

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## WANTED

—by the Tories for the 'crime' of cheap rents



TERRY ASHER



CHARLES BUNTING



RAY BOOKER



EILEEN WHOLEY



ARTHUR WELLON



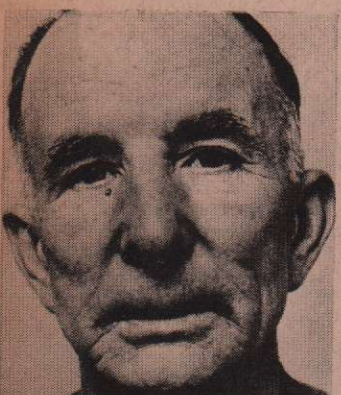
DAVID NUTTALL



GRAHAM SMITH



DAVID SKINNER



GEORGE GOODFELLOW



DAVID PERCIVAL

THESE are the councillors of Clay Cross who have not surrendered to the Tory 'fair rents' fraud. Backed by a total rent strike in the small Derbyshire town, the 11 councillors (one councillor, Graham Skinner, is not pictured here) are refusing to operate the Housing Finance Act despite threats of fines and a ban on holding public office. PAUL FOOT reports on page 15.



Workers vs. Tories:  
round-up back page

# BIG FREEZE FIDDLE FOR PROFITEERS

by CHRIS HARMAN

ALL THE SIGNS are that the 'freeze' on profits in Heath's phase two policy will be a massive fraud.

At the beginning of the week the value of company shares on the London Stock Exchange fell by one or two per cent. The press screamed about a 'great shares slide'—the same papers that did not yell about a 'great wages cut' when the Tories slashed the purchasing power of pay by much more than one or two per cent.

But if the government gets away with the present freeze measures, the Stock Exchange will quickly get over its jitters and a few well-placed men will make enormous fortunes over night.

## MANOEUVRE

The Heath package is designed to help big business avoid a freeze on profits. Officially, profits as a percentage of sales are restricted to the average of previous years.

But that average leaves a great deal of room for manoeuvre. It is calculated not on the profits of last year or the year before but on the average of the best two years from the last five.

As the bosses' bible, the Financial Times, has pointed out: 'This is of major significance, given the trend of UK profit margins over the last few years . . . The ability to include the high profit margins of 1968 and 1969 saves a sizeable number of companies from the prospect of having to reduce their profit margins from the high 1972 levels.'

Having used high prices to push up profits to record levels last year, big business will be able to keep

- Smash the Freeze: IS executive statement: page 4
- Why Heath turned a somersault: pages 6 and 7.
- 'Unavoidable price rises'—the truth: page 3.
- Will Ford workers pour in the anti-freeze?: page 12.

them 'frozen' at that level.

Fourteen of the 20 biggest companies in Britain will be able to increase the profit margins on the level of 1971, including such giants as British American Tobacco, ICI, Unilever, Courtaulds, Marks and Spencer, Rio Tinto-Zinc and Allied Breweries.

British Leyland, for example, could boost its profits by 40 per cent without breaching the government's rules.

Fixed profit margins automatically mean an increase in money profits to

take account of inflation. If prices rise by 10 per cent in the next year company profits will be allowed to rise by that amount. Meanwhile wages are held to 8 per cent at present—with threats of more severe restrictions when 'phase three' comes in later this year.

Even companies that officially should not be able to boost their profits can easily find ways around the legislation.

## CUTTING

The freeze does not affect any profits declared before 31 March. So many firms will artificially boost their profits over the next eight weeks—for example by cutting to the bone their expenditure on new stocks of materials and goods. By doing so they will also raise the average profit for two of the last five years and as a result the profits they can make in future.

Other firms will use a different tactic. Companies that operate inter-

Turn to page 3

# Remember Derry dead

Sunday 28 January  
Assemble St Paul's, 2.30pm  
March to rally in Camden Town Hall  
Speakers: James Wray, Mike Cooley, Paul Foot and Gery Lawless.  
All IS branches to support





# BRIEFING

THE Czechoslovakian Ministry of Culture claims it has no censorship. Yet it has issued instructions to all public and institutional libraries to remove all 'ideologically unsound' books from open shelves. Such books may be consulted only by designated experts, students with permission from their Dean of Faculty, and members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The new classification includes all 'Trotskyist, White Guardist or Fascist publications', and any book, whatever its contents, written by anyone who was

politically active in 1968 and 1969.

At the same time, a book called Watch on the Amur has been reintroduced to party youth circles. The book was withdrawn at the time of 'destalinisation' when it became known that the building of the town of Komsomolsk, the subject of the book, had been a grandiose project of Stalin's which cost thousands of young lives.

**BETWEEN 200 and 300 workers effectively picketed the factory of the American-**

**owned Hope Computer Corporation at Hadsund in Denmark on 10 January. Arriving in buses at 4pm, the picket stopped anyone from leaving the factory until six o'clock the next morning, when local police intervened.**

**At the time, the firm was being visited by French, Finnish, Norwegian and other VIPs, who were frantically calling for help from their embassies.**

**The Hope Corporation, which employs only 25 people at Hadsund, had refused to make an agreement with the DASF, the Danish equivalent of Britain's Transport Workers Union. The firm has now decided to recognise the union and sign a contract for its employees.**

ACCORDING to the Israeli press, South Vietnam is hoping to receive military advice from Israel when the American troops leave. 'It might be,' said a Saigon official, 'that South Vietnam will have to continue the war alone, if it refuses to sign the agreement being prepared in Paris.'

'Yet the United States is not planning to abandon South Vietnam completely. The idea of being helped by Israeli knowledge is not only known to Washington, but was inspired there.'

It is said that Israeli help will consist of advice on such matters as self-defence rural areas, agricultural soldiers' settlements, and 'non-conventional methods in the security sphere'.

**RUSSIAN workers, like their British brothers, often feel that since their wages don't amount to the full fruits of their labour, they are entitled to extract a little extra from their employers. The Russian daily newspaper Pravda recently published an account of workers' thefts from a sweet factory in Siberia. The most ingenious case, which only came to light by accident, was a delivery driver who had adapted the radiator of his van so that only part of it contained water, and the rest provided a container into which he could pour rum, cognac or other spirits used for making liqueur chocolates.**

**The level of theft at the factory is so high that in order to maintain its norms it is being compelled to make liqueur chocolates without liqueur.**

THE FRENCH Communist Party continues its search for respectability in the eyes of the ruling class. Last week Georges Seguy, leader of the main trade union federation, the Party-dominated CGT, went out of his way to reassure the ruling class that the unions would be 'responsible' too. Though the French ruling class knows that it has little to fear from the programme of the 'Union of the Left' it is worried that a left victory might lead to a wave of working-class action—as happened with the Popular Front in 1936.

Seguy assured them that the CGT would do its best to ensure this was not so. In his article in the Party daily newspaper L'Humanite he poured scorn on this idea and said that those union leaders who were talking in these terms were unrepresentative.

Seguy also denied that there would be any pressure for more nationalisations. They would have enough on their plate, he said, with the reforms already in the programme. In fact these reforms won't even catch up with the inflation that is eating away workers' living standards.

Finally Seguy talked of a 'new era' in labour relations and of 'participation'. In other words yet another step in the taming of the unions and their incorporation in the state machine.



Shops in the Salisbury township of Harari blaze after rioting

## Watergate trial exposes White House corruption

by Norah Carlin

IN WASHINGTON, the extraordinary Watergate Trial is exposing the corruption of Nixon and his Republican Party cronies. Six men are accused of burglary, spying and illegally planting listening devices in the Democratic Party headquarters (the Watergate building) and in the campaign offices of Senators Muskie and McGovern during the presidential election campaign last summer. Five of them were actually caught redhanded in the party offices on 17 June.

Some of the defendants were openly working for the Committee to Re-elect the President, Nixon's campaign organisation, but who recruited the others and provided the finance for the job on this occasion remains a mystery.

Three of the defendants are former CIA agents, and two of them played a part in the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the attempted invasion of Cuba which had President Kennedy's support in 1961.

Four have now pleaded guilty, and insist that they must be treated as ordinary burglars without inquiry into their motives or their backing, since the basic facts are set out in the police evidence. They dismissed their lawyer when he tried to defend their motives as patriotic.

### Fantasy

The remaining two, both White House agents, are attempting to defend their actions as intended 'to prevent violence against President Nixon'. It is not clear what violent actions planting a student spy in Muskie's office, stealing documents and tapping Democratic Party officials' telephones was designed to prevent.

The general air of fantasy and overheated imagination was reflected in the case put by the dismissed defence lawyer that McGovern, if elected, would have been 'soft on the Communists' and that the men were therefore defending the USA.

The judge has complained bitterly of the defendants' refusal to reveal their backers. He talked of 'hundred-dollar bills floating around like coupons', and there are rumours that at least four of the accused are still being paid.

During the trial, a syndicate of Miami businessmen offered the defendants substantial sums of money if they would plead guilty and avoid a political scandal, but they are clearly not the original source of finance.

Corruption in American party politics is nothing new, nor even court cases which reveal the scandals. What is infuriating American liberal opinion about the Watergate trial is that it is making a complete fool of the legal system as well.

# BORDER MOVE BACKFIRES ON RHODESIA

by W Enda

WHITE Rhodesia's arrogance in closing the border with Zambia is having repercussions not bargained for by Prime Minister Ian Smith.

Smith had intended to continue to allow the 27,000 tons of Zambian copper a month through the border, to travel on Rhodesian railways for export via the Port of Beira in Mozambique.

He reckoned that cutting off all other trade to and from Zambia was a sufficient warning to Kaunda that worse would come if he continued to allow Zambia as a base for the African freedom fighters committed to liberating Zimbabwe by force.

The United Party, to the right of Smith's Rhodesian Front, called this partial closure 'puny' and accused Smith of pandering to big business interests, notably the Anglo-American mining company which is based in South Africa and controls the Zambian mines, even though the Zambian government nominally has a majority shareholding.

The United Party wanted a complete closure. Kaunda, much to their surprise, gave it to them a few hours later when he announced that copper would find an alternative route to the sea.

### THREAT

Smith had not kept the route open for copper out of benevolence. The Rhodesian railways' serious financial deficit made him loath to cut off such money-making cargo. The farmers cannot help subsidise the railways since they expect to make crippling losses as their tobacco and maize crops wither under the scorching sun in the worst drought ever.

Anglo-American has already arranged to get in mining equipment through Tanzania. Copper bosses in the City of London are annoyed at the threat to what they regarded as a safe supply at a time when world copper prices have shot up and supp-

lies of Chilean copper are frozen. American companies, kicked out of Chile by President Allende, are haggling in the courts over the legal ownership of the stock. Such profit problems have temporarily blinded the City men to the plight of their kith and kin in Rhodesia.

Zambian copper will now go North. The Tan-Zam railway, being built by thousands of Chinese workers, is only 150 miles from the Zambian border and completed track reaches the port of Dar Es Salaam.

The Chinese have offered the use of the thousand trucks which service the line. The state-owned Tan-Zam Roadways (Fiat has a share) can muster 500 lorries to ferry the copper to the railhead. The road to Tanzania has much improved since the days of Rhodesia's UDI, when Zambia was in a similar position.

If Zambia can now use this route permanently she will have broken her dependence on the old colonial pattern of railway routes controlled by the white-dominated states of Southern Africa.

Smith's action was one of panic in the face of increasing guerrilla attacks. It will be hard for him to reverse it without further demoralising the whites. Since just before Christmas five whites have been killed and 17 injured. Fighters have crossed the borders from Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

The massive 'NO' shouted at the Pearce Commission last February has united Zimbabweans against the Smith regime as never before. Freedom fighters are finding local support enthusiastic and are being directed by the people to attack particularly unpopular white farmers.

Strikes in the urban areas, like those in which workers were shot down at the time of the Pearce Commission, could be decisive in overstressing Rhodesia's military resources and breaking the fragile hold of the whites. Much depends on South Africa's immediate military aid.

In Zambia a Rhodesian land mine has already blown up two African civilians. Workers in the copper mines have been advised to keep an eye on the many South African and Rhodesian engineers who are in a choice position to commit sabotage.

## Renault murderer gets four years

by Richard Kirkwood

A YOUNG French Maoist, Pierre Overney, a former Renault worker, was shot through the heart at the gates of the factory on 25 February last year. Last week his killer, J A Tramoni, was given a ludicrously light four-year jail sentence.

Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle), the revolutionary socialist group, has published some interesting aspects of the trial which did not come out in the establishment press.

Tramoni, a former professional soldier, a sergeant who had fought in Algeria, claimed that his job at Renault was to supervise the cleaning and maintenance of the cloakrooms. But the man who had taken him on was one Moracchini, who had been his Instructor Officer in the Army Reserve and who is the personal assistant of the Renault managing director.

It is well known to Renault workers that Moracchini is in charge of the plain-clothes security service at Renault. Evidence was given that Moracchini had passed files and photos of known militants to the police, that Tramoni had played a leading role in kicking militants out of the factory and that he had been armed with a club.

Tramoni had also been observed taking photos of Lutte Ouvriere newspaper sellers at the factory gates from inside a car. Odd work for a cloakroom attendant!

Tramoni claimed he had killed Overney by accident while waving his gun as a warning, yet he had shot him right in the heart. A soldier who had served under Tramoni gave evidence of his extreme right-wing views and several immigrant workers spoke of his racism.

Despite the denials of Renault managing director Dreyfus that the company was in any way involved or that it employed strong-arm men, it was shown that senior company officials had tried to hide Tramoni from the police in an office and had first denied that anyone had been killed, then denied knowing who had done it. Tramoni had been in the office of one of the Renault security chiefs for more than three hours before he was given up to the police. The security chiefs only gave him up when they realised that Overney's Maoist comrades had taken photos of the shooting.

Tramoni explained proudly that he was a soldier, a man who followed the orders of his superiors. But the men who organised the harassment of militants by Tramoni and his kind were not on trial.



# Big drive to boost sales

SOCIALIST WORKER is launching a determined drive to increase the weekly print order to 30,000 copies by March. It is a small push from the 25,000 printed now, but nevertheless is an important one for us.

We do not have the facilities of the capitalist press and are at a particular disadvantage through not having a commercial distributor, which could at least get the paper into those areas where we don't have International Socialist branches. We have to rely totally on our readers (and not just IS members) for sales of the paper.

We are attempting to produce a paper that will be invaluable to every socialist militant. A paper which you have to read if you want to know what is really happening in the docks, on the building sites, in your factory combine. A paper which takes up the fight against the freeze,

by Margaret Renn  
Circulation Manager

for equal pay, against closures and against rent increases.

This kind of paper will not arrive out of the blue. It has to be built on the experience of the people who read the paper. We have to get Socialist Worker firmly entrenched in factories and workplaces all over the country.

In one car factory in Oxford more than 100 papers are sold each week. Socialist Worker discussion groups are being built in factories all round the country and providing a new source of discussion and organisation around the paper. Several thousand tenants read it every week.

We are now asking everyone who reads

Socialist Worker to sell it as well. If you have difficulty in obtaining a copy then take out a subscription. If you think you could sell more, rather than share round your copy, then let us know and we will get papers delivered directly to you.

In the year to come we must get Socialist Worker into every new area that we can—into factories, offices, schools and estates, into the towns where as yet we have no branches. The capitalist press is always so easily obtainable that most of us are slow to involve ourselves directly in the production and distribution of our own paper.

We may well have the Journalist of the Year, but he can't substitute for the potential combined effort of 30,000 readers.

Please ring me on 01-739 2639 for any help, suggestions or advice in expanding our sales.

## Raw truth on those 'inevitable' price rises

MANUFACTURERS throughout the country are being allowed by the government to raise their prices on the basis of cost increases that have yet to occur. The truth behind the 'prices freeze' is that the government is showering industry with a license to profiteer on escalating world commodity prices.

Yet this great fraud has been carefully obscured by the tame band of commentators in the national press and television. Time and again, it is emphasised that the Department of Trade and Industry is taking a 'hard line' with firms asking for special treatment.

This myth has been reinforced with stories of how industries have been forced to absorb as much as 50 per cent of increased costs. In many cases however those firms now gleefully hoisting their prices have not paid one extra penny for raw materials. Nor will they for many months to come.

The prices fiddle is quite straightforward. Big manufacturers fix up raw materials for many months ahead. Commodity trading is dominated by the 'futures market' where by metals, cereals and foodstuffs are bought today for delivery in three, six or even 12 months time.

### Rapid increase

So most of the materials now being processed in Britain's wage-frozen factories were bought long before the government's 90 day period began. And the rapid increase in the price of most world commodities should not be felt before the summer.

But big business has other ideas. It operates on the basis of 'replacement costs'. Raw materials in the warehouse are not valued at what they cost—but what they are currently worth.

So the big increases in raw materials prices has sent accountants scurrying to their books to mark up the value of their stocks. And naturally they want to make sure that this is fully reflected in the price of the finished goods.

Take one example. Three weeks ago, the price of raw wool on the Australian market went up by 33 per cent in a matter of days. British wool firms responded immediately by adding that increase on to the prices of their own finished goods—even though the wool they are now using was bought many months ago at a fraction of the present price.

Inflation travelled 12,000 miles from Adelaide to Bradford as fast as the teleprinter wires could carry it.

Ever since the freeze began the government has been trying to persuade woollen manufacturers—and other industries—not to be so greedy. They talk about industry absorbing increased costs. What they mean is that industry should forgo a small part of its speculative profit.

When the real cost increases work their way through to industry, there is no question of industry absorbing them. 'Unavoidable cost increases' according to the government's White paper, can be passed on in full.

There could be no more fitting comment on the Tories' plans. Three years of wage curbs and legal threats against workers have begun with an enormous speculative profits spree for big business.

Brian White

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# GUERRILLA LEADER MURDERED BY FASCIST AGENTS

AMILCAR CABRAL, founder and secretary of the PAIGC—African Party for the Independence of Guine and the Cape Verdes—was assassinated on Saturday by agents of Portuguese colonialism outside his home in Conakry.

His death will be a severe blow but will not destroy the powerful party dedicated to the defeat of Portuguese domination of Guine.

Born in 1926, Cabral's parents were wealthy enough to send him to Lisbon University. In 1951 he was sent by the Portuguese to take a census in the Guine countryside where he gained a knowledge of peasant life which was to prove important in enabling the party to mobilise an initially hostile peasantry to armed insurrection against the colonialists.

Back in the capital, Bissau, he helped found the PAIGC. In 1959 a demonstration of striking dockers organised by the party was fired on and 50 were killed.

### IMPORTANT

The PAIGC decided to concentrate on the countryside. Cabral was an important theorist of guerrilla strategy as well as a dynamic leader.

Although he rejected the possibility of working-class revolution in Guine—arguing that a proletariat did not yet exist—he also rejected the theory that the peasants would become spontaneously revolutionary as soon as his middle-class party met them. He argued for the need to slowly build structures that would involve the peasants in 'mass participation'.

After painstaking work, the armed offensive against the Portuguese military machine was launched in 1961. At his death, two-thirds of the countryside was liberated. The peasants have their own elected government, the villages have co-operatives and armed militias.

Lack of links with workers has left the two major towns occupied, but the PAIGC is strong and will continue Cabral's work until the Portuguese are driven into the sea.

Amilcar Cabral Memorial Meeting, Monday 29 January, Camden Town Hall, 7.30pm. Organised by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, 531 Caledonian Road, London N1. 01-607 2170.

W. Enda



Demonstrators at the Portuguese embassy in London on Monday night in protest at Cabral's murder. Picture MIKE COHEN

## THE BIG FREEZE FIDDLE FOR PROFITEERS

From page one  
nationally will fiddle their figures by moving some profits from British operations to overseas operations or by charging some of the cost of their overseas operations to their British offices. In either case their real profits will rise despite public wailing about their plight.

But probably the most popular way for companies to dodge controls will be to invest increased profits in new machinery and buildings. Shareholders will suffer a little for a period as they will not get the profits to spend themselves.

But the value of the company will rise and with it the value of the shares. The shareholders will more than recoup their short-term losses—unlike a frozen wage increase, which is lost for ever.

And frozen wage increases will

not mean lower prices but simply more money in company coffers. This money will then be used to build up assets and the value of shares. That is why the most powerful sectors of big business have welcomed the government's plans.

### PRATTLES

What can be predicted with certainty is that few goods will be cut in price as a result and that most prices will continue to go up because of rising raw material costs, Value Added Tax and the Common Market system of deliberately forcing up food prices above the world market levels.

These facts are not presented in

the 'free press' which prattles about the fairness of Heath's policy. It is fair for a tiny minority of profiteers and a gigantic swindle on millions of working men and women.

The truth about the freeze must be rammed home in every factory and workplace in order to mobilise united action to smash phase two and the government behind it.

**NEXT WEEK**  
Rank and file miners in America score victory over corrupt union bosses. Don't miss this important article.



Telephone  
01 739 9043  
editorial



# Smash the Freeze Kick out the Tories Build International Socialists

Statement by the Executive Committee of the International Socialists

THE GOVERNMENT'S phase one total freeze on wages was—and is—a fraud. Certainly wages have been frozen but prices, as everybody knows, have not. The result is that every working man and woman in the country is worse off today than they were in November 1972.

Phase Two is intended to carry this process further. The government knows as well as anybody that prices are going to go on rising. It has carefully built provision for this continued inflation into the proposed phase two legislation. There is to be no control over fresh food prices. There is to be no control over land prices, house prices and rents.

Manufacturers are to be allowed to 'pass on' price increases due to increased cost of raw materials—and these have increased and will continue to increase. Price increases without corresponding wage increases mean increases in profits at the expense of real wages. They mean increased income for the profiteers at the expense of the producers—the workers. And that is the real object of the operation.

The government's intentions, now as in 1970, are to cut back real wages, slash social services and increase profits. The government that introduced massive tax changes in favour of the rich and charges for school meals and milk, the government that rammed through the 'fair rents' swindle, has not been converted to 'social justice'. What has changed is the extent of working-class resistance.

Heath and company were opposed to 'incomes policy' as long as they thought their confrontation policy of smashing major strikes and demoralising the workers' movement could succeed. The miners put paid to that last year. Railmen, builders and dockers followed them. Only when 'confrontation' had led to successive defeats for the employers and their government did Heath re-discover the virtues of 'fairness' and incomes policy.

## Frittered away

Throughout the confrontation period, the so-called leadership of the TUC, including its 'left wing', did little more than express verbal opposition to government policy. When militant action against the jailing of the five dockers last summer brought the government to the edge of collapse, the TUC allowed the massive advantage conferred on them by the dockers and rank and file workers in other industries to be frittered away in the tripartite talks with Heath and the CBI.

Because of the mood of rank and file militancy the TUC was unable to accept the government package but proved, once again, incapable of leading the movement to victory. Phase one and phase two are a direct result of TUC spinelessness. Even now, protest action against phase two is to be left to the rank and file, unendorsed and unsupported by the trade union leaders.

The Labour Party response is, if anything, even worse than the TUC's. In spite of Wilson's rhetoric about the 'soulless society', 'multinational mega-corporations' and so on, his party proposes to put down a 'reasoned amendment' to the Tory Bill. And Wilson talks of being able to use the suitably amended Tory legislation when he is back in office.

The particular viciousness of phase one and two has been their effect on public sector workers in the civil service, local government, the gas industry, etc. The idea of a 'public sector alliance' takes on added relevance today. To make such a combination a fighting alliance needs initially a drive for local alliances of all workers in this field.

The £10 Ford claim presents the employers and government with a real test. To break the freeze at Dagenham, Halewood and Swansea will open the gate through which the movement can effectively challenge and defeat the Tories. All workers must be supported by maximum solidarity. The government can be and must be beaten.

Alongside this uncompromising fight with the government and its policies must go the creation in struggle of a genuine socialist leadership, sustained by a revolutionary socialist organisation. Labour has been tried and failed, miserably failed. Capitalism, whether Tory or Labour capitalism, can provide no answer to the problems of the working class. It must be smashed.

22 January 1973



Two who betrayed the Labour Party Conference, from left, Renee Short and Wedgwood Benn, and two who stood by it, Barbara Castle and Frank Allaun.

## Cracked Wedgwood

TRIBUNE is advertising this week a new pamphlet on democracy in the Labour Party under a long article by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, last year's conference chairman, entitled 'Conference Democracy'. The first conclusion of Benn's article is:

'That we shall insist that the role of conference remains central, and its decisions are accepted, as constituting the highest policy-making body in the Labour Party.'

This statement is causing some distaste in Clay Cross and Clydebank where Labour councillors are carrying out the declared policy of party conference by refusing to implement the Housing Finance Act, but who are not receiving the support pledged by that conference from the Labour Party.

A meeting of the Labour Party's new left-dominated executive before Christmas, Frank Allaun MP moved that the executive reaffirm conference decisions committing a future Labour government to reimburse councillors fined for non-implementation.

Thanks to Wedgwood Benn, the matter was made quite specific at conference. Conference insisted that the question be put to a special vote after the executive had expressed 'reservations'. The vote went in favour of reimbursing fined councillors, by four million votes to one million.

Only five members of the party executive voted in favour of upholding the conference decision



MICHAEL FOOT: Voted for

(Frank Allaun, Joan Maynard, Michael Foot, Peter Doyle and Barbara Castle). Fifteen voted against. The councillors of Clay Cross who have been ordered to pay thousands of pounds now know that the Labour Party is not pledged to reimburse them, despite conference decision.

Among those who voted against or abstained were several bastions of the Labour left. Lena Jeger voted against reimbursement because, she told the Daily Telegraph: 'I didn't want to give people false hope.'

Ian Mikardo, bastion of Tribune for the past 30 years, either voted against or abstained. So did other left-wing party conference democrats Judith Hart (star speaker at this week-end's Vietnam demo), John Forrester of the AUEW and Renee Short.

A crucial vote (or abstention) against conference policy was that of Tony Wedgwood Benn.

These names were published for the first time in a letter from Councillor David Skinner of Clay Cross to Tribune on 12 January. Not one of these fake 'lefts' who voted against the conference resolution have had the courage to reply to his angry letter in the following issue.

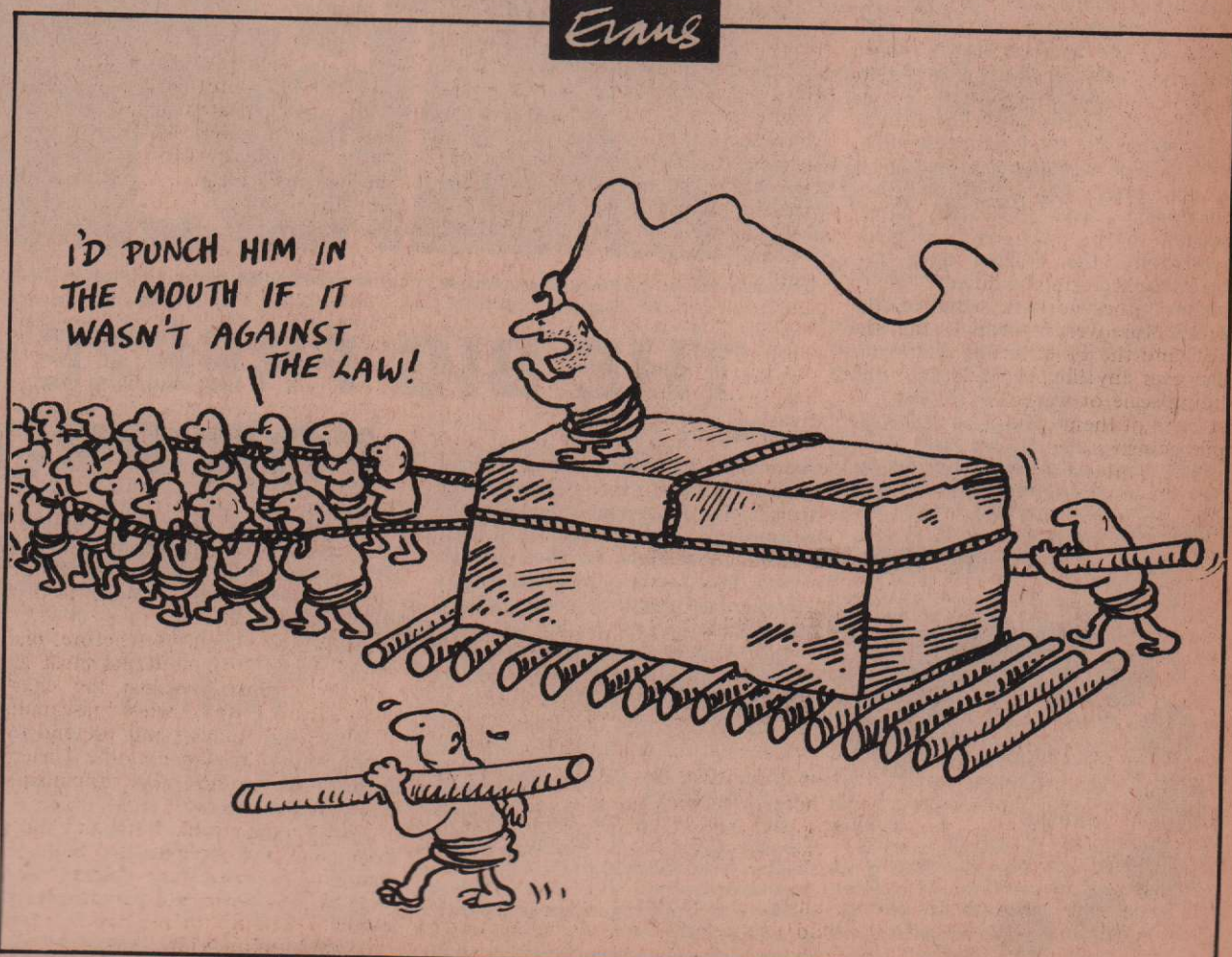
## Sick transit

AN INTERESTING sidelight on the human priorities of the productivity and payments scheme in the electricity supply industry is to be found in the minutes of the industry's National Joint Industrial Council meeting last 18 October (present F Chapple, W Blairford, W Biggin, and other union officials, and the employers).

Paragraph six reads: 'Consideration was given to a reference from the No.7 District Joint Industrial Council concerning a difficulty at Rugeley 'A' Power Station. A fitter had been overcome with fumes, and had been away from his department for 1½ hours receiving medical treatment. The DJIC had been unable to determine whether time receiving medical treatment during normal working hours should be treated as authorised diverted time.'

'After discussion of the reference, the committee agreed it was not appropriate for the time spent receiving medical treatment to be classed as diverted time.'

The position is, therefore, according to the Central Electricity Generating Board and the electrical supply unions, that if you get overcome by fumes you can jolly well pay for it.





# PRINTS

## MAC THE RIGHT

EVERYONE knows Ross McWhirter for an ordinary, non-political fellow who writes for the Guinness Book of Records and appears from time to time on television either talking to children or reporting athletics. His decision to challenge Andy Warhol's profile on television was prompted, we are assured, by deep concern for the moral standards of the nation and nothing else.

The same promptings, apparently, drove Mr McWhirter to the High Court in 1967 to stop the Enfield Borough Council forming comprehensive schools. Mr McWhirter's public spirit was demonstrated on that occasion by the fact that he intended to educate both his sons at private schools and neither boy was at any of the schools affected by the writ issued by the Enfield Parents Committee.

Like Mr Ralph Harris, who led the Enfield Parents campaign, Mr McWhirter is a former Tory candidate (Edmonton 1964) but his recent political activities have been rather more right-wing than that.

For instance an appeal for support for Francis Bennion's campaign to prosecute former anti-apartheid campaigner Peter Hain was launched last year from Mr McWhirter's home address. The appeal was signed by Mr Gerald Howarth, who moved out of university into the offices of the Society for Individual Freedom at 50 Park Lane

### FRONT

Mr Howarth is the son of Mary Howarth, who has been active in all sorts of anti-immigration activity, including the Immigration Control Association, of which she was secretary. Mrs Howarth, too, has always claimed that she is non-party and non-political—until an anonymous pamphlet about the Monday Club released two months ago reprinted her National Front membership card.

In the same week as Mr McWhirter successfully had the Warhol film banned, it was announced that Gerald Howarth had succeeded Francis Bennion as boss of the Freedom Under Law movement. Howarth told the newspapers that he and his colleagues would be looking into the possibility of legal action against building workers who picketed during last year's building strike.

Between getting this new job and leaving the Society for Individual Freedom, Mr Howarth worked in the City for the Bank of America. He is grateful to his friend George Young, an 'eminence grise' of the Monday Club who has written several pamphlets on the importance of keeping Britain white, for the necessary 'introductions' to this job.

### SHADY

George Young works in a senior position for merchant bankers Kleinwort Benson and Young's picture appeared significantly behind that of Ross McWhirter on the BBC nine o'clock news when McWhirter's court triumph was reported.

Ross McWhirter's main contribution to the shady right-wing world of which he is an important part is research. He works closely with the Dowager Lady Birdwood in Inter City Research, which publishes standard anti-communist nonsense. Inter City Research seems to be part of a wider organisation called Inter-Doc (short for Documentary) which operates with the help of American money from Brussels.

McWhirter is also active in the new movement for the reproduction of right-wing books, witness the recently-launched Constitutional Book Club,



Hunted and hunter: Warhol and McWhirter

which threatens to publish six books a year for people who are 'disturbed by the symptoms of breakdown in our society'.

In the publication Right Turn, which is advertised on the back of the Constitutional Book Club brochure, Ross McWhirter is down as the author of an article on 'Sport and Politics'. Other authors include Ralph Harris, director of the Institute for Economic Affairs and old friend and fellow campaigner of McWhirter in Enfield, Alf Sherman, erstwhile extremist writer on racial matters in the Daily Telegraph, Anthony Lejeune (ditto) and Dr Rhodes Boyson, arch-reactionary London headmaster.

Ross McWhirter, in short, far from being the non-political innocent as portrayed in the press, plays an important part in the growing band of extremists who are clustering round Enoch Powell in the hope that he will break and form a new party to lead Britain even further to the right.

In the meantime, while Powell dithers (and he has promised that he will reach a definite decision in the next three months) the right-wingers are securing their bases in such organisations as the Society for Individual Freedom, the Anti-Common Market League, Freedom Under Law, the National Front, the Monday Club, or some or all of them.

They are no longer a laughing matter.

## Brake even

BRITISH JUSTICE is permanently on display at Haverhill magistrates court, West Suffolk, as becomes clear from the following two cases.

On 15 August last year, farm labourer George Barnett, 57, was driving down the road in a tractor belonging to wealthy farmer Robert Harrison, who has farms in Cambridgeshire, Essex and Portugal. A lorry came round a corner towards the tractor, and George Barnett braked. The tractor keeled over towards the near side, George Barnett was thrown off, and the tractor rolled over him, crushing him to death.

At the inquest on 2 October, the government vehicle examiner, Mr William Morris, said that he had found in tests that the tractor's near-side wheel 'had a tendency to lock before the offside wheel when the brakes are applied.'

Mr Morris went on: 'This would have the effect of forcing the tractor to its near side.' He then indicated that this was what may have happened in the accident.

The evidence was disputed by a local policeman who said he had tested the vehicle and found that it stopped straight when the brakes were applied.

The West Suffolk coroner promptly recorded a verdict of 'death by misadventure'.

Three months later, on 10 January,

the farmer, Robert Harrison, was up before Haverhill magistrates charged with having faulty brakes on his vehicle. The prosecutor mentioned that the fault was discovered after an accident but somehow forgot to mention that the accident had been fatal.

Through his solicitor, Mr Harrison pleaded guilty. This was, said the solicitor, 'only a minor case' and he asked the magistrates not to endorse Harrison's road license, which already has one endorsement.

The magistrates agreed not to endorse. They then pronounced sentence. Harrison was fined £5.

A week earlier, the same magistrates had dealt with a man and his 15-year-old son who were found guilty of poaching nine pheasants from Lord Vestey's estate at Withersfield. They were fined £32.

HERE is a tip to all workers who like messing about in boats.

If you buy a big boat, a very big boat—that is, a boat of more than 100,000 tons—you can set the cost off against corporation tax. The boat is then not a boat. It is a ship.

National Car Parks, or rather the two or three millionaires who have made their fortunes in the company from buying up old bomb sites and using them as paying car parks, have already bought one. So have the huge mining concern, Selection Trust.

The advantage is obvious. You save 40 per cent of the cost immediately (which would otherwise have gone in corporation tax), and at least half the rest on the income tax that would have been paid out if the money had gone (as it would have done) in dividends. So you get a huge yacht for the company for next to nothing.

Everyone's doing it. Why not you?

## Tax block

GOOD RIDDANCE to Mr George Ellis, a property speculator in Ealing whose former firm, Paramount Realty Holdings, built up an enormous fortune for him through the buying, sale and building of office blocks in the Ealing/Uxbridge area. Mr Ellis is bitterly disappointed because he has had to pay corporation and profits tax on his fortune and so is leaving for Jersey.

He bought numbers 57 and 59 Uxbridge Road for £7650 shortly after the last war, and when he sold his company last year they were valued at about £1 million.

Paramount built five other ugly office blocks in Ealing.

At a party given in Ealing's Carnarvon Hotel by the Ealing Chamber of Commerce to bid farewell to Mr Ellis, the chamber's president, Mr John Baralet, said:

'The face of Ealing has worsened in the past 20 years. To you and your company, we owe office blocks in Uxbridge Road, an outstanding feature of your time in Ealing.'

## And the greatest of these is profit... Quakers at work

THE NAME Rowntree has come to mean generations of the Quaker Rowntree family with all the kind of good will towards the workers implied in this affectionate description. The reality is rather different.

For nine years not a single Rowntree has been on the board of Rowntree Mackintosh, the big sweet company. What is more, the company has a distinguished record in its drive to join the ranks of those international companies working in any field, in any country, in search of low costs, prosperous markets and high profits.

In 1970 Rowntree Mackintosh planned to spend £1 million, after paying its shareholders substantial dividends, on new European projects. In the same year a new factory had been opened in Hamburg, helping to push up European sales by 28 per cent.

In 1972 great strides were taken overseas: £9.4 million was spent on buying an Australian firm. The company entered into long-term contracts with food giants in Japan and America, who can now manufacture Rowntree Mackintosh products under licence.

Such moves and mergers within the industry have strengthened the company's dominant position in the market so that they now control a quarter of the UK market, which coming legislation defines as a monopoly. Not that this is anything new: in 1967, four companies controlled almost 80 per cent of the UK market.

This position is strengthened by excessive advertising. The companies in the industry are somewhat shy about admitting how much they do spend each year, but in 1967 it was revealed that they spent not less than £13 million on promoting drink and tobacco.

### Chocolates

Here Rowntree Mackintosh are following the general trend of modern large-scale enterprise, which is less concerned to produce high quality goods at low prices than to establish a dominant market position and to bludgeon the consumer with intensive sales pressure.

Wages, meanwhile, have remained derisively low. The Prices and Incomes Board (Labour style) calculated that out of every pound charged for a box of chocolates, only 10p goes to pay wages compared with 12p spent on advertising and packaging.

Three in every five Rowntree workers are women. Many are part-time workers. According to government statistics 90 per cent of the women who work in the confectionery industry earn less than 50p an hour. Men have only managed to get an average £27 a week by working six hours overtime every week. This cheap labour that has been producing the millions of pounds of profits for Rowntree Mackintosh over the years.

The company claims that wages have risen by 40 per cent over the past seven years. This rise exactly



with T H Rogmorton

matches the rise in productivity: the 23 per cent rise in the cost of living hasn't been met at all.

For the Mackintosh family, who largely run the company from their stately home in Norwich (frequent visitor Vic Feather) things look rather different. Mr Ian Mackintosh's shareholding in the company is at present worth £750,000, which is roughly two and a half times as much as it was worth in 1970.

### Reserves

Not that he can spend too much time attending to the job of running Rowntree Mackintosh, as he is lucky enough to have 10 other directorships. And his fellow board members and family are pretty busy elsewhere: Eric Mackintosh has nine directorships and J A Horsfield 10.

But then of course the company has a generous profit-sharing scheme: first they pay the shareholders their dividends. Then they transfer money to their reserves. Then they invest in other companies. And half of what is left is paid to the workers. But this only applies to the employees at York.

This is the reality of those benevolent paternalist Quaker employers.

● The information for this article was supplied through the International Socialists' Information Service.

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# WHY YOU NEED 24 PER CENT PAY RISE

MOST WORKERS are now used to the idea that a great slab is stolen from their pay packets every week for income tax.

This money goes to pay for all the troops in Northern Ireland, for the Polaris submarines, and the interest on government borrowings from the big bankers. Some of it goes in direct handouts to big business.

And some, only a fairly small part, actually pays for education, health and the other social services.

We haven't always been used to paying tax. In 1950, in fact, only about three per cent of the average worker's pay packet went to the state. And all of that, effectively, was in the form of the National Insurance 'stamp'. The average worker, in 1950, paid no income tax.

But today, what a change! The same average worker pays six per cent of his pay packet for the 'stamp' alone. He pays something like 15 per cent of his pay as income tax.

He can certainly reckon that one third of any pay rise will disappear, immediately, into the taxman's paws.

What has happened is that while wages have been rising, along with prices, the 'tax exemption limits' have not risen as fast. In other words, more and more workers have been falling into the income tax net.

## PROFITS

Income tax was originally introduced into Britain as a tax on the wealthy. It is now a tax on the poor. In fact, the worse-off workers have had to carry a bigger share of the burden of taxation.

While taxes on wages and salaries have been rising, taxes on profits have been falling. The proportion of profits, including dividends, taken back by the taxman has fallen from 45.6 per cent in 1949-52 to 30.9 per cent in 1965-68. But the taxman's slice of wages and salaries over the same period rose from 9.8 per cent to 15.5 per cent.

For workers, this spread of taxation has serious effects. In the past, workers thought only about the relationship between what they earned and what was happening to prices. Since the war, everyone has needed to earn at least a little more each year, just to keep up with prices.

## TERRIFIED

But now one must also take account of taxes. If you get a pay rise of six per cent, and prices go up by five per cent, you may think for a moment that you are better off.

But, when you get your first pay packet, you will find you are worse off. A third of your extra earnings will disappear into the income tax office, so your real rise will be four per cent—less than the rise in prices.

Undoubtedly the crushing impact of taxation is one reason for the recent 'wage explosion' that terrified the Tories.

The Tory Chancellor, Anthony Barber, cut the income tax rate as a



Barber: tax con man

'concession' in 1971. The cut was made in April, making many workers slightly better off—but only for a few months. So rapidly were prices rising, and so rapidly were workers chasing those prices with higher wages, that by the autumn the government was getting back as much tax as it had before the April budget.

This situation is well analysed in a recent book by three economists, *Do trade unions cause inflation*, by Dudley Jackson, H A Turner and Frank Wilkinson (Cambridge University Press, £1.20). They suggest that the whole wage-price-tax system is now so crazy that what workers need to do, to control inflation, is to have a general strike—for a cut in prices and in wages together.

Their conclusions are of course absurd: Feather, Jones, Scanlon and the rest of the TUC are not going to organise a general strike if they can possibly help it, and the advanced working class is not going to waste its energies in any general strike on such silly demands. Also, it is doubtful whether a modern capitalist government can control prices effectively for a period of more than a few months. (The Tories couldn't even do it for a few days of the 'freeze'.)

But if these economists' conclusions are nutty, some of their other arguments need to be considered carefully. At the very least, prices are going to rise this year by eight per cent. Rent and rate rises, higher food prices now we are in the Common Market, higher import prices because the pound is being devalued, Value Added Tax and so on—all these things will raise the cost of living. Eight per cent will probably turn out to be too conservative an estimate.

Consider the situation of an average worker, with a couple of kids, and who gives his mother-in-law a little each week to supplement her pension. Let's say he isn't a bit greedy, or militant. He just wants to be as well off next Christmas as he was on 1 January.

If prices are going up by eight per cent, he needs an eight per cent pay rise. But he will lose a third of that through tax, so actually he needs twelve per cent.

Consider the effect on the bosses if workers get 12 per cent pay rises. They'll scream—and put up their prices. Even if the cost of living only goes up another six per cent, that's already another 18 per cent you need to earn. Add a few bob for mother-in-law, to help her keep up with price rises too, and that's a 20 per cent pay rise you need.

## BLAME

With the extra tax on that too, you need 24 per cent. Not to get richer, remember, but just to stand still.

Remember too, that the eight per cent rise in the cost of living expected in 1973 is entirely due to things outside the control of workers or trade unions.

The Tory plan to pay us four per cent plus £1 extra (maximum) in 1973 is a plan for cutting our standard of living. Heath and the rest will prate about 'fairness' and will blame the unions for anything that goes wrong, but they cannot avoid the fact that they are setting out to make us all poorer this year.

It will be much more difficult for the Tories to control wages, however, than it was for Wilson. Within days of the start of Heath's freeze, food prices were soaring, import prices were rocketing. British capitalism is shakier now than under Wilson.

## BITTERLY

The freeze will be easier to break than last time, in one sense, for the injustice and irrationality of it will be much clearer to more workers. At the same time, the bosses will be much more vicious. The days of easy victories over pay claims are largely past. Last year the average strike lasted for three weeks, and in 1973 the bosses will resist even more bitterly.

It is vital, therefore, that every conscious trade unionist makes every effort to explain the situation to his fellow workers, to prepare them for large-scale battles. Every method must be used—leaflets, discussion groups, selling Socialist Worker at work—for the capitalist press and TV will be pulling the stops out this year to lie and confuse people about the situation.

Politics has always been necessary in the working-class movement. It has never been more necessary than now.

Colin Barker



# Why has

WHAT HAPPENED to the Tories? Three years ago they came to power, pledged to a 'silent revolution' to restore capitalism. The means? An all out assault on living standards and the power of workers and unions.

The Industrial Relations Bill was a first priority. 'Lame ducks'—whether unemployed workers, pensioners, school children, immigrants, anyone on low pay or social security—could go to the wall.

Law and order was more important than poverty. The tax and welfare system should be transformed to give the rich more and make the poor pay over the odds for everything.

In economic policy, the government proclaimed that competition and control of the money supply were the sole means needed to keep the economy healthy. They would force employers to sack workers and so drive up unemployment until the unions agreed not to press for wage increases.

Heath spent two years denouncing the idea that an incomes policy and collaboration with the unions could help curb inflation. 'I believe,' he repeated, 'in a free enterprise economy in which people take their own decisions and run their own lives' (18 June 1971).

Yet now he is planning the permanent control of wages by the state. He has spent nine months trying to get TUC support for an incomes policy, a 'Second George Brownery' as a delegate to the party conference described it.

Far from allowing bankrupt businesses to go to the wall, he has opened a pork barrel for business. He has not sold off the profitable parts of the nationalised industries and shut down the rest—he has just promised staggering sums to coal, steel and a host of others.

## Defeat

The government is even grumbling about that symbol of the age, Centre Point. And Mrs Thatcher's education plans are happily described by the pundits as 'socialist'.

Above all, the hard faced cabinet is now supposedly weeping all over the place for the pensioners and the low paid.

It was a grave defeat to make such a reversal. But in practice the change is less dramatic than it seems.

Heath has been shifting his position all through the three years. Before 1970 was out he had been forced to try and block key wage claims instead of leaving them to 'the market' and money supply to control.

The 'free for all' was quickly qualified to exclude workers. It was not open competition but all the resources of the state that were brought to bear on smashing the postmen in early 1971.

Squeezing the money supply had, from Heath's point of view, other terrifying results. It certainly pushed up unemployment, but it also produced some spectacular bankruptcies—Rolls Royce, almost as dear a symbol to the establishment as the monarchy, and Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

## Anger

UCS threatened a whole city and region with disaster. It also produced a wave of anger in the labour movement which surprised the government.

The squeeze also bit deeply into national investment at just the time when it ought to have been strengthened so that British business could face the increased competition inside the Common Market.

As a result, Heath scrapped control of the money supply. He tried to do the opposite, and manufacture a rip-roaring boom that would prompt business to invest.

At the 1971 party conference he boasted that Britain was 'now on the threshold of a period of growth and prosperity unparalleled since the war.' What he in fact achieved was a rip-roaring inflation. Not investment, but house and share prices soared.

# From lame ducks to

British big business preferred to take over European companies than invest in a dodgy British capitalism.

What was worse, inflation fueled a powerful worker reaction. The tide of militancy reached a pitch where it seemed to be a major political threat to the state.

The miners' strike blasted a hole right through the government's entire position. Through it rode the railwaymen, the dockers, the building workers and many more.

At the moment when the Pentonville Five were jailed last summer, it seemed as if the government might fall and the system itself come under threat. Heath called on the TUC and the employers to close ranks and defend the state. An incomes policy was to be the heart of the bargain.

Heath broke no great principles of Conservatism. He repeated what many earlier Tory leaders had done in a tight corner.

In 1945, the Tories were absolutely opposed to planning, nationalisation and the Welfare State. By 1947, they were in favour of them. By 1950, they were absolutely against them again. By 1961, Harold Macmillan had returned the Tories to planning and an incomes policy once more.

The government also moved from militantly opposing subsidies to business to, just before the 1959 general election, massive help to steel, shipbuilding, textiles and many others. There were the same token screams of protest on each swing.

For the Tory leadership, these are not questions of principle. At different times, it becomes necessary to be soft and hard, sweet and sour.

For Conservatism is all about cosmetics: how to make ruling-class

# TUC

**BOOM OR BUST?**  
The crisis in the aircraft industry

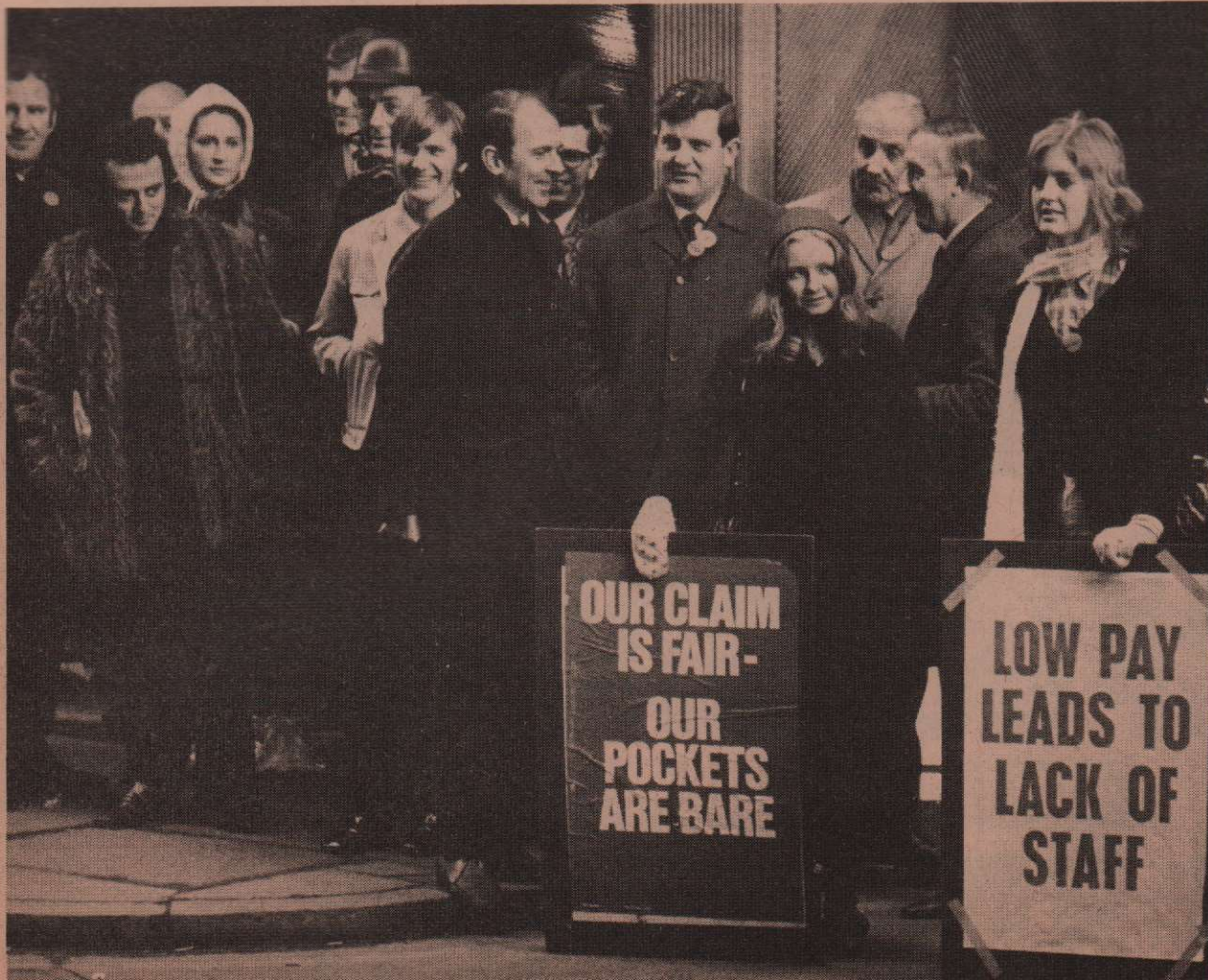
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# Heath turned a somersault?

# KNOW YOUR RIGHTS



Heath's 'free for all' did not include workers: the state's forces were mobilised to smash the postal strike

frightened had 'liberal opinion' been of Heath the Rightwinger, they were all now suddenly overwhelmed with gratitude as soon as he began to smile.

Workers are not immune to feeling some relief as well, particularly when the Labour leadership and the TUC smugly congratulate themselves on the Tories returning to 'common sense'.

It is a dangerous mistake. Between the miners' strike and the building workers' strike, the fortunes of the government reached their lowest point. Heath seemed punch drunk, desperate.

It was the struggle of workers—not Wilson or the TUC—that achieved this result. The same workers could have gone on to smash the Industrial Relations Act and force the government to the polls.

**Who saved the Tories? The TUC.** When Heath changed his cosmetics, the trade union leadership flocked to flirt. The leopard had changed his spots. Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon agreed to a 'Conciliation Board' with the employers and to talks on an incomes policy by which their members would be permanently tied down.

## Blocked

Yet what had changed? Did the Tories withdraw the Housing Finance Act and the rent increases? Did they agree not to enter the European Common Agricultural Policy or introduce Value Added Tax, both of which will push up food prices massively?

Did they promise not to introduce the personal tax changes which next April will add substantial amounts to upper-class incomes? Did Heath agree to subsidise key food prices to protect workers' living standards against inflation?

Half a million jobs were lost permanently in 1972. In the coming years, 150,000 miners and 79,000 steel workers are to be sacked. Is this part of the cosmetic?

The government's heart bleeds for the low paid. But it was Heath who blocked the pay increases of the agricultural and hospital workers.

All this continues whether Heath smiles or not. The basic objective of the Tories—to cut the living standards of working people and increase profits—remains the same.

Yet the trade union leadership is so little acquainted with the problems of its members, not only is it taken in by Heath's new greasepaint, it agrees to put the stuff on him.

But Heath's strategy cannot work, TUC or not. There is no way back to Macmillan's 1950s. That needs mass indifference and massive economic growth.

## Disturbs

Last year, 23.6 million days were lost in strikes—the highest total since 1926. Mass indifference no longer allows the union leadership to do as it pleases. Mass militancy continually disturbs the sleep of the union bureaucrats.

Economically, it is no better. Heath has the triple distinction of having achieved the highest unemployment level since the war, the largest external trade deficit ever recorded, and both in the same year, 1972. It was also a year when investment fell by 10 per cent in real terms.

Nothing at all has worked for Heath except the TUC. At each stage, the workers have blocked him. They have the power now to destroy him.

# state pay freeze

policies look as though they are really in the interests of all. The Tories change their make up depending on the light and the audience. But whatever the appearance, the essence is the same.

Now business needs to seem to have a 'human face'. UCS, thalidomide children, and Oxfam are useful aids to exhibiting its humanity.

In the 1950s, Anthony Crosland of the Labour Party—to the pleasure of the Tories—argued that capitalism had already 'socialised' itself—business was socially responsible, so there was no need to nationalise it.

by Nigel Harris

let Churchill drone on about free competition.

Once the economy was in trouble again and the unions growing restive in the late 1950s, he returned to the same talk. In practice, he had always tried to keep the government in alliance with the TUC.



Powell: left on the fringe

It worked. With men like Bill Carron running the engineers and mass indifference among union members, the TUC could work hand in glove with the Tory government.

Harold Wilson broke that. The Labour government pushed its party alliance with the unions to the point where it broke. Wilson was trying to prove to the ruling class that only Labour could control the unions.

But Labour's In Place of Strife was the last nail in the coffin of Macmillan's 'Social Democratic State'. The Tory Industrial Relations

Bill was the hammer that drove the nail in.

Of course, there are always disputes in the ruling class between the hard liners and the soft. Some long for a frank demonstration of power. Others know that capitalism has to survive most of the time by trickery and lies. Too much of the 'smack of firm government' and you can set off the explosion you most fear.

The 1960s were increasingly difficult for the tricksters. For as economic conditions worsened—with Labour in office—the mass of the middle-class rank and file of the Tory Party increasingly wanted a firm show of force to cow the workers.

They cheered Wilson when he beat the seamen. But it offered only temporary solace to their rabid anxieties—about immigrants, students, young people with long hair, 'permissive intellectuals' and all the other scapegoats for the failures of the ruling class.

They cheered Heath the hatchetman. A few of them are now Powell's friends. But they have no alternative strategy for the ruling class, only complaints and explosions of impatient rage.

**As a result, the mass of Tories stick to Heath. For they are more frightened of a return by Wilson to government than they resent Heath's somersaults.**

Even on the Common Market where there are a mass of discontents, the overwhelming majority stayed loyal. Powell isolated himself on the margins.

For the Tory leadership, the swing to the 'centre' may be merely tactical. But for the newspapers it seemed like a revolution. So

## Secure

A few days ago, that pillar of British capitalism, Jim Slater (of Slater Walker) was arguing that 'capitalism as it now is, won't survive unless it becomes more socially responsible'. He denounced the fact that last year a 'laissez-faire government' put up with high unemployment.

In the 1950s, Crosland and the capitalists felt more secure. Now they need more cosmetics by admitting that some things are wrong and need to be changed.

Macmillan was always the cleverest Tory of them all at this game. In the 1930s, he called for national planning, a massive nationalisation programme and a welfare system—all to *save and strengthen* capitalism. He forced the party to accept the Labour changes of the 1945 period, saying the Tories must accept the 'Social Democratic State'.

But when the economy boomed from 1949, he dropped all this and



# RIGHTS

IF YOU go on social security benefits it pays to know how much money you can bring home before they will start deducting it. With strike pay for example, the first pound is disregarded and anything above that deducted.

This means that nearly all strike pay goes straight to the government. So it is worth trying to get your strike pay paid in a lump sum at the end—but beware of telling the Social Security about this, for they have now realised this is a loophole and will try to take it into account as if it is being paid weekly.

Your wife or husband's tax refund funds will also be treated in the same way, and anything above the first pound deducted.

If your wife or husband is earning, anything over £2 will be deducted from your allowance. In other words, during the strike, your partner will effectively be working for £1 a week. Don't forget his or her expenses at work—fares and uniforms—and make sure these are deducted from the earnings figure for Social Security use.

Any savings over £300 may also affect your allowance. The amount depends on how much you have.

As soon as you go back to work you can claim the full rate of benefit until your first pay day (though monthly-paid workers may have difficulty after the first two weeks). This means that single people get a basic £6.55 plus rent, or a total of £5.9 if they are living with relatives and don't pay rent directly. A couple will now be entitled to £10.65 plus rent.

## PRESSURE

However, since April 1972 any money paid after the return to work is repayable by deductions from future wages. The Tories are now under pressure from their right-wingers who think this measure doesn't go far enough. They would like to see nothing at all paid to strikers or their families.

If your employer offers you a subsidy, this will be deducted from a benefit you could have been paid whether or not you accept the offer.

When is the best time to claim benefit? If you are paid weekly, your firm (say on a Friday), along a day or two before the Friday when you will not be getting any money, or when you will be getting only part of a week's wages.

Occasionally, if your wages are a lot higher than what you would expect to get from the Social Security (the rules say two-and-a-half times they will say you will have to wait a week for your money. Don't be fobbed off with this—make the point that your wage normally lasts only a week, and has been spent.

If you are normally paid monthly the Social Security will try to tell you that your last salary will have to be paid for four weeks from when you were paid it. This is a swindle, as salaries are paid a month in arrears. If possible, after say a couple of weeks, to pay along bills, your rent-book, and so on, and insist that your salary is ready spent or committed.

**NEXT WEEK:** How to claim.

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MANIFESTO by Kuron and Modzelewski. The famous open letter to the Polish Worker's Party, written in 1964. A vitriolic analysis of the Eastern European regimes and a call for social revolution. 29p postage included, from PLUTO PRESS Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalkhill Road, London NW1.

# saved the groggy Tories



# Sack for thousands from bosses who milked the public purse

THERE are few social evils to rival unemployment. It puts worry and hunger where food and security should be. In whole communities all hope lies crushed. In its place comes desperation.

But there are no jail sentences for those who sentence those communities to death. They are great businessmen or responsible trade unionists doing a job for the nation and must therefore be accorded the highest honours.

Melchett, present boss of the British Steel Corporation, is already a Lord. If he can't be given a wage rise (there's a freeze on, you know) he can always be allowed to buy a new plaything, say another executive jet to get around in. His last one cost only £250,000.

You don't have that kind of problem with co-operative trade union bosses. In return for playing their part in the butchery of an industry you can give them a knighthood.

So it was with Dai Davies, general secretary of the biggest steel union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, this year. He was the only trade union official to cop a knighthood in the Tory government's New Year's honours list.

## DESTROY

Dai was elevated exactly 10 days after the government came to a compromise with the BSC and indicated in parliament that the Corporation could increase steel production to 34 million tons a year by 1980 and that they should go right ahead and destroy at least 85,000 of the industry's 250,000 jobs in the process, and possibly many more than that.

In those crucial 10 days, Sir Dai naturally came out right behind the BSC's plans.

*It is a recipe for disaster for the steelworkers of Shotton and Ebbw Vale, Teesside and the West of Scotland. The early flush of enthusiasm for nationalised steel is long gone. In its place is deep bitterness, born of a sense of betrayal, and the beginnings of a serious fight for the right to work.*

The saga of steel nationalisation has a familiar ring. Like mines and railways, it is one of a decayed and rotten shambles taken over by the state, of great generosity to the steel masters and their shareholders and ruthless determination to force the industry's workers to pay the price of trying to make the industry competitive on the world market.

In the days when Britannia ruled the waves (and plundered



The fighting spirit is there: River Don plant occupied last year against redundancies and Irlam steel workers marching against jobs massacre.

# Steel barons get the knives out

by LAURIE FLYNN

Socialist Worker Industrial Reporter

the peoples of every country), the private steel masters had a lovely time. Their plants produced the steel for the world's railways and built Britannia's ships.

But then rival iron and steel industries emerged. Starting later they used more modern techniques. The British iron and steel industry turned more and more to state assistance. Public money was poured in to defend 'an essential industry'. Wars came in handy with their huge demands for iron and steel.

After the Second World War, new and bigger rivals emerged again and the British industry was thrown into a fresh crisis. Labour's half-hearted post-war nationalisation attempt to sort out the industry was sabotaged and iron and steel restored to private hands.

The industry continued to decline, opting to line the pockets of the shareholders rather than

attend to capital investment and modernisation.

From 1958 the steelmasters fell headlong to disaster. Return on capital employed in that year was 17.3 per cent. In 1967 it was 1.9 per cent, though for purposes of screwing as much compensation as possible the steel companies successfully presented it as more than 4 per cent.

In the three years immediately prior to nationalisation alone (1965 to 1967), return on capital investment slumped by almost 75 per cent.

The giant firms did not go about their business for any particular purpose other than making money, with a view to making still more. And in the report they commissioned from Sir Henry Benson to outline what needed to be done in the industry, as an alternative to nationalisation, they actually indicated that if purely financial criteria were chosen, steelmaking in Britain would be brought to an end.

## PHONEY

The Benson report, published in July 1966, was a phoney attempt to reply to the nationalisation White Paper which Labour brought out immediately after the 1966 election victory. The report painted a grim picture of the industry and laid down guidelines for the rationalisation needed and the sackings that should accompany them. It is interesting to note that the extent of jobs destruction which the BSC is now determined to carry out is almost exactly as laid down in the Benson report.

But it was clear that the private firms hadn't the faintest hope of raising the capital necessary to finance the huge programme of reconstruction needed. The chairmen of the various companies all bleated about how unfortunate Labour's nationalisation programme was, but they did not campaign against it.

Knowing that the industry was headed for total bankruptcy in their hands, they got down to the serious task of plundering as much as possible from public funds by way of compensation.

On capital employed of £175,000 million, United Steel managed to turn in a profit of just £4.7 million in the financial year 1966-67. But in that same year record amounts were paid out to shareholders, the equivalent of £6.6 million before tax, 50 per cent more than the profits for the year.

John Summers made £3.3 million in profits that year and handed out £4.2 million in dividends. The Steel Company of Wales maintained its dividends at 10 per cent in spite of the fact that profits were down on the previous year.

Dorman Long (Steel) got in a year earlier. In 1965-66 it made a loss of £1.96 million and paid out record dividends of £2.5 million. Every single one of the companies was at the same game.

The idea behind this was not just to hive off as much as possible for the shareholders in the shape of inflated dividends. If the share prices could be artificially pushed up then compensation from public funds would be lavish instead of merely generous.

In the mid 1960s both John Summers and United Steel were headed for bankruptcy. Just before publication of the nationalisation White Paper their shares on the stock market rose in anticipation of the terms to 29s 3d and 27s 6d respectively.

But speculators could scarcely credit the Labour government's generosity when the terms to be paid were announced. John

Summers stockholders would be compensated at 38s 3d a share and United Steel at 36s, not bad for £1 shares that were unlikely ever again to yield a dividend.

The price tag the 14 major steel companies put on themselves for nationalisation was £14,000 million. When it came to compensation they were knocked down some 40 per cent to £834 million. Even this was a fantastically handsome figure.

Within two years the Labour government was forced to write off £130 million of this public investment as totally worthless. Not the least significant of factors in this was the life expectancy the private firms put on plant and equipment.

## ACUTE

This ranged from 20 to 30 years. BSC paid out on this basis and was immediately obliged to impose a 15-year maximum. Other little ruses included gross overvaluation of stocks and underprovision for maintenance, and making BSC assume some £30 million in pension obligations which the private companies had somehow forgotten to provide funds for.

The problems were often most acute with the plant represented as the most modern. Four works, Richard, Thomas and Baldwins' Spencer works, Colville's Ravenscraig, Park Gate and English Steel's Tinsley Park (an investment of £416 million) turned out to be a complete rag bag, unplanned, unco-ordinated, and bore no relation to the compensation paid.

In addition to this, since these

plants had been financed by huge loans BSC took on a huge debt privilege of scrapping it. BSC took a value.

Two works syndication. GKN, where Raymond Brookes, board of BSC virtually every steel master, was a compensation for works in Wales. For BSC drew upon most of it. Meanwhile used its compensatory capacity in Australia.

Even more amazing of the Park Gate Rotherham. The Investments combine works from the 1956 for £4 million.

In 1961, Tube started on a £38 million programme huge Swedish (Kaldo other equipment to the TI chairman took up to date and cheap of steel in Europe.

## LOSS

It was to be finished by 1964. That they went and in the first to nationalisation operation made £1 million. Everything wrong—from the demand for its production.

The profitability combine was being throughout 1966, press remarked on nationalisation of Park Gate for Tube Investments.

Late in 1967 the terms were announced accountants valued at £20 million. Tube got £40 million. Within three years in hand to shut down Kaldo furnaces, the most up to date and producer of steel in Britain turned out not to be light.

## CHAOS

These are just a few decades of robbery which paved the way for state-owned companies steelworkers and the public have none called in to try to chaos and make money is to be put and entirely essential putting as many steelworking public on the dole.

The best section steelworkers are being other plans, plans for present jobs, keeping plants open, for employment and the unemployed provide alternative union rates or full.

After all for many years and doubtless to come, the state employers have been of wealthy parasitic shareholders) on the out of public funds.

# RACIALISM IN BRITAIN

Derek Humphry

## POLICE POWER and Black People

With a commentary by Gas John

'To many blacks in our cities, police harassment has become a way of life. The police are viewed as the army of the enemy, which is the immigration-controlling, arms-to-South-Africa-selling, friend-of-Ian-Smith British government.'

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IS BOOKS

8 Cornhill Gardens London EC2 2BN

## The lord and the knight



MELCHETT: Flying high in a £250,000 company plane



DAVIES: A knighthood, then support for Tory plans



# ONE YEAR SINCE BRITAIN'S DERRY BLOODBATH

by EAMONN McCANN



30 January: demonstrators retreat from the army.

BLOODY SUNDAY upset people in the Bogside considerably. A few weeks after 30 January, the Official IRA planted a bomb outside the Officers' mess at the Paratroop Regiment headquarters in Aldershot.

Unfortunately it went off prematurely and killed six innocent civilians. Had it killed a dozen Para officers there would have been dancing in the streets in Derry.

Not that the people of the area are bloodthirsty. Far from it. It was just that history had taught them that there was no other way to obtain redress.

Since then things have changed a little, partly because Bloody Sunday was a failure. What the army was doing that day was attempting to shoot protesters off the streets to make Northern Ireland safe for the Unionist Party. The reaction of the people of the Catholic ghettos, however, was to stiffen their resistance.

A week after Bloody Sunday more than 50,000 marched at Newry in defiance of a government ban. The refusal of the Catholic population to be intimidated into giving consent to Unionist rule forced the British government to change its strategy in Ireland.

That strategy is designed to alter the basis of British rule in Ireland. It is no longer possible for the Orange machine in the North to totally control public life. For one thing the Catholics would not stand for it.

## Smash

Moreover, the increasing importance of Southern Ireland as a trading partner and as a safe area for profitable investment meant that Britain was becoming ever more sensitive to demands for an end to anti-Catholic practices in the North.

Until Bloody Sunday the Tories had been trying to achieve this by pressing the Stormont government to reform itself while simultaneously trying to smash the IRA. Their objective was to draw 'moderates from both sides' together and to create in the North of Ireland a normal, civilised, middle-class democracy—rather like Britain.

Bloody Sunday—or rather the Catholics' reaction to it—changed all that. It was no longer possible to reform the state from within. It was necessary to abolish Stormont and begin again.

On 24 March the British government announced direct rule

Our front page after the army massacre.

from Westminster and the appointment of William Whitelaw as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. On 30 March the necessary legislation was rushed through parliament.

There were widespread protests from Protestants, furious that the



Whitelaw: help from friends in the South

symbol of their supremacy had been removed. In the Catholic community there was a degree of confusion about what should be done next, a confusion which Mr Whitelaw was to show a considerable talent for manipulating.

The Southern Irish government welcomed the British move and since then there has been the closest co-operation between the Irish and British authorities as

they strive to eliminate the element in the situation most threatening to their plans—the intransigent republicans.

To assist this they have eroded civil liberties to an extent unparalleled in Northern Europe.

On 23 May Jack Lynch's government passed a Prisons Bill placing republican defendants under military jurisdiction. On 26 May a 'Special Criminal' Court was established to deal with political offences. Juries were thereby abolished.

## Hint

On 31 July, in 'Operation Motorman', the British Army invaded the Derry no-go areas and the harassment of the Catholic population was stepped up. On 27 September at a Darlington hotel Whitelaw opened a conference, attended by three Northern Irish political parties, to discuss the future shape of the Northern Ireland administration.

On 6 October Dublin Special Branch detectives closed the headquarters of the Provisional Sinn Fein. On 30 October Whitelaw published the Green Paper on Northern Ireland, hinting at a reformed parliament elected



by proportional representation.

On 22 November the Southern Irish Minister for Justice, Desmond O'Malley, introduced the Offences against the State (Amendment) Bill, which declared that if a senior police officer says he thinks a man is guilty of a political offence, then the man is guilty.

On 25 November Sean MacStiofain was sentenced by the Special Criminal Court to six months in prison. A journalist who refused to identify him got three months.

## Tack

On 1 December, while the Irish parliament was debating O'Malley's new Bill, two bombs went off in Dublin killing two people. Opposition deputies stampeded to withdraw their opposition. On 31 December Martin McGuinness, a leading Provisional from Derry, was arrested in the South.

After Bloody Sunday the British government changed tack. But what did not change was the repression of those who opposed British plans. Rather was repression

stepped up. It is still being stepped up.

In the past year Ireland, North and South, has seen a massive co-ordinated series of attacks on civil liberties with little more than a cheep of protest from those 'liberal' figures who wax eloquent about South Africa and Greece and with an entirely inadequate response from the British left.

Repression in Ireland could work. It has worked in the past. If it works, the Tory government will have succeeded in imposing a new order on Ireland, an order which will guarantee the continued economic domination of the island by the British ruling class and its allies.

Whether it works or not will depend in some measure on the extent to which British socialists rally to support those still holding out against imperialist designs.

A few days after Bloody Sunday the Starry Plough, a Derry republican newspaper, commented: 'Let it be said of them with pride that they died on their feet, not on their knees. Let it be said of us that they did not die in vain.'

# Preparing for Power

## J.T. MURPHY

IN this book first published in 1934, Murphy considers the role and success of the revolutionary left 50 years ago and its later isolation. The author was a key figure in this first shop stewards' movement.

Special offer to Socialist Worker readers: FREE hardback copy of Victor Serge's novel BIRTH OF OUR POWER with every copy of Murphy's book, £1 plus 21p postage. PLUTO PRESS, Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH.

# All out 28 January



The overall average wage is 113 roubles so the top government minister is getting more than 30 times the average'

# OUT OF YOUR MIND

Duncan Hallas on socialist ideas and capitalist myths

WHY IS IT that in spite of an apparently very democratic constitution all important decisions in the USSR are effectively taken by a handful of top leaders and then 'unanimously' endorsed by the supposedly representative soviets?

Why are there never contests in the elections for the Supreme Soviet?

Why does the press never contain criticisms of the current party line? (It does make criticisms of the shortcomings of individual managers and officials, but that is another matter.)

Because, in spite of the constitution, free political activity is suppressed. The methods may be less savage than in Stalin's day but the effect is still to exclude the working class and the collective farm peasants from any real control over the society they live in, the clause in the constitution about 'All power in the USSR is vested in the working people of town and country' notwithstanding.

Now dictatorships do not exist for nothing. They exist to protect definite interests. Once a privileged bureaucracy had grown up in the USSR, inequality and privilege had to be defended against working-class encroachments. They still do.

Here are some figures for the pay of various groups of workers in the USSR. They are for 1968-9, the most recent from official sources that are readily available in English.

## Subsidised

The minimum wage, established by decree, is 60 roubles a month—it was increased from 45 roubles in 1968. At the official rate of exchange (which, admittedly, is fairly meaningless) £1 was worth 2.16 roubles before the pound's recent downward float. This makes the minimum wage about £30 a month at the official rate, but it has also to be remembered that some services—housing and transport, for example—are heavily subsidised and cost much less than in Britain.

Actual wages are given as 131 roubles a month (£65) in the building trades, 116 roubles a month (£56) on the railways and 92 roubles a month (£46) in agriculture. Retail trade and catering averages 90 roubles a month (£45), and housework and domestic service—a strange category in a 'socialist' society—88 roubles a month (£44).

Even allowing for cheap services, these wages are pretty low. But in fact the figures are misleadingly high. For all these figures are averages that are made up by lumping together the wages of all manual and non-manual workers in the category, including managers and directors.

## Charade that is Russian 'equality'

It is as if an 'average wage' for all those working for British Leyland was worked out by including the salaries of Lord Stokes and the whole of the managerial hierarchy (but not any income they get from their shares in the company) as well as the office staffs and the shop floor!

The incomes of the Russian bureaucracy are concealed in this way. A few figures are available for particular top jobs.

For example the maximum pay of a government minister is 3500 roubles a month (£1700), rectors of universities and colleges get 800-1200 roubles a month (£400-£500), while the average for managers of factories is said to vary from 330 to 1650 roubles (£170-£825).

## Shares

Now the overall average is 113 roubles—and this includes the most highly paid—so the top government minister is getting more than 30 times the average and 60 times the minimum. Quite a differential. For comparison, Edward Heath gets 10 times the British average wage (though of course his income from shares adds considerably to this).

Now the point is often made that the well-paid Russian bureaucrat doesn't own stocks and shares. He has to depend, just as much as the office cleaner and the engine driver, on his earned income.

This is not quite true. It is possible for him, or anyone else who can afford it, to bear interest-paying bonds—and indeed the right to inherit these as 'personal property' is guaranteed by law.

Still, it is the case that there is no

equivalent in Russia to the shareholder who draws huge sums from industries which he has never seen and to which he contributes nothing. But the real income of the top brass is much greater than their salaries, big as they are, might suggest.

Income tax is very low in the USSR—the bulk of the revenue comes from 'turnover tax', a sort of VAT. Again, as in the West, there are all kinds of perks for the top men that don't appear in the salary figures.

They have country houses ('dachas'), chauffeur-driven cars, free travel, special canteens and facilities for holidays. It is true that the dachas, cars and so on do not belong to the individual bureaucrat but to the institution, ministry, department, university or factory, but they are exclusively at the disposal of those who are in control—and that is not so different from ownership.

## Puppets

In Russia, as in Britain, the people who actually run society are a privileged group who look after their own interests first.

The major difference is that the working people of Russia have no unions, however marginally effective, that will fight to defend them. An official handbook describes the job of unions in the USSR as 'to encourage workers' initiative in developing new forms of work—socialist emulation, the shock-workers' movement, the Communist labour brigades and enterprises—and help workers to acquire experience in dealing with production, state and community matters.' Nothing about negotiating rates or conditions—these are for the bosses to decide.

The unions are an instrument of the state, which is also the employer. They do have functions other than assisting speed-up and labour discipline. The social security schemes—sickness, maternity, industrial injury, family allowances and old age pensions—are administered by these 'voluntary' unions and not by the state directly.

But as to control of the membership, well, even Britain's General and Municipal Workers Union has contested elections for its top job, the general secretaryship. The election may not mean much but it is a model of democratic control compared to any Russian union.

## BOOKS

# REVIEW

## Danger drug firms



The results of thalidomide

TAKE A PILL . . . THE DRUG INDUSTRY PRIVATE OR PUBLIC, by John Robson, published by Marxists in Medicine, 15p (from 27 Pearman Street, London SE1).

'My head aches and there's a throbbing in my ears.  
... Take a Pill  
My heart aches and my eyes are filled with tears  
... Take a Pill  
There are rats in my backdoor and I nearly fell through our rotten floor  
I just can't take it any more  
... Take a Pill

THIS POEM opens a lively pamphlet on the crimes of the drug industry, perhaps the most glaring example of the power and the irresponsibility of the monster capitalist firms.

John Robson has brought together the facts on the huge profits which the massive drug companies make out of other people's ill health. He demonstrates the growing centralisation of the firm and their staggering profit rates. He gives chapter and verse for numerous examples of skimmed research by firms hurrying to get a new drug on the market before their rivals.

But the financial ruthlessness of the drug giants and their scandalous meanness

over research is only one side of the story. For in fact the sheer power of the firms shapes the whole nature of modern medicine.

Increasingly family doctors are dependent on sponsored research and manufacturers' handouts for information on the performance of drugs invented long after they qualified. And the manufacturers sponsor everything from straightforward bribes in the form of expensive presents to weekend banquets—all to encourage the doctors' pens to print out their product's name on prescriptions.

Drug firms' representatives lurk in hospital canteens to nobble doctors taking a quick cup of tea. Harley Street consultants are 'assisted' in their research by the company manufacturing the drug supposedly under independent assessment.

A government-sponsored prescribing list which indicated products which were known to be useless was halted by the Tories and now it takes more time than most doctors have to spare to check on the scientific performance of the new drugs.

So in general doctors prescribe too many drugs they know little about, as a substitute for real health care. Robson's pamphlet ends with rather too woolly and rosy hopes about the prospects of nationalisation, but he has produced a readable and comprehensive booklet.

GERRY DAWSON

## Pop goes the blues?

POP MUSIC AND THE BLUES, by Richard Middleton, Gollancz, £4.

THE NEWS that pop grew out of the blues isn't exactly red hot: nor the more recent, accompanying phenomenon of 'radical' youth turning away from traditional European forms of music.

The first section of this recent addition to the growing field of 'serious' sociology of pop, deals with the blues, reminding us of the unique tensions of opposites between European and non-Western musical form. European rhythm is flat and one-dimensional (for marching, real or mental), for the feet only, where African is for the whole body.

The author then goes on to describe the transition from 'individual' blues to the more 'solid' communal blues, leading to soul, which he defines as the 'blues of the negro revolution'.

But where's the revolution? Isn't soul just a modern, secular, translation of the gospel tradition with the profits switched from church to business?

(True story: Walking past a black people's church, our friend is moved by the ecstatic sounds: 'Just listen to that!' he says. 'Yeah,' remarks his black companion, they must be taking the collection plate around just about now.)

Pop, for Richard Middleton, is 'the climax of a long attempt to come to terms with non-Western experience through the negro and his music.'

DAVE WILD

## BOOKWORM'S EYE VIEW

THE history of the working class is especially precious. It not only demonstrates the bravery, imagination and potential of previous generations but it directly shapes our present struggles. We fight over the same battlegrounds and against the same enemies.

Labour history of the right and, too often, the left wants (for different reasons) to tidy working-class reality into convenient patterns and shapes. The socialist movement has to fight a continual battle to snatch back its own history from the clutches of these academics.

RENT STRIKE—ST PANCRAS 1960, Dave Burn's pamphlet published by Pluto Press for ARSE, the radical architects' group, (price 15p) is part of the process of our rediscovery of recent working-class history, which although alive in people's memories, tales and pub arguments is shamefully ignored by writers.

Burn skilfully unfolds the story of a pitched battle in the heart of London. A whole working-class community fought, quite literally, its Tory landlords, the Labour bureaucrats and the police. Struggles over housing strike an especially deep chord in working-class communities for they involve wives, children and pensioners who are largely excluded from factory battles.

In St Pancras, the Irish building workers from the South Bank Shell strike and the railmen from St Pancras Station joined housewives brandishing pots and

pans to halt more than 1000 police and bailiffs. Workers in pyjamas ran to prevent the evictions when alerted by a signal rocket.

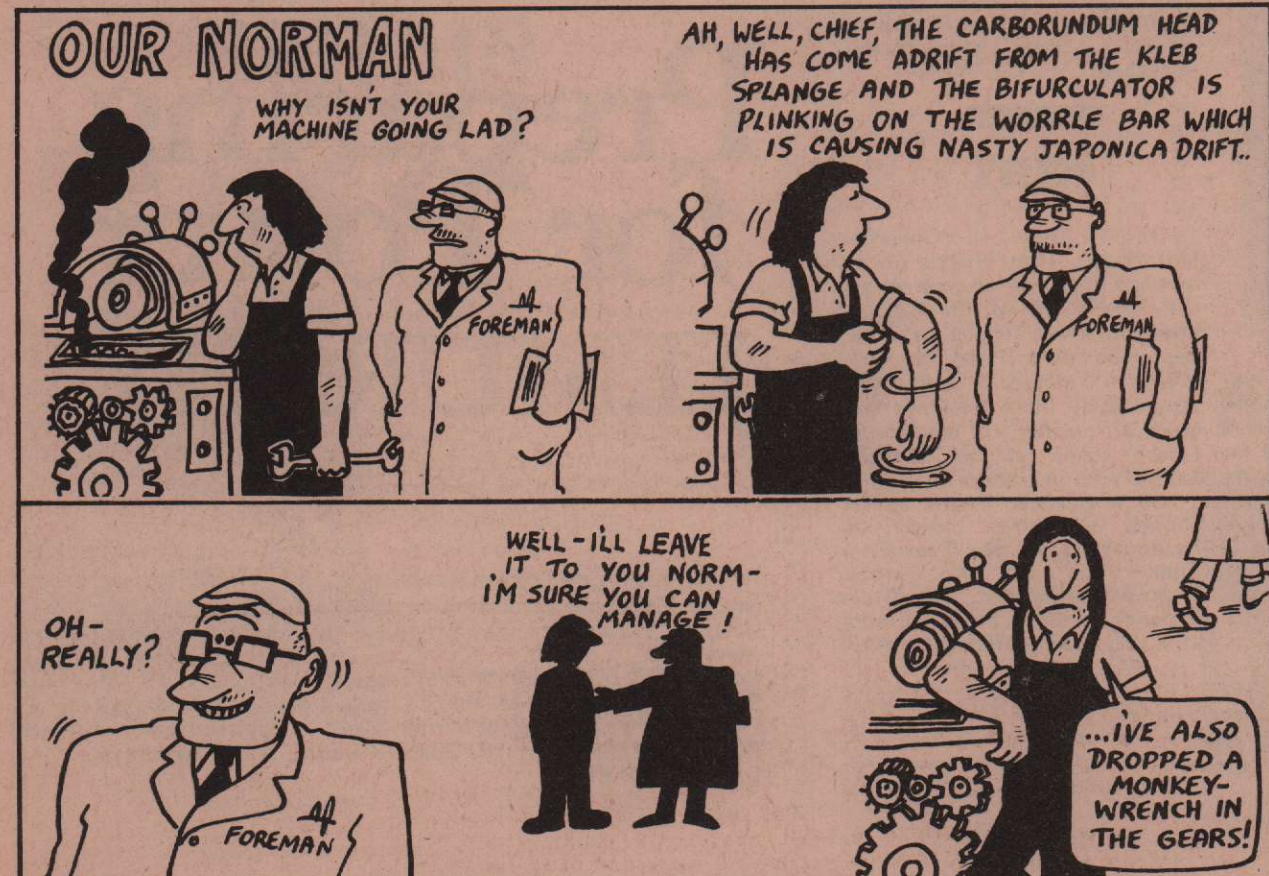
For a few days St Pancras was virtually under martial law. Meetings and marches were forbidden.

Like many of the isolated battles of the 1960s, the struggle in St Pancras was a herald of things to come. The 1972 Housing Finance Act contains many elements which originated from the St Pancras Tories' policy of 1960, and the tenants' militant resistance—and the spineless and confusing role of the local Labour councillors—has been repeated this year in town after town.

Dave Burn has used council minutes and the local press to chart the course of the rent strike. But his account still lacks the excitement so obvious in the photographs of the defiant rent rebels swathed in barbed wire fortifications which appear on the pamphlet's covers.

Hugh Kerr, of Harlow Tenants' Federation and a member of the International Socialists, contributes a forthright introduction. He had the good fortune to arrive in London for the first time right into the thick of the rent struggle: 'I stepped out of Kings Cross station and into a battle between mounted police and demonstrators outside St Pancras Town Hall. I remember thinking "England can't be as bad as I thought".'

DAVE WILGERY





# FOOTBALL ON THE SPOT

SO what is wrong with football? After prices, its the major topic of discussion these days.

Even Sailor Heath, who prefers kicking lame ducks to leather spheres, has shown some interest in the plight of Manchester United and the press is full of a welter of confusing schemes for saving the game.

It used to be violence—on the pitch as well as the terraces—that made the headlines. Now it is the dwindling crowds and the resulting financial crisis facing all but the few super-rich clubs.

A lot of shallow nonsense is talked about declining support for football. So much attention has been rooted on the catastrophic falling away of cricket crowds since the war that no one seems to have noticed that football has been bleeding quietly all the while.

In the 1930s crowds of 60,000 were a commonplace for first division games. Now some teams in the first division are lucky to muster 20,000 and attendances in the lower divisions are derisory. Even the third round FA Cup ties, once the magnet for millions, drew disappointing support.

Simple answers to the problem are not hard to find—unless you are a sports writer on a tabloid concerned only with lurid sensationalism and the after-hours activities of soccer stars.

Spectator sport in general has been on the decline for years. The motor car, television and changing attitudes to family life have diverted many people—men in particular—from the terraces on Saturday afternoons. And because television brings top international games into the living room, many fans have become tired of the second-rate boot and barge of their local team.

## DRASTIC

But the administrators of football, most of whom would be hard pressed passing the entrance exam for the Wolf Cubs, have set their faces against all the evidence and introduced a rash of new competitions and fixtures in a desperate and futile attempt to grab more support. The predictable result has been to spread the available crowds even more thin.

Last week the Football League clubs met in private and voted down a suggestion to reduce the number of clubs in the League to 80, but financial reality will inevitably take its toll. Supporters want quality not quantity and it is certain that by the end of the 1970s there will be a drastic reduction in clubs and fixtures.

The major audience for football will be via the television set. The caveman grunts from the League clubs against the 'evil' of televised soccer is further evidence of the lack of intelligence of the game's administrators.

It is ludicrous and kill-joy to wish to deprive viewers of the chance to see the best games. If the top match of any Saturday happens to be played in Liverpool, then, as a Londoner, that's the game I want to see rather than the Red Cloggers of Highbury physically destroying their opponents.

Much of the moaning about small



Teams clash in the FA Cup third round—but note the empty seats in the stand

## Roger Protz on the crisis on the terraces

crowds is the sheerest hypocrisy from immensely wealthy clubs like Arsenal and Tottenham. I have stood at both grounds this season in conditions that would cause a public outcry if repeated at a cattle auction. Presumably only the threat of a mass boycott will force them to dip into their profits—made from our perverted loyalty—to provide half-decent seated accommodation.

Which takes us to the question of violence, for one easy way to reduce punch-ups would be to put the fans in seats.

But that is just a fringe solution to a deep-rooted problem. It is now fashionable in the posh press to deride and sneer at those who trace the violence of young fans to their social background. The nadir was reached last year by Michael Parkinson in the Sunday Times, comparing the 'slack-jawed, vacant-eyed louts' of the football terraces to the impeccable behaviour of cricket spectators. I look forward with some malicious pleasure

to the first Gillette Cup riot.

More sense was written in one short piece in this paper last year than in the oceans of guff in the mass circulation press. Commenting on the riot by Glasgow Rangers' fans in Spain, Peter Bain said that for Glasgow football fanatics, the Saturday game was seen 'as getting their own back on the rest of the week.' Anybody who has walked around those endless, grey-tenemented streets with their total lack of social amenities will know what he means.

People—especially young workers—condemned by a society to routine, mind-destroying jobs or the indignity of the dole queue see the Saturday match as one short burst of colour in an otherwise drab, characterless week. Is it any wonder that pent-up frustrations and latent abilities occasionally ignite into violence or that the boss or Social Security bureaucrat are transformed into the opposing team?

## PUNCH-UPS

Far from bemoaning soccer violence, capitalism should welcome it. Better that young people should work off their frustrations within the walls of a football ground than that they should begin to channel them in the direction of social change.

If socialists are slow to grasp the opportunities by the growing, if as yet mindless, militancy of younger workers, our opponents are not. The Economist pointed out a few weeks ago that if football has become a training ground for working-class violence, then it was time the middle class got in on the act.

## PUNDITS

Small-scale soccer punch-ups have grown in step with both the local and international varieties of legalised, state violence, much of it beamed into our homes in nightly instalments. Of course, the connection is not as clear, direct or articulated as that, but many young soccer fans must have stored away the images of their Derry and Belfast counter-parts engaging in the defence of their communities.

One additional cause of crowd behaviour that is largely ignored by the press pundits is the growing alienation which fans feel to the 'idols' on the pitch. Twenty years ago, after you'd cheered yourself hoarse at the exploits of Matthews, Mortenson, Finney and company, you might find yourself in the same bus queue with them.

All that has changed dramatically. Hunter Davies' book on Spurs last year showed how the players, without

exception from orthodox working-class backgrounds, had been spring-boarded into the Rover 2000, jet-set elite. Young fans complained that Martin Chivers was 'stuck up' and wanted nothing to do with any of them.

The soccer stars are everything the fans aspire to be but can never hope to become. At Highbury a few weeks ago I was astonished by the often vicious baiting of the supporters' own players. '£200,000 ponce' was the jeering call everytime Alan Ball fumbled a pass. The money sticks in their craw.

'Socialist solutions?' Clearly in a society designed to untap the enormous potential of working people, participatory sport must have priority over spectator sport, with a massive expansion of free facilities in every area to replace the dingy 'recre' that most of us recall from our schooldays.

But for the present it is not our job either to condemn or condone the violence of modern soccer but to understand it and offer horizons and perspectives to its practitioners.

Which means making our politics as exciting and heady as the sight of Liverpool in full flood, as unanswerable as Rodney Marsh bamboozling a groggy defence, as decisive as Bobby Moore moving inexorably forward. It is an attractive proposition.

## Dad's Army under camouflage

SPIKE MILLIGAN recently wrote a very funny book titled *Adolf Hitler: My Part in his Downfall*, now available in Penguin paperback. It has just been made into a film.

Milligan's brand of humour is quite unique, and the Goons and their modern counterparts Monty Python represent the best of British humour. Most other people don't find it funny at all—that's why it's British.

'It was a proud day for the Milligan family as I was taken from the house. "I'm too young to go," I screamed as Military Policemen dragged me from my pram, clutching a dummy,' writes Milligan.

'At Victoria Station the RTO gave me a travel warrant, a white feather and a picture of Hitler marked "This is your enemy". I searched every compartment but he wasn't on the train.

'At 4.30, June 2nd 1940, on a summer's day all mare's tails and blue sky we arrived at Bexhill-on-Sea where I got off. It wasn't easy, the

train didn't stop there.'

Now, in glorious technicolour, brought to you by the Transworld Corporation (directed by Norman Cohen, Screenplay by Johnny Byrne in collaboration with Norman Cohen, A Norman Cohen Film) comes a film of the same name, with Jim Dale as Spike, pausing in between Brylcreem to burst into 'It's gonna be a good war' (words and music by Ed Welch) and Arthur Lowe as guess who (groan).

## Flat

And it's a real disaster.

First of all Milligan's humour isn't visual but written and spoken (as with the Goons as a whole). It works in the imagination: 'An agonised pain shot round my back and into my groin, down my leg and across the road to a bus-stop.'

Also his style of delivery is so personal that someone else repeating his lines tends to fall flat. This is

especially true with Jim Dale, who manages to transform loveable idiot Spike into a wisecracking smart-Alec, with a touch of the Eddie Calverts as he picks up his golden trumpet.

There are some new gags, and if you find funny such routines as RSM and Spike chased by a bull that turns out to be a cow, or Scotsman loosing his kilt and plunging into nettles, then you might not be disappointed.

Worse is to come, with some squirmingly mawkish sequences, full frontal tears and lines like 'God! I feel so helpless' as our lads stand artistically silhouetted against the blitz-illuminated sky. What satire or 'black comedy' there was in the book has been watered down into a vague and generalised undercurrent of social conscience.

You'll have to look pretty hard to find any criticism of authority (it's all one happy family except the laboured suggestion of sadism in the Scottish RSM), let alone any examina-

tion of the 'war capitalism' which made 'Catch 22' a masterpiece.

The presence of Arthur Lowe is a give-away, showing how the film grew from the idea of cashing in on the success of *Dad's Army* (perhaps using the same props) and the present manufactured nostalgia for the war-time years.

As has been pointed out on these pages before, the United States has the Wild West, we have the last war. This isn't Milligan, it's *Dad's Army* in disguise.

'The tradition of past generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living,' wrote Marx. In this case it seems to be the 1940s. Ankle deep in Brylcreem, the cracked 78s grinding away, if the old Pongo's routine don't get you, the old gang feeling will.

Dave Wild



# 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 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'.
- For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.
- 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 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 restriction.
- 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 man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.
- It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world, The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

## SCOTLAND

Aberdeen  
Cumbernauld  
Dundee  
Edinburgh  
Dunfermline/  
Cowdenbeath  
Glanrothes/Kirkcaldy  
Glasgow N  
Glasgow S  
Greenock  
Stirling

## NORTH EAST

Bishop Auckland  
Durham  
Hartlepool  
Newcastle upon Tyne  
South Shields  
Spennymoor  
Sunderland  
Teesside E  
Teesside W

## NORTH

Barnsley  
Bradford  
Dewsbury  
Doncaster  
Grimsby  
Halifax  
Huddersfield  
Hull  
Leeds  
Pontefract/  
Knottingley  
Scarborough  
Selby  
Sheffield  
York

## EAST

Basilston  
Beccles  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Colchester  
Harlow  
Ipswich  
Leiston  
Lowestoft  
Norwich  
Peterborough

## NORTH WEST

Barrow  
Blackburn  
Bolton  
Burnley  
Crewe  
Kirkby  
Lancaster  
Manchester  
Merseyside  
Oldham  
Preston  
Rochdale  
Salford  
St Helens  
Stoke  
Stockport  
Trafford  
Wigan  
Wrexham

## GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Bexley  
Camden  
Chertsey  
Croydon

## MIDLANDS

Birmingham NE  
Birmingham S  
Coventry  
Derby  
Dudley  
Leamington and  
Warwick  
Leicester  
Loughborough  
Mid-Derbyshire  
Milton Keynes  
Northampton  
Nottingham  
Oxford  
Rugby  
Warley  
Wolverhampton

Ealing  
East London  
Enfield  
Fulham and  
Hammersmith  
Hackney and  
Islington  
Harlesden  
Harrow  
Hemel Hempstead  
High Wycombe  
Hornsey  
Houslow  
Ilford  
Kilburn  
Kingston  
Lambeth  
Lewisham  
Merton  
North Herts  
Paddington  
Reading  
St Albans  
Slough  
Tottenham  
Walthamstow  
Wandsworth  
Watford  
Woolwich

## SOUTH

Brighton  
Canterbury  
Crawley  
Eastbourne  
Guildford  
Portsmouth  
Southampton

## WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath  
Bristol  
Cardiff  
Exeter  
Gloucester  
Llanelli  
Mid-Devon  
Neath  
Plymouth  
Swansea  
Swansea Valley

# THE UNIONS

## Will Ford workers pour in the anti-freeze?

by Colin Beadle

TGWU, Ford Dagenham

**FIFTY THOUSAND** Ford workers are once again in the forefront of the battle against a government wage freeze policy.

It is certain that the outcome of the Ford workers' wages-and-conditions claim will be decisive in affecting the course of events in British industry during 1973. The publication last week of the text of the trade unions' submission to the company gives us an opportunity to both study the company's policies and strategy and the official trade union response to them. It may then be possible to sketch out a plan of a strategy for Ford workers.

1972 was a very good year for Ford. None other than Sir William Batty, Ford of Britain's chairman, has said so.

He announced on 21 December that Ford had produced 750,000 vehicles and well over a million engines. Half a million vehicles were sold in Britain and more than £300 million were earned in export revenue. Ford vehicle exports topped a quarter of a million.

According to the trade union document, Ford's profit in 1972 will top £60 million. But when we turn to the wages of the workers who create all this wealth the picture changes.

### Agreement

The average Ford worker earns £34.16 for a 40-hour week after completing four years' service. The wage increase gained after the nine-week strike in 1971 has been completely absorbed by rising prices, barring 4½ per cent which is accounted for by budget and adjustments.

It is important to note that the reason Ford have done so well has much to do with the last agreement, which ran for two years. It is certain that Fords will be looking for another such agreement again.

And although the trade unions are committed to demanding a one-year agreement, in the present political climate many trade union officials

### THE CLAIM

1. A substantial flat all round wage increase [£10].
2. A reduction in the working week.
3. Four weeks annual holiday.
4. Average earnings for all holidays inclusive of shift premium.
5. Full pay when laid off, ie 100 per cent as opposed to 66.6 per cent, without penalty clauses.
6. An improvement in pension entitlement.

would endorse Ford's desire.

On this score Ford workers must be very vigilant indeed. A two-year agreement, even with in-built increases, would leave us way behind the rest of the industry.

A significant part of the trade union case hinges around demands for longer holidays, a shorter working week and better pensions. At present the real working week at Dagenham totals 45 hours on days and nights.

On top of this some areas in the Dagenham estate will be working on 50-60 hours a week. It is only by working such excessive hours that Ford's wages are brought into line with the rest of the industry.

Clearly high overtime working has had the effect of blunting the workers' aggravation over the low hourly rate. This has suited Ford's purposes admirably.

Potential employment prospects have been kept to a minimum while plant has been used to its maximum efficiency. The real benefactors have of course been the shareholders and directors and not the Ford workers.

In view of the situation in Ford, the workers are entitled to expect a far-ranging strategy from the official trade union side. But this is not so.

Since the Ford claim was first submitted to the company no real negotiations have taken place. The company and the trade union side of the National Joint Negotiating Committee have been playing an elaborate game of hide and seek.

### Vague

No mention has been made by the company of the wage freeze and the trade union side has obliged by not mentioning it either.

The company has made it plain that it intends to demand even more intensive shift working, if it concedes anything remotely in line with the unions' demand for a 'substantial' increase. Such a proposal apparently has not caused the officials to demure.

Shop stewards' demands for mutuality have been quietly dropped from the trade union submissions. Mention is made of mutuality but only as an after thought in the pamphlet and linked with vague talk of 'joint determination of investment.'

It must be clearly spelt out that the interference in the negotiations should not be tolerated and the signs are that they will not be.

Last Thursday workers in the Dagenham Body Plant went on strike against the freeze.

The trade union leaders must be forced to stop playing the company's game and insist on some real negotiations. The generals have led from behind for far too long—we cannot keep putting off for 'the next year' the battle which must be fought and won today.

## RANK-AND-FILE POWER ATTACKED BY PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' UNION

by Gwen Williams and  
Graham Jones (NUPE)

THE National Health Service, local authorities and water boards are re-organising next year for 'administrative efficiency'—at the expense of the workers.

The executive of the public employees' union, NUPE, considers the only way to confront these moves is to put similar stress on 'administrative efficiency', by re-organising the union in an equally undemocratic and bureaucratic way.

The executive council's 'Consultative Document' boasts of 'efficient methods' already introduced. An example of this is the check-off system, whereby the employer sends all members' union contributions by cheque directly to area or district office—so by-passing the branch secretary.

It also means that union dues are no longer paid through the shop steward, who loses a weekly chance to go around the workplace discussing members' problems, union affairs and recruiting. What's more, it means the management have a more up-to-date list of union members than the branch secretary.

The executive council claims that the 'old' type of branch meeting, which all union members can attend, has outlived its usefulness. They see the new role of the branch secretary as a convenor of shop stewards' committees (where they exist), which will then become the focus of branch activity.

Although this proposal is made to combat falling attendances at branches and waning interest in union affairs, it will only increase this trend and isolate union activists from the mass of union members.

Many members hardly identify with the union because of bad communication, bureaucratisation and not least because of the breakdown of the 1972 wage claim

and the NUPE leaders' refusal to push for an £8 rise instead of the meagre £4, which was linked to bonus schemes to milk the last drop of productivity out of the already over-worked members.

The initiative to push for the £8 claim has been taken by the unofficial National Alliance for Stewards for Health, which has proved that only rank-and-file organisation and pressure will force the union leaders to fight for the interests of their members.

The union's proposals for re-organisation will only serve to fragment the membership and keep them well-policed by the bureaucracy should any signs of unofficial militancy come to the surface—so fulfilling the intentions of the Industrial Relations Act.

### SOLIDARITY

This will be the result of proposals to reduce the number of branches—'desirable from an administrative point of view'. There will be super-branches with, on average, 500 members, corresponding to the areas laid down in the 1974 National Health and local authority reorganisations, so removing workplace solidarity from the branches.

To cope with the increased administration in such large branches, the executive council has suggested that full-time branch secretaries should be taken on, appointed and responsible to the executive. Already there are too many full-time officials who are completely insensitive and unprepared to fight for our interests—and this proposal would take control of the branch away from the membership.

The present workplace branch meetings would be replaced by area meetings of separate sections of workers. Stewards would represent different sections in several workplaces, when what is needed is a steward representing each section in the context of a workplace branch.

The union's proposals for sectionalism will only weaken the workers' position against management.

### CHALLENGE

These are the reasons why the 'Consultative Document' must be rejected as undemocratic at the NUPE national conference. In no way will the proposals of this document lead to the long-needed 100 per cent trade unionism in the National Health Service, local authorities or water boards. To reach this we must make our union a place where our voices will be heard and our interests fought for with determination at both national and local levels.

The only way to challenge the re-organisation proposals effectively is to push within the union for:

- 100 per cent unionisation of all NHS ancillary staff, nurses, medical, clerical staff and local authority and water board workers.
- For the establishment of local alliances of health stewards, affiliated to NASH and committed to its aims.
- Joint shop stewards committees to be formed in hospitals, hospital groups, local authorities.
- For the building of a single union to represent ancillary health workers and nurses.
- All trade union officials to be subject to recall by their members.
- Claims submitted to the Whitley Council to be decided at the union's national conference. Negotiators to be responsible to the membership to get the full claim.



# THANKS TO ANTI-FASCISTS

AS chairman of the International Socialists' Blackburn branch I wish to thank all groups and individuals who took part in the counter-demo to the National Front on Saturday.

It was a great effort in spite of the adverse weather and shows the contempt that the majority of the people have against any attempt by the ruling class's lackeys to divide the workers. I am

convinced that an even greater turnout will be organised in the event of any attempt by the National Front to spread their filthy racist propaganda.-C WILLAN, Blackburn, Lancs.

# LETTERS

## Wrong way to fight the freeze

IN his front page article on 13 January, Duncan Hallas states, quite correctly, 'The idea that there can be a "fair" prices and incomes policy under capitalism is a pipe dream.'

But then he continues with a dangerously misleading argument: 'There is one answer—and one answer only—to rising prices under the system of private profiteering. It is to fight for compensating wage rises with automatic cost of living increases built into the agreements.'

Hallas claims that this must be the strategy for busting the freeze and forcing the Tories to back down. Unfortunately this ignores the reality of the present economic situation in which to press for cost of living increases—a sliding scale of wages—can be a very dangerous demand.

For a start it is not at the present time a 'transitional' demand in the sense that it was when Trotsky advocated it in 1938. It is not a demand that the bosses cannot afford to yield. That Hallas recognises this is clear from his article in the January issue of International Socialism journal.

Nor is it the kind of reformist demand that revolutionary socialists should be raising at the present time.

As Hallas argues in his IS journal article, 'We are for the support, as our draft programme puts it, of "all demands and movements that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of workers and of other oppressed or exploited sections of the population".'

The introduction of a sliding scale of wages, as Socialist Worker has consistently argued over recent months, would do nothing to either advance or defend the position or confidence of the working class in 1973. The current rate of price inflation means that any compensating increase, after the usual deductions, would fail to keep up with the rising cost of living.

It would certainly do nothing to improve the workers share of the 'cake'. Moreover, it is clear that if the TUC and the government could do a deal over anything it would be over a sliding scale of wages, since it would let both of them off the hook for the time being.

The Tories have left this option open. Phase two of the freeze limits wage increases to £1 plus 4 per cent,

an estimated average increase of 7-8 per cent. Socialist Worker has pointed out in the past that any sliding scale would only achieve increases of approximately the same size.

The increased militancy and confidence of the working class over the past year ensured in general that wage increases managed to keep above the rise in the cost of living. To propose a sliding scale of wages at the present time is to advocate the destruction of working-class initiative and confidence.

The demands that revolutionary socialists should be proposing at this stage in the struggle should be total support for the full claims of the miners, the hospital workers, the Ford workers and other sections of the class, while mobilising the rank and file in a fight for the full claim against the Tories and the treachery of the union bureaucracies.-BILL MESSAGE, JOHN CHARLTON, Leeds 16.

## DON'T FORGET LABOUR

YOUR week-by-week campaign against the monstrous fraud of the Tory freeze and clear-cut proposals for fighting it have been excellent. But while it is correct to keep Heath and company in the centre of your sights, don't let Labour escape from criticism.

Poor Harold Wilson is feeling the cold these days. He stands naked and unadorned (a hideous sight), stripped of his political clothes by the Tories. He mouths platitudes about 'power to the people' but cannot put forward any alternative proposals for fighting the Tories because the policies of both capitalist parties are virtually identical.

In fact we can be grateful to Heath for one thing: his political somersault and adoption of state-control of wages should convince millions of workers that both parties are committed to holding down wages in order to boost profits. After attempting to return to 'old-style' Toryism, Heath has woken up to the modern facts of life and grasped the need for more and more state intervention against workers and their organisations.

## New Aussie renegade

ANY illusion that Australia's new Labour government is a 'socialist' one has been smashed by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's handling of the Seamens' Union blacking of US shipping.

In a show of support for the bomb-ravaged North Vietnamese people, the union placed a ban on American ships. After a period of silence, Whitlam has now taken a stand against the union and against three Labour ministers who spoke out in support of the union.

'I don't believe that any such action helps in any way because it distracted attention from the big issue—the bombing that was then going on,' said Whitlam on 9 January.

With the help of the president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Hawke, the seamen were persuaded to halt their blacking.

Whitlam's stand resulted from a nationwide campaign by the Australian press urging him to stand up to the rebel union. Also the right-wing leadership of the American longshoreman's union placed a retaliatory ban on Australian shipping.

The fear of losing US trade soon convinced the Prime Minister where his loyalty lay.

Rank and file trade unionists in Australia should be well prepared to meet similar action across the board as Whitlam begins his long road to compromise with Australian and foreign business interests.-PHIL HARRISON, York.

Wilson's 'opposition' to phase two is confined to pathetic bleating about 'reasoned' opposition in parliament that will not prevent the Bill becoming law. His main concern has been to admonish workers against breaking the law. Even a bad law must be obeyed, he says—leave it to Labour to change it when they get back.

And yet on television on Sunday night, in discussion with his estranged bed-mate Richard Crossman, Wilson said that the state bodies set up by Heath would create machinery that a future Labour government would find useful. In other words, a return to Labour will mean a continuation of the same anti-working-class policies.

Wilson also spoke of the danger of a drift towards fascism. Even his tired brain has grasped one fundamental point of the present legislation—that the Tories and big business are prepared to smash all the basic civil liberties and hard-won rights of the working class in order to prop up a fast-collapsing economic and social system.

Yet how do we fight the threat of the corporate state? 'Don't break the law' pipes the leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition. He will still be squeaking the same pathetic message as Long Kesh Mark Two is opened in Britain.

Now, more than ever before, real socialists and real militants must go on the offensive against the charlatans and frauds who masquerade as the Labour Party and pretend to offer some alternative to the Tories. Sour milk is no more appetising than mouldy cheese.

We have to junk both and fight with all our strength to build a genuine socialist movement concerned with power not parliamentary rubber-stamping for the bosses.-TOM ELLIS, London N17.

## A dozen oh-so-nice ways of saying 'You're going to get screwed'...

AT TIMES OF STRESS the national press always resorts to unconscious self-parody. And last week's 'phase two' package announced by Heath saw Fleet Street at its comical, desperate worst.

Even our newspapers recognise that ultimately you run out of ways of describing the same thing and on this occasion they were more stretched than ever to put across the message yet again that the workers of Britain are going to get screwed.

Most of them simply decided to face the dilemma head-on. Since it is so manifestly unfair, they reasoned, we will just tell people how fair it is. And they did. Fairness was the password of the day.

TOUGH, BUT THIS IS THE FAIR WAY FORWARD, said the Express, which somehow overlooked any mention of unfettered food prices in its 'At a glance' front page guide.

The Mirror described the package as 'right, sensible and inescapable' under the headline NO OTHER OFFER WE CAN'T REFUSE. Perhaps it didn't strike the Mail editor that the image of a thug with his gun at the head of the unions is precisely the one that many workers have of this government.

### Rebuke

What was more comical about the Mail, however, was the rebuke it carried in its leader column for its stablemate, the London Evening News, which the day previously had carried, until it was smartly changed, the headline THREE YEARS' HARD.

The Mail, anxious to obliterate such a suggestion, puffed: 'Let's have no rubbish about "three years' hard slog".' And just in case we needed telling yet again, the Mail informed us: 'The limitations on pay are fair and moderate.'

Only the Sun of the mass-circulation dailies mentioned on its front page that fresh food prices will continue unchecked. But the Sun's front page editorial also pleaded LET'S GIVE IT A CHANCE.

Inside on page three the Sun was

Another important aspect of the way it highlights the need for the freeze is the fact that the U.K. profit is £47 million less than expected to be available out of the pre-tax profit of £132 million. This arises because of a different treatment of certain items. French directors, for instance, are usually entitled to a proportion of the dividend attributable to shares held in the U.K. This means that the U.K. profit is paid out in the form of dividends to the directors. The package would mean that the profit in these shares would be paid out in the form of dividends to the directors. This would mean that the U.K. profit would be £47 million less than expected. Among the items which are accounted for differently in the two countries are the consolidated net profits for the merged companies to be £727 million for the U.K. and only £72.7 million for the British.

helping Britain's chances by offering a motor-cycle as a competition prize. The machine was imported from Italy. The picture of the bike, needless to say, was enhanced by a naked girl.

I suppose we must be in a crisis. Otherwise the Sun would have tackled the Heath package from the sex angle.

As characteristic as the Sun's daily diet of sex is the Telegraph's instinct to heap blame on the workers of this country—in particular, the miners.

The Telegraph recognises the need to throw up a smokescreen to hide the throes of capitalism impaled on its contradictions and, as a diversionary tactic, berates the 'outrageous wage claims' of a year ago.

It is, of course, too much to hope that any of Fleet Street's papers would take a real look at our society and suggest that there are alternatives to the panic measures of governments seized by economic spasms outside their control.

Such a suggestion would be an admission that they, like the governments they serve, have been wrong time and time again. Not mistakenly wrong, but fraudulently, cheatingly, viciously wrong—at the expense of their readers, the workers of Britain, who produce the wealth that keeps the frauds and cheats in their positions of comfort, influence and affluence.

RON KNOWLES

## Cash in on public's anger over price rises

I AM NOT a member of the International Socialists but I think the organisation is pretty marvellous and I do a lot here in Norwich spreading the word.

Please allow me to make a suggestion. Why don't you go ahead right now and print thousands (or millions) of leaflets exposing this terrible so-called freeze.

I have never seen the public so angry and confused over soaring beef prices and the rest. These leaflets would also help to boost the circulation of Socialist Worker.-A BROTHER, Norwich.

10p plus 3p postage  
M Falshaw—IS Books, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN  
Bulk orders post free. 10 per cent discount for orders over £5 if accompanied by payment.

# KATH ELLIS

## WOMEN FIGHT BACK





LIVERPOOL:-In a massive show of trade union strength, 20,000 workers from Merseyside and North Wales stopped work for the day last Friday against the £50,000 fine on the engineering union imposed by the National Industrial Relations Court and against growing unemployment in

the region. The strike was called by the district committee of the shipbuilding and engineering unions' confederation. It was supported by workers from Standard Triumph, Cammell Laird shipyard and, most significantly, 12,500 steel-

workers from the Shotton works in Flintshire where 6500 are threatened with redundancy. 6000 strikers marched through Liverpool for a Pier Head meeting, with the Shotton workers taking pride of place as they battle for survival with the steel barons.

# Top union quietly switches rulebook

THE amended rule book of BISAKTA, the main steel union, which was posted to branch secretaries last week contains a big surprise. Rule 19 clause 2 now reads: 'It shall not be permissible for a member or members to strike from his or their employment or take any action which might be deemed an unfair industrial practice within the meaning of the Industrial Relations Act 1971.'

Just in case anyone fails to get the message the same form of words is repeated in three places in the new rule book, in some cases adding that 'no branch officer or official may organise, advocate or support any form of industrial action without the specific permission of the executive council.'

Last year BISAKTA remained on the Act's register until shortly before the TUC meeting at which registered unions came up for suspension. General Secretary, Sir Dai Davies, who sits on the TUC General Council, then removed the union from the register and balloted the members for approval.

Members were also asked to vote for 'the proposed alteration of rules required to enable the association to deregister.'

In the executive council minutes of 24 July last year it was resolved 'that there be placed before the membership for approval the rule alteration which the association had been advised was legally necessary.' The actual rule change was not placed before the membership, nor is it known who 'advised' that it was 'legally necessary'.

BISAKTA is already infamous for undemocratic and right-wing policies. It has no annual conference, no election of full-time officials, an incomprehensible ballot system for executive elections, and a history of victimising militants. This latest piece of trickery by the union's ruling clique makes a fight for reform in the union all the more urgent.

# STEEL Workers bombard minister out to axe their jobs

by Paul Holborough

CARDIFF:-A protest lobby of more than 700 steelworkers jeered and booed the Tory Minister for Trade and Industry outside Cardiff City Hall last Friday.

Tomatoes were thrown at millionaire Minister Peter Walker and his car was rocked and banged by angry workers from the East Moors steel works, which is to be axed in the government's carve-up of the steel industry, leaving at least 4500 men redundant.

The demonstration also included delegations from the Llanwern steelworks and the neighbouring GKN steel rod mill.

After the minister had met a number of local representatives, Cardiff Labour MP Jim Callaghan said that the local action committee had prepared a well-researched case for keeping East Moors open, but that Walker had taken absolutely no notice of this. Callaghan then pledged that, with the East Moors Action Committee, the fight would be taken up in the House of Commons.

Later in the day, Michael Foot, MP for Ebbw Vale, where further massive redundancies are to take place, promised that he and other MPs would 'move heaven and hell to seek to

extend the period of rundown of steel production in Wales.' Coming from a party whose last period of government saw unemployment increased by half, such promises should be treated with great caution.

'By arguing about figures and different economic reports, we are playing right in to the hands of the British Steel Corporation. The only language the BSC and its government understand is militant action organised on a nationwide basis,' one branch secretary of BISAKTA, the main steel union, told Socialist Worker.

Ray Collier, the Electricians' Union convenor at East Moors, expressed support for the public meeting to fight the closures sponsored by the rank-and-file paper Steelworker on Friday where Arthur Affleck, chairman of the joint shop stewards committee at BSC Lackenby is to speak.

Ray Collier added that the main need was to organise on a national scale, involving both the works that are immediately threatened and the five so-called 'heritage' plants which are to remain but which will themselves be threatened with redundancies, rationalisation and new productivity deals if the closures are not stopped.

Reports and documents arguing for plants to stay open will be effective only as far as they are backed by militant action. The Tory government and 'Moors murderer' Lord Melchett, boss of the BSC, must have their plans thrown back in their faces.

## THIRTIES

Steelworkers at Shotton and East Moors who went on a 24-hour strike last week against the closures have shown the way.

BISAKTA's national officials are clearly not prepared to give the lead. The responsibility for a serious fight against closures lies with rank-and-file militants.

If they can join hands with others in steel plants up and down the country, a movement can be built which will wipe out the prospect of a return to the hungry thirties which the government and the BSC want to impose on steelworkers.

## Massive strike wins back jobs

SCUNTHORPE:-Watson Norrie, one of three main electrical contractors on the giant British Steel Corporation Anchor site has been forced to reinstate 38 workers sacked before Christmas for working to maximum safety in protest at the site's deplorable accident record.

The firm, which had staged secret ballots and launched a vicious witch-hunt against the men with the help of the local Electricians' Union official, backed down last week after striking electricians were joined by more than 2000 construction workers.

The speed of the victory was also due to the employers' fear that the strike would spread to other big sites up and down the country and turn into an all-out fight against the Joint Industry Board agreement which operates in the electrical contracting industry.

This reactionary deal, which takes bargaining out of the hands of the rank and file and contains vicious penalty clauses, has meant that electricians earn substantially less than any other workers in the construction industry. At Anchor Watson Norrie has also been forced to agree to talks about defying the JIB and paying higher wages.

# Freeze protest: all out during Heath visit

by Lynne Isaacs

CAMBORNE, Cornwall:-In a magnificent protest against phase two of the government's 'freeze' workers at Holman Brothers engineering works refused to work during a visit to the factory by Mr Heath last week.

The men struck for one hour during Heath's visit and demonstrated outside the factory. Despite freezing rain and gale-force winds the men waited for more than an hour for Heath to arrive. Because of appalling weather he came by road instead of by helicopter as originally planned.

There was shouting and booing as his car drove straight past the men at high speed and was whisked into the factory, the gates slamming after him. After a tour of the factory he was driven to the office block, about 150 yards away, and had a quick tour of the block.

When he came out again the crowd surged forward, shouting and chanting

and there were scuffles between the police and demonstrators. The shop stewards' committee has since filed a complaint against the police.

Action was first planned a week earlier when news of Heath's visit first reached the factory. A shop stewards' committee meeting decided to present a petition to Heath during his visit and this was then arranged with the management.

Tony Williams, secretary of the committee and a member of the Engineering Union, said: 'After the broadcast on Wednesday evening of the government's proposals for phase two of the freeze, the mood of the men changed. We all feel that this is a monstrous attack on the working man and is another step towards a police state. At a mass meeting yesterday it was decided to take the action that you see going on now.'

'This is a marvellous day for Cornwall, nothing like this has ever happened before.'

# WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive by first post Monday morning. Charges are 5p per line, semi-display 10p per line. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Invoices cannot be sent.

## IS MEETINGS

**MIDLAND REGION INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS DAY SCHOOL on RACIALISM**  
Sunday 4 February, 11am-6pm  
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham  
Speakers: Nigel Harris on Racialism and Roger Kline on Fascism  
**IS MEMBERS ONLY**  
All branches outside the Midlands are encouraged to send representatives

**LONDON REGION IS public meeting:** Reform or Revolution and the nature of the British Labour Party. Speaker Paul Foot. Friday 26 February, 7.30-9.30pm, The Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. (Three minutes from Holborn tube).

**CONFERENCE for IS members** involved in Irish work. This Saturday, 27 January, 11am, at 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Entrance by IS membership card.

**WATFORD IS:** Racialism and how to fight it. Speaker from Watford Indian Workers Association and John Rose (IS). Thursday 1 February, 8pm, at the Trades Union Hall, Woodford Road, Watford.

**HORNSEY IS:** The Need for a Revolutionary Party. Speaker Tony Cliff. Tuesday 30 January, 8pm, Duke of Edinburgh pub, Fonthill Road, London N4 (close to Finsbury Park tube).

**Public meeting CARDIFF IS/STEELWORKER FIGHT THE CLOSURES AT EAST MOORS**  
Speakers Arthur Affleck and Paul Foot  
Friday 26 January, 8pm  
Guildford Crescent Baths, Cardiff

**HACKNEY AND ISLINGTON IS public meeting on Vietnam.** Speaker Ian Birchall, Monday 29 January, 8pm, Rose and Crown, corner of Stoke Newington Church St and Albion Road, London N16.

**LONDON SOCIALIST WORKER ORGANISERS meeting:** Friday 26 January, 7-8.30pm, at 6 Cottons Gardens, E2. All organisers must attend or send a deputy.

**KILBURN IS public meeting THE FREEZE: PHASE TWO NEW TORY ATTACK ON WAGES**  
Speaker John Palmer (member of IS national committee)  
Wednesday 31 January, 8pm  
Willesden Trade and Labour Hall, Harlesden Road, London NW10 (near bus garage)  
All welcome

## NOTICES

**OLD TROTSKYIST PAMPHLETS for sale:** see Socialist Worker issue 305 (13 January) for details.

**STEELWORKER public meeting FIGHT THE STEEL CLOSURES**  
Speakers Arthur Affleck and Paul Foot  
Thursday 25 January, 7.30pm  
Penuel Vestry, Ebbw Vale

**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES presents:** Eileen Atkins in TRIALS AND ERRORS, a dramatic anthology on the theme of crime and punishment. The Mermaid Theatre, Blackfriars, London EC4, on Sunday 28 January at 8pm. Tickets £3, £1.50 and 75p, available at the box office, or phone 01-248 7656. All proceeds to NCCL.

**POSTERS OF TROTSKY—25p each plus 10p post and packing.** Send cheque or crossed postal order please, payable to Colchester IS, to Helen Lentell, 31 Cannon St, Colchester, Essex. Orders for more than

**LYNCH LAW AND BRITISH ORDER in The Worker,** revolutionary Irish socialist newspaper published by the Socialist Workers Movement—order now from Kevin O'Doherty, Flat 6, 117 Wandsworth Bridge Road, London SW6.

**UNIQUE GIFTS to friends (or just you!)** Chinese pure silk woven portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, etc. Sizes 16in x 10½in—70p each; 28in x 19½in—£1.10. LP gramophone record, Chinese choir and orchestra singing the famous Internationale—37p. Immediate delivery. D Volpe, 16 Belmont Court, London N16 5QD.

**EALING Rank and File:** Nigel Wright on Democracy in Schools. Monday 29 Jan, 7.30pm, Three Pigeons, High St, Ealing, London W5.

**JUMBLE WANTED URGENTLY** (for Wandsworth IS jumble sale in Feb (details later)). All proceeds to Printshop Fund. Please bring to Typesetting Dept, 6 Cottons Gardens, E2, or ring 675 3709.

**INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM JOURNAL:** The following back copies are still available, but some only in limited numbers: 33, 34, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52. 20p per copy, including postage. Money with orders please to: IS Journal, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

**WHEN writing to Socialist Worker please mark envelopes clearly either EDITORIAL or BUSINESS.**





THE RENTS BATTLE

# CLAY CROSS:

# WE WILL NOT PAY

CHARLIE BUNTING, unemployed, sacked two years ago for his leading part in a strike at Inghams, a local engineering firm; David Nuttall, fluor spar miner, GMWU branch secretary, victimised and sacked by a road haulage firm for refusing to carry a letter during the postal strike; Roy Booker, coke worker and a member of the NUM; Graham Smith, unemployed, also sacked and victimised at Inghams; Terry Asher, foundry worker and ASTMS shop steward; Dave Percival, shop steward in the local Clay Cross foundry, twice offered a foreman's job, which he twice refused; David Skinner, cable worker and President of the local branch of NUPE; his brother Graham Skinner, council worker, secretary of NUPE; Arthur Wellon, planning engineer; Eileen Wholey, canteen cook; George Goodfellow, school caretaker and shop steward—ten men and one woman who have each been fined £635 for keeping faith with the people who elected them and with their class.

The eleven Labour councillors of Clay Cross in Derbyshire, where 17 per cent of the workforce is unemployed, are refusing to implement the Housing Finance Act, as promised in countless election manifestoes.

The government sent in the district auditor, Charles Lacey, who announced on 19 January: 'A loss of £6985 has been incurred by the negligence and misconduct of the council.' He declared the councillors liable for that amount.

If the councillors do not pay, and if they do not put up the rents, they continue to be liable for extra payments to the tune of about £1600 a week.

One thing becomes quickly clear to the visitor to Clay Cross. No power on earth can make these councillors party to rent increases under the Housing Finance Act.

## SPONTANEOUS

Outside the small council offices last Monday, in temperatures near freezing, Violet Broomhall, Carol Boyd and Anne Parker were holding up a banner which declares: CLAY CROSS WILL NOT PAY. They stood there all day Friday and will be standing there all day this week to demonstrate their support for the rent strike which started spontaneously as soon as the district auditor announced his findings.

'We have the best council in the country,' says Violet Broomhall, whose husband works at the Ireland pit near Clay Cross. (Carol Boyd's husband is also a miner, Anne Parker's a labourer.)

'We want them to stay in Clay Cross doing the job they were elected to do. We want no rent increase, and the rent strike goes on until we're sure of both.'

At the council meeting that evening, under an item headed Tree-planting Year, it was proposed and carried with no votes against, that a weeping willow be planted in the town to commemorate Britain's entry into the Common Market. Most of the meeting was taken up with vitriolic attacks on the delaying tactics of the Tory-controlled Derbyshire County Council.

At the end of the meeting, David Skinner, chairman of the Planning Committee, announced: 'I would like to put it on record that I will not issue either notices to



by Paul Foot

Journalist of the Year

quit, letters or visits to anyone who refuses to pay their rent or rates. They've got my backing.'

After the meeting, David Skinner told me: 'A woman came up to me in the street. She says: "What shall I do with my rent, David? Shall I put it on one side." No, I says, go and spend it on some luxury, like beef.'

The councillors of Clay Cross have for ten years used all of their powers to help the working people in the town. They have almost demolished the slums. They have bought up almost all the privately-rented houses. They have kept council rents down to something near where they should be (the average council rent in Clay Cross is £1.50 a week).

## TASK FORCE

As a result they have not lost a single seat since 1960. Polling at election times is always in the region of 65 to 75 per cent (more than twice the national average).

For a decade, the councillors have devoted themselves unswervingly to the Labour Party cause. Again and again an active task force from Clay Cross has been dispatched at election times to revive the collapsing Labour Party organisation in surrounding areas.

In return, the Labour Party has rubbed the councillors' noses in the dirt. Clay Cross councillors watched in amused despair as Labour council after Labour council gave up the battle against the rent Act on the advice of the Labour leadership.

They were less surprised when Labour's left-wing national execu-

tive voted to reverse a conference decision which had promised that councillors fined for refusing to put up rents would be reimbursed by the next Labour government. They look forward grimly to the visit of Reg Underhill, Labour's National Agent, on 23 February.

Underhill will be 'investigating' on behalf of the executive's organisation sub-committee the decision of the North East Derbyshire Labour Party (on which the non-implementers still have a small majority) to refuse to allow implementing councillors to sit for the new North East Derbyshire District Council, which is to be formed next year.

Through all of this, Clay Cross has stood firm, encouraged by the flood of about 60 letters which come every day from all over the world offering support.

Whether or not the councillors decide to appeal against the auditor's decision, the conflict cannot be long delayed.

## PACKED

The government will not sit back and allow an exception in Clay Cross. Either by putting in a commissioner, or by taking over itself, or by placing the town in the control of the Derbyshire County Council Tories, the government will try its best to get the Clay Cross rents up.

The battle will then move from the council chamber to the estates.

David Nuttall, the council's vice-chairman, said: 'Last weekend the women in one estate came and asked us to speak at meetings, and we had two meetings in people's living rooms, packed out. In the next week we'll have more meetings, and I hope we'll form street committees. I think the formation of these committees is vital if the rent strike is to succeed.'

Arthur Wellon, Labour group leader, has some firm advice to the hundreds of trade unionists who have written offering support: 'The only way they can help,' he says, 'is by industrial action.'

'The rank and file of the working class of this country have got to put the leadership into a position where they must take action. They cannot compromise. They've got to challenge the government head-on. Then they'll win.'

## 1000 sit-in workers march through town

SUNDERLAND:-More than 1000 workers from Coles Cranes marched through the streets last week to draw attention to their dispute. They have been occupying the factory for nearly three weeks to force the company to honour an agreement with the unions, yet hardly a word about this important dispute has appeared in the local paper, the Sunderland Echo.

The march succeeded in breaking this press boycott for a while, and it won support from councillors and local MPs for the Coles workers. But the weakness of the dispute is that so far it has been largely confined to Sunderland.

A big combine like the Acrow group cannot be beaten this way. So long as work and orders can be transferred to other factories in the group (Acrow also controls Priestman Excavators and Adamson and Hatchett), the Sunderland workers are fighting with one hand tied behind their backs.



DID you know that 10,000 anti-war demonstrators marched in London on Saturday against Nixon's mayhem in Vietnam? You wouldn't know if you relied on the millionaire press and television for your information, because they greeted the march with an almost total blackout.

It was the biggest Vietnam march seen for some years in London. Separate con-

tingents organised by The British Council for Peace in Vietnam and the Indo-China Solidarity Committee linked up in Trafalgar Square and marched on the US Embassy in Grosvenor Square. More than 1200 International Socialists, drawn mainly from the Midlands, London and the South, formed one of the main sections of the demonstration. Picture: JEFF PICK.

# Would-be Goats rejoin union after go slow

THE two would-be James Goats at Thorn's radio and TV valve factory in Sunderland have now rejoined their unions and are being accepted back in the factory. They agreed to make a public apology and retraction for their anti-union behaviour in leaving the General and Municipal and engineering unions, and invoking the terms of the Industrial Relations Act.

They were suspended after the Thorn workers started a go slow and insisted they be sacked. It is understood the GMWU has also fined its would-be renegade for his behaviour and that he has paid.

The National Industrial Relations Court, sitting in Scotland last week, refused to grant an interim injunction restraining the Greenock district secretary of the AUEW and two shop stewards from committing so-called unfair industrial practices.

The injunction was sought by Stewart's, a small haulage firm, whose drivers consistently went through AUEW picket lines during the 16-week strike at the shipyard last year. Since then engineers in the yards have refused to handle Stewart deliveries and forced Scott Lithgow to stop giving the firm orders.

The AUEW boycotted the hearing. Judge Griffiths was obviously more worried by the prospect of a big strike in the shipyards than the freedom of

some petty employer.

The TUC leadership this week decided not to recommend the expulsion from Congress of unions registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

At the 1972 TUC Congress in Brighton the TUC leaders suggested that registered unions should not be expelled but only suspended and given six months to comply.

Those registered have now had the six months and are still not to be expelled. They have again been given more time. The TUC has turned tail on its own policy.

## Borstal site workers defend closed shop

LEICESTER:-Building workers on Tarmac's new borstal site at Glen Parva last week forced management not to employ workers who would not join the union.

Eight bricklayers from the labour-only outfit SOS presented themselves at the site last Wednesday. The UCATT members on the site stopped work when five of the bricklayers refused point blank to join the union. On Thursday, the 60 union men staged a sit-in in the canteen.

Tarmac then told SOS that if its men did not join the union, they would not be employed.

# GLASSWORKERS WALK OUT IN CANTEEN ROW

YORKSHIRE:-All workers at the Rockware Glass 'New Works' at Knottingley walked out on Monday when management refused to allow operators proper canteen facilities.

A meeting in the morning between Transport and General Workers Union representatives and management discussed the issue. At lunchtime copies of Knottingley Glassworker, a Socialist Worker factory bulletin, were handed out at the factory.

Under the heading of 'No gravy for operators', the bulletin said: 'Amid a welter of publicity, the new £55,000 canteen has just been opened. Management promised that meals would be laid on for those workers who are unable to attend the canteen. But right from the start that promise was broken. Operators are still being refused any

such facilities. The reason given by management is that the factory inspectors would not approve of such action since the conditions in which the operators work are not fit to eat meals in.

'Presumably they reckon that it is all right to eat sandwiches with grubby fingers but not proper meals with a knife and fork.'

The strike is particularly significant in view of the proposed closure of the Greenford factory in London, which is being shut down for property speculation. It is believed that the bulk of production there is to be switched to Knottingley.

In the afternoon break the operators walked out when they were refused canteen facilities. All the sorters and other workers in the plant followed them in sympathy. Last year both operators and sorters were involved in strikes, but there was no similar sympathy action.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

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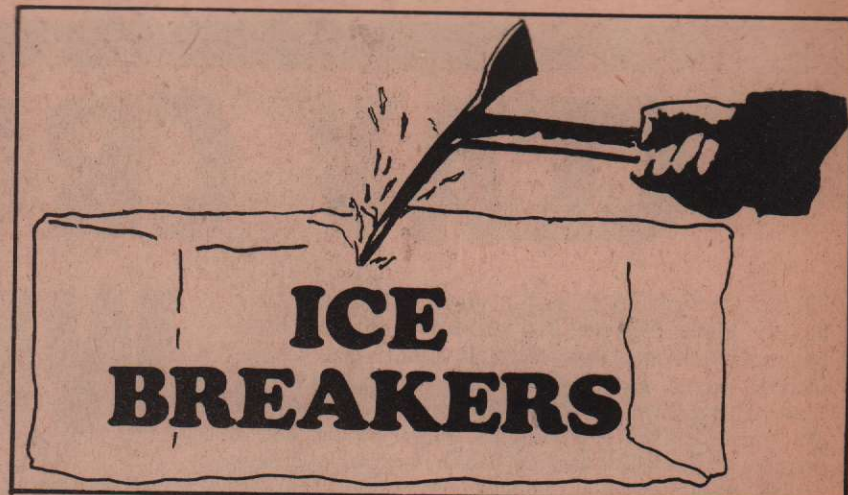
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# Socialist Worker

## WE FIGHT ON, SAY ANGRY GASMEN



### WORKERS WHO WILL BEAT THE FREEZE

**GASWORKERS** reacted angrily to the Gas Council's offer of a £2-a-week rise across the board last week.

Though the General and Municipal Workers Union had called off industrial action, thousands of workers in Scotland and many parts of England staged a one-day strike.

In many places this was followed by a total overtime ban.

In Scotland the shop stewards' unofficial committee estimated that 80 per cent of the men had supported the strike. They telegraphed the union's negotiators in London to warn there would be further action.

At Airdrie and Coatbridge the strikes continued until the end of the week and the men only returned to work on Monday. Throughout Scotland an overtime ban followed the strike, coupled with a policy of non-co-operation with management—despite clear opposition to this from the union.

Three depots in the Nottingham area staged one-day token stoppages. John Thorneloe, secretary of the No 1 Nottinghamshire branch of the union, described the £2 offer as 'totally unsatisfactory'. During the strike pickets manned the gates of the three depots, turning away all vehicles.

Further one-day strikes were planned for this week.

The gas workers' basic wage rate is £19. In the past five years the union has accepted massive cuts in the gas industry's workforce: a third of all jobs have been axed while productivity has trebled.

The Nottinghamshire pickets said that the way forward lay in the solidarity action taken against the Industrial Relations Act by groups of workers acting together.

In Scotland gas workers have shown for the first time that with organisation they can act effectively. Their next general meeting is to be held this weekend to consider further action to force the Gas Council to improve its miserable offer.

The question of how to get the two unions involved, the General and Municipal and the Transport and General, to lead a real fight against the freeze will also be discussed.

The way forward lies in more co-ordinated unofficial action in Scotland and the building of links with gas workers in England to spread the scale of the action.



Gas workers demonstrating in Glasgow during their one-day strike last week. They warned the union leaders that there will be more unofficial action to come unless an official campaign is organised

## One-day strike call narrowly defeated

A CALL for industrial action against the freeze was narrowly rejected at a meeting of the national executive of the biggest civil service union, the CPSA, last Friday.

It turned down a call for an immediate one-day strike, extended selective strike action and a national strike levy by 15 votes to 11.

Instead the executive is asking 22 mass rallies throughout the country to back a plan which will evade direct conflict with the government. It is postponing any decision about further action until after a meeting with the other civil service unions and is calling for a special conference of the TUC to organise a united campaign against the freeze.

But rank-and-file activists are determined that the membership should not be

fobbed off in this way.

The recently established rank-and-file journal, Redder Tape, has produced 15,000 leaflets to be distributed at all the rallies. It argues strongly that the strike call defeated on the executive should be put into effect and points out that since phase three of the freeze is going to be even more vicious than phase two, if civil servants do not take action now, they will suffer their worst defeat for years.

At the London rally, which was held last Tuesday, 4000 CPSA members voted unanimously for a resolution giving the executive the power to take 'any action' to win the wage increase backdated to 1 January. The rally then marched to Downing Street, chanting 'Heath Out'.

But although this reflected the militancy of the meeting, the vote did not tie the executive to any concrete policy. In Glasgow 600 CPSA members braved a blizzard to attend the regional rally last weekend. John Raywood, the CPSA assistant secretary, put the executive line

But this was not good enough for many members. Danny Costello, chairman of the Lanarkshire branch, tried to put a resolution calling for an immediate ban on overtime. When the chairman ruled that Costello was out of order his ruling was carried by a handful of votes only.

## 2500 out at shipyard

by Mike Hodges

Convener, Vosper Thornycroft Shop Stewards Committee

SOUTHAMPTON:—2500 hourly-paid workers at the Vosper Thornycroft shipyard came out on a one-day strike against the wage freeze on Monday. Three hundred marched through the town in protest against the government's anti-working-class and anti-union policies.

The aim of the strike was to get as many other workers as possible, locally and nationally, to take strong action against the government's wages policy. The more who take part in this kind of action, the greater will be the pressure on the trade union leadership to take a strong stand against this policy.

Already the Vosper Thornycroft workers' action has helped to push the engineering union district committee into calling a one-day strike against the Industrial Relations Act. More than 1000 AUEW members came out with Vosper Thornycroft on Monday.

This struggle is a fight against the government. It has been left to ordinary workers to do the fighting as neither the TUC nor the Labour Party has shown any real leadership.

Our action will show this government that working people are not going to give the freeze the wholehearted support that Heath claims.

## IS FUND PASSES HALF-WAY MARK

A TOTAL of £2795 in donations received last week for the IS Fighting Fund pushed the grand total received so far to £15,284.

IS branches in particular have responded well, and include: Leicester £60, Hull £14, Tottenham £340, Dundee £29.50, Wandsworth £97.42, Peterborough £20, Glasgow North £32, Doncaster £500, Edinburgh £50.50, Hackney £100, Enfield £40, Glasgow South £17.75, Leeds £140, Woolwich £26, Walthamstow £21.50.

We have received many individual donations including: 'A regular reader, Norwich'

£5, 'A reader' Manchester, £5, A group of students in Kilburn Polytechnic £20.

A reader in Leeds sent the following letter: 'Find enclosed £100 cheque. Sorry it is not 10 times bigger, but young hospital technicians only get £20 per week. Heath's proposals were announced yesterday, and I was a bit shocked, even though I knew what to expect: it spurred me on to send you the money.'

And a reader from Leigh-on-Sea sending a hefty donation of £100, wrote: 'I don't think there are any better causes around.

Good luck.'

To aid the regular and systematic collection of money at places of work, our printshop has printed collection sheets. They can be obtained from local IS branches or from the IS headquarters.

The support for the fund is growing, but we must not relax for a minute if we are to reach our £30,000 target.

● Rush donations to: Tony Cliff, Acting IS National Treasurer, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

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