport group, are still considering action.

The decision to accept the offer still leaves labourers' earnings £1.25 below the district average rate. And the flexibility and mobility clauses still exist because of a previous productivity agreement.

## DATA men locked out

THE PYE Telephone Manufacturing Company of Dulwich, South London, has barred entry to their DATA employees for the last 10 weeks, after a half-day token walkout by the men. The walkout took place over the refusal of the management to continue talks on a year-old application for a wage increase.

Management says the men will be allowed to return to work if they accept an offer of a 9 per cent wage rise over a 2½ year span, without another word of protest.

Dick Jones, chairman of the DATA office branch at Rolls-Royce, Coventry, was reinstated last week after official strike action following his suspension.

## NOTICES

SOCIALIST WORKER will not be closing down for a summer break this year but the next two issues will be four pages only to allow some staff members to take a holiday. INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS' conference on youth work. 10am Sunday 8 August at 6 Cottons Gardens. Open to 15 members only. Credentials from branches. CAR REPAIRS: Phone Stevi Merck. 699 4408. Good value all departments. FUN and laughter show 'Up Dennis'. Booze, gags, sketches, wine, women, song. Good old boozey evg. Corbett Theatre, Rectory Lane, Debden, Essex. (Central Line) August 5, 6 and 7 at 7.30pm. HACKNEY/Islington IS public meeting: Tony Cliff on Whatever Happened to Communism? Monday 2 August 8pm. Rose & Crown pub, Church St/Albion Rd N16. Bus 73.

## March on race Bill



Supporters of the Black Unity and Freedom Party Party marched through London's Notting Hill on Sunday against the Immigration Bill

## RIGHT TO WORK CAMPAIGN BY PILKINGTON MEN

by Gerry Bold

ST HELENS:-The Pilkington workers sacked 12 months ago have decided to step up their fight over the principles of the right to strike and the right to work. They have re-formed themselves into the Pilkington Rank and File Action Committee and are leafletting local factories as well as launching a national appeal for support and donations.

The leaflets outline the repeated treachery of the General and Municipal Workers Union and quote also the reactions of the Labour MP for St Helens, Leslie Spriggs, to the men's struggle. He told members of the Committee that he had had discussions with Lord Pilkington and as a result he was 'firmly convinced that some men in St Helens would never get employment again.'

Gerry Caughey, chairman of the Action Committee, told me: 'We feel now that with vast sections of workers under attack, we will be more sure of them identifying with us, who were the first to get the Tory medicine. We said 12 months ago that we were only the first—events have shown we were right.'

He added: 'People told us Jack Jones isn't like Cooper, Hugh Scanlon isn't like Cooper. They have proved that they are the same. Cooper wants to register under the Industrial Relations Bill—and Jones and Scanlon want to register also, because it protects them against their members. I was

asked once which leader I would prefer—Cooper or one of the fake-lefts—I said Cooper, because at least you know where you are with him, not like the Judases of the working class.

'Our present campaign is to find employment or at least assistance for 60 men and their families—most of them extreme hardship cases. We are asking the working class to help the working class, because they are not going to get any help from the government nor the trade union leadership. The only people we can turn to is our own kind.'

Gerry Caughey appealed to trade unionists to help them by:

Sending out invitations to the Action Committee to put their case to meetings.

Protest about the continued blacklisting of sacked Pilkington workers by the employers.

Bring pressure to bear on the trade union leaders.

Raise finance to help the Action Committee to assist those suffering extreme hardship, and to carry on the fight for work and justice.

Rush donations now to Pilkington Rank and File Action Committee, 10 Greenfield Road, St Helens, Lancs.

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