

Socialist Worker

No 326 9 June 1973 5p

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Hands off top profiteers says Wilson

LABOUR BOW TO BIG BUSINESS

THE LABOUR PARTY's pretence of being opposed to the Tory system of society has been shattered by Harold Wilson's decision to reject a plan to nationalise 25 of the top companies in Britain.

The decision exploded the hollow claims of the Labour Party to stand for the interests of ordinary working people against the enormous power of the giant monopolies that dominate the economy.

The proposal to take over 25 unnamed firms, carried by a majority of one on the party's executive, was not itself a serious threat to the power of the monopolies (see Editorial page 3). But equally important is the attitude embodied by Wilson and his supporters in the leadership of the party.

Speech after speech in the last week has stressed that a policy of nationalisation will be electorally unpopular.

Unpopular with millions of working people? They have had clear evidence in recent weeks of the real nature of the big business system.

TAX DODGES

The battle between the competing profiteers of Lonrho revealed a world of tax dodges, £50,000 salaries, £130,000 compensation for loss of office, limitless expense accounts and company cars.

And now the merger between City giants Hill Samuel and Slater-Walker has brought to light dubious deals to inflate share prices in companies that have been taken over by subsidiaries of Slater-Walker.

So when Wilson and his henchmen speak of 'unpopular policies' they can only mean that they would be unpopular with the men of Lonrho and Slater-Walker. Unpopular with Distillers who developed Thalidomide.

The Labour leaders are spelling out in advance of the next election that, even if they are returned to power, they will refuse to take even the most miserable steps to curb the power of the monopolies to profit at our expense.

ILLUSIONS

In other words, the next Labour government will continue the policies of the last one: bowing down to big business and the City, giving vast handouts to the bosses with one hand while attempting to cut living standards and the power of trade unionists with the other.

Wilson's frightened squeal when it seemed for one moment that Labour might upset big business should destroy any last lingering illusions workers have in Labour as an alternative to the Tories.

Real nationalisation—workers' power, the power of those who produce the wealth—means a head-on conflict with the rule of the tiny minority who live on our backs when they are not in the Cayman Islands or Maida Vale brothels.

Workers' power will be achieved by building a real mass socialist party prepared to fight the power of the bosses. Labour has shown once again that far from being in favour of such power it will fight with the bosses to prevent it.

Christine and Tony ready to fight the bailiffs

HERE'S a couple with a rather more pressing housing problem... Christine and Tony Manley are prepared to defy a council eviction order made six weeks ago when Christine was pregnant. With squatters and other local supporters they were planning to sit tight in their flat in Islington, North London, to resist the bailiffs due on Friday.

The area around Caledonian Road is being redeveloped and Islington's Labour council is rehousing people—except the Manleys, who have been in their flat for a year. The estate agent didn't tell them about the plans when they moved in and now the council refuses to take responsibility. The Manleys are prepared to move—but not onto the streets. Any offers, Buckingham Palace...?

Picture: PETER HARRAP (Report)



TOP STORIES IN THE TOP SOCIALIST PAPER

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HELP THIS HOMELESS COUPLE

ONE THING has to be admitted about the Tory government: its pay and prices policy hits equally hard at everybody, regardless of position or rank.

This was brought home to the viewing millions last week when a reporter spoke of the dreadful plight facing Princess Anne and Lieutenant Mark Phillips. 'Like every young couple,' he said, with the faintest suggestion of a lump in his throat, 'they face the problem of finding somewhere to live.'

Socialist Worker is deeply concerned about this problem and we have given serious thought to just how we can help the Princess and her future husband.

Let us assume that they cannot at this stage raise a deposit on a mortgage and are thinking in terms of renting accommodation. One firm with a nice line in spacious dwellings is Windsor Estates Ltd. This company, with good connections in Germany and Greece, owns Buckingham Palace, SW1.

A spokesman for the firm told Socialist Worker this week that the palace has a total of 600 rooms—including throne rooms of all varieties.

MORTGAGE?

But let us suppose that Princess Anne and Lieutenant Phillips are anxious to leave the big city—they are, after all, fond of country life. Here again, Windsor Estates can help. They have on offer Balmoral and Holyrood House in Scotland, Sandringham and Windsor Castle in England.

But naturally, the Royal couple, as staunch supporters of a property-owning democracy, would much prefer to buy their own home.

At present Princess Anne's income is a mere £15,000 a year.

But on her marriage, the Princess will receive an increase of £20,000. With such prospects in view, our housing correspondent is of the opinion they could approach a building society for a mortgage with some slender hope of success.

Sadly we have to report that some mean and unpleasant people who belong to the trade union movement have pointed out that Princess Anne's increase of £20,000 a year is outside the conditions of the government's Phase Two policies. A team of Socialist Worker statisticians have been at work for some days in an attempt to refute this ugly nonsense.

SCHMALTZ

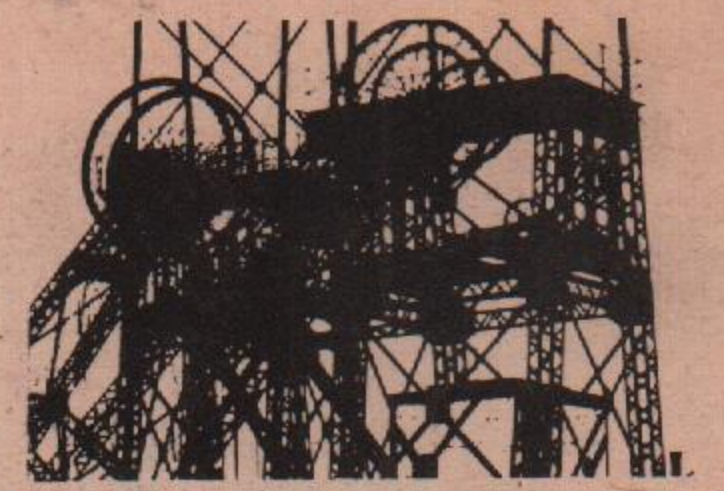
They point out that while the increase does not strictly adhere to £1 plus 4 per cent, its critics have failed to appreciate the powerful element of productivity contained in the rise. They feel that the government is more than justified in allowing the increase in view of the substantial amounts of froth, razzamatazz and schmaltz that will be produced by the Princess and her husband over the years.

And the government has been quick to stress that the engaged couple, even before their marriage, have made a contribution to the well-being of society that is a form of 'threshold agreement' much fancied by both Mr Heath and the TUC. It was, after all, thanks to the announcement of their engagement, that the public's mind was taken off the reprehensible activities of a few malodorous and quite unrepresentative peers and businessmen.

But meanwhile, the housing problem remains. We know that our readers will respond with their usual generosity and warmth to yet another appeal from Socialist Worker. Dig deep, dear readers. Your response will be a measure of your support not just for the Royal couple but for the way of life they uphold.

Send donations to: Princess Anne Housing Appeal, c/o Shelter, the National Campaign for the Homeless, 86 Strand, London WC2.

LOFTHOUSE



Bill Message reports from the inquiry

WATER THAT WARNED OF DISASTER

THE EVIDENCE given on the opening days of the public inquiry into the disaster at Lofthouse Colliery has shown the Coal Board and its officials in a poor light. Seven miners died in the mine collapse on 21 March.

From the evidence already heard, it is clear that the disaster should not have happened. If the officials responsible had heeded warnings and had adhered more closely to the procedure regarding the treatment of abandoned mineshafts it is almost certain that the inrush of water which hit the men working on the morning of Wednesday 21 March would not have happened.

Witness after witness told the public inquiry—which opened last Wednesday in Wakefield—of a peculiar smell which accompanied a seepage of water on the face and in the advanced heading of the main gate. Both the water and smell, never before experienced on face 9SB, had been present for at least two weeks before the disaster occurred.

Mr Albert Thackwray, a trepanner (coal-cutter) operator, who had been working on the afternoon shift before the incident, described an unpleasant smell in the overcast area at the bottom of the tailgate where water that had drained back from the face was standing. He said that there was a similar smell on the face which seemed to be concentrated at the main gate end. This smell had been present for about a fortnight.

He had told his district overman, Mr Sparkes, about the smell. 'He said he would look into it further.' Questioned by Mr Ray Purvis, divisional Inspector of Mines and Quarries, Mr Thackwray said, 'I have worked in every part of this pit and the smell was only on the South 9B face.'

In reply to Arthur Scargill, acting general secretary of the Yorkshire NUM, he said that he had been paid water money for a fortnight before the inrush and that he had never heard of water money being paid on any faces in the Flockton seam before. He said that there had also been water in the advanced heading and that it too had smelt.

TRUSTED

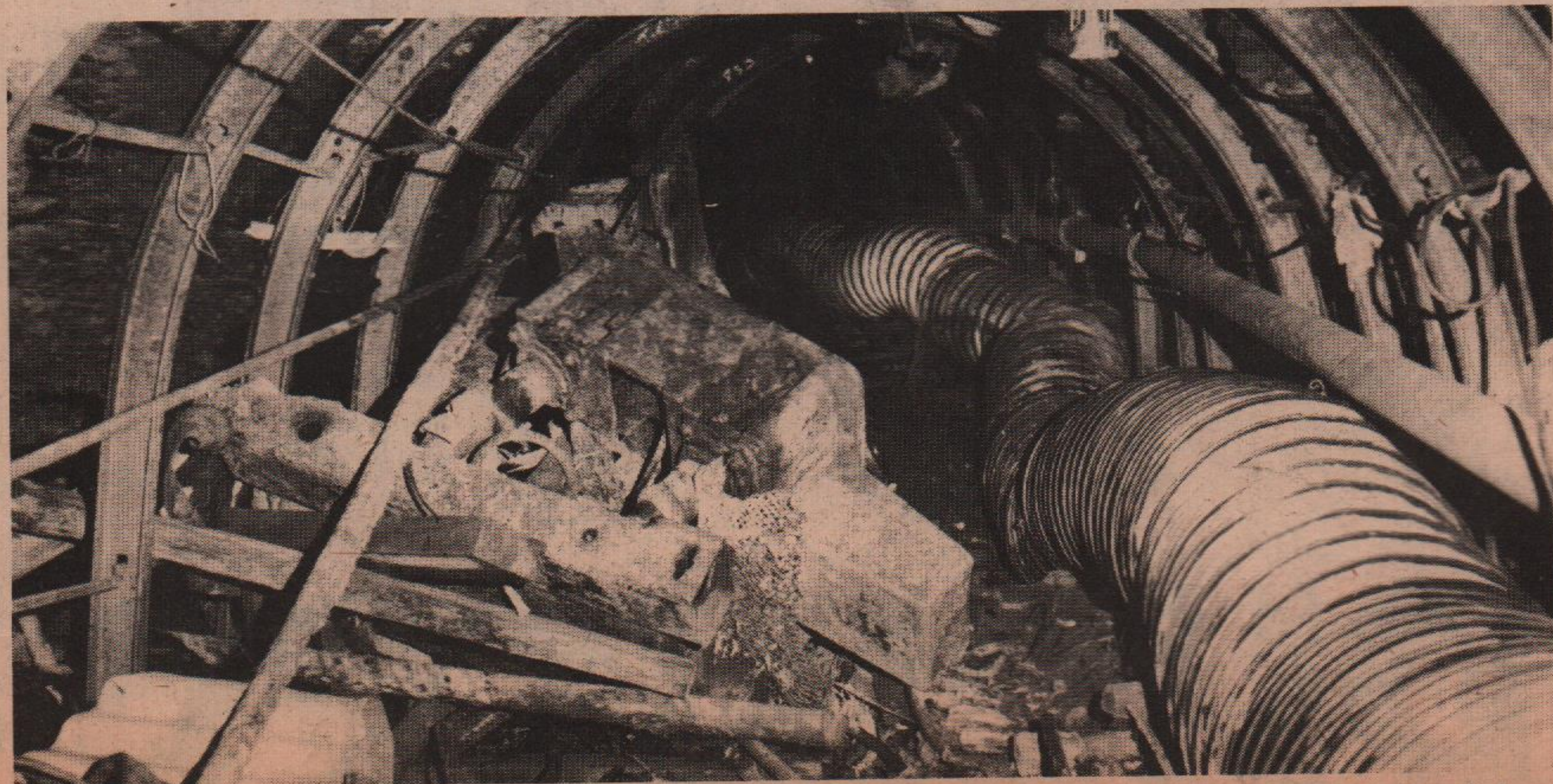
Arnold Rose, a deputy in the tailgate on the afternoon shift of 20 March, said that three months before the disaster water had begun to appear in the shot-holes bored in the heading. At first the water had been present only in the lowest holes, but two weeks before the disaster water had been present in the middle row and just prior to the date of the inrush the top holes had also been damp.

He added that the water had a smell to it 'of stagnant water'. He had asked the overman, Mr Sparkes, about it and had been told that it came from old workings.

Mr Rose told Arthur Scargill that he had been satisfied by Mr Sparkes' answer, because he trusted that the management knew about the old workings and because he knew that the face would finish in April when it reached a fault. Production would then be transferred to face South 9C, which was being developed.

Giving evidence on Wednesday, afternoon shift overman Raymond Sparkes said that he remembered talking to Albert Thackwray, but claimed that he had merely put the water down to 'nuisance water'. He had spoken to Arnold Rose about the water coming down from the bore-holes in the tailgate heading and said that he had told him it was probably coming from the worked out SWA district.

Questioned by Arthur Scargill, he said the water had a 'stagnant smell' and that he had reported it a week previous to the incident to Gerald McWalters, the senior overman, and to Mr Oliver, the



Debris in the tailgate underground roadway at Lofthouse Colliery more than 800 yards from the face where the seven miners died

under-manager. He had done this 'because it was unnatural to find water in the Flockton seam'. He admitted that it had been the practice to drill bore-holes forward from the face to test for the presence of water.

Brian Oldroyd, overman on the night shift when the incident occurred, said that he was aware of the presence of old shafts in the area, because he had seen them marked on the plans. He said that he had discussed the water and the smell with Mr McWalters, who had told him that it probably came from an old bore-hole. He hadn't been apprehensive about it after that because he knew that if it was just a bore-hole there would not have been any vast amount of water.

When he was asked to describe the smell, Mr Oldroyd said, 'Bloody awful. How can you describe something you have not smelt before? It was a lousy smell.'

Gerald McWalters, the senior overman on Face South 9B, told the inquiry that he had seen water coming through a break in the floor of the main gate advanced heading, next to the face. The break was between two feet six inches and three feet in length. This water had a similar smell—'like rotten eggs'—to the smell on the face. He had associated this with faulting.

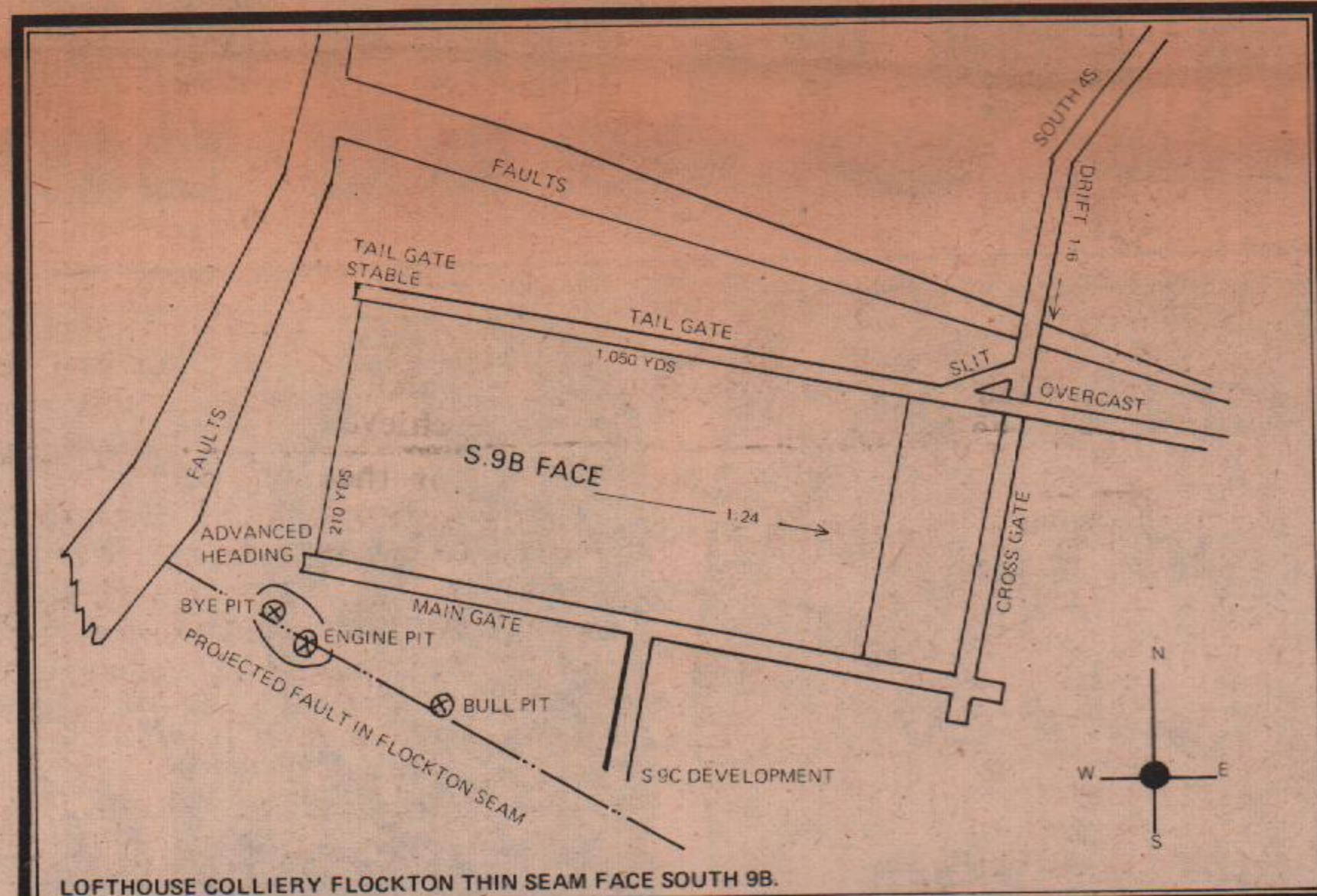
ANXIOUS

In reply to Arthur Scargill, Mr McWalters admitted that he had not taken any immediate steps to investigate the cause of the smell when it first appeared two weeks before the disaster. He had inspected the break in the advanced heading with John Oliver, the under-manager, a week before the inrush. He admitted that the real reason for the investigation was to ensure that production could continue rather than for reasons of safety.

He knew of the existence of a bore-hole about 50 yards to the left of the loader gate (main gate). He also knew that there were shafts marked on the plans. He said that this knowledge had not made him anxious because he relied on the surveyors knowing more about it, and that he had had every confidence in the plans.

John Oliver, the under-manager responsible for the South 9B district, said that he had inspected the water in the main gate heading a week before the disaster. He had returned on the Friday when there was no water present, but the smell had been reported. He said that he had heard no mention of any bore-hole.

He had only taken over as under-manager a month before the disaster—on 21 February. He had conducted a survey of the entire district on the Sunday



A map of underground workings. The old pit shafts are in the left-hand corner

morning with a methanometer to investigate the smell, but had received no abnormal readings and was satisfied that there was no gas present.

As a result of this he had been 'a little perplexed' and had discussed the matter with Mr Wood, the colliery surveyor, on Monday morning—less than 48 hours before the disaster. Wood had told him, 'You have nothing to worry about. You have 100 to 120 yards to go to a safe stop mark.' This had satisfied him.

Answering questions from Arthur Scargill, Oliver claimed that he had not known about the plans which mentioned the nearby abandoned Bye Pit, Engine Pit and Bull Pit. They had been in his office, but he had thought they were the property of the previous under-manager.

Scargill asked him, 'When you heard about the inrush of water did you associate it with the old shafts?'—'I still had no knowledge of the old shafts.'

When the hearing resumed on Thursday morning Keith Stone, who had been employed on the face as a fitter, said that he had heard about the bore-hole and the old shafts from Mr McWalters. Keith Stone said that after the inrush he had fled to the top of the one-in-six drift where he had tried to contact the surface on the telephone. This had been impossible, but he had got through to the men who were still in the tail-gate stable and told them to get out. The phone had gone dead after that.

Arthur Scargill asked him a question that he put to almost every workman called to give evidence, and from whom he got the same answer: 'Have you, as a workman at Lofthouse Colliery, received

instructions as to what to do in an emergency situation?'—'No.'

On Thursday afternoon Samuel Taylor, transfer point attendant in the main gate, told the inquiry that at the time the inrush occurred he had heard the telephone ringing. It had been the signal for an answer from the top of the main gate—four rings—but it had not been answered.

SPLIT

From what Samuel Taylor said it appeared that the phone at the top of the main gate was not working properly. None of the witnesses who had been there at the time had heard it.

Jack Sowerby, a ripper in the tailgate, told Mr Scargill that he was only aware of the escape route through the split at the bottom of the tailgate in to the South 4 drift. This was blocked because the doors were jammed owing to the pressure of water on the other side. He and his comrades had to escape through the overcast into another part of the mine—an escape route which he had not known of.

Gordon Firth, who had been working in the tailgate stable hole at the time of the inrush, told of the inadequacy of the underground telephone system. He said that if another telephone on the same line was in use, or if somebody on another phone broke in to a conversation, 'you might as well talk to the wall.'

William Dobson, giving evidence on Friday morning, said that as manager of

the shaft filling team for the North Yorkshire area, he had visited the Low Laithes area at 9.30 on the morning of Wednesday 21 March. 'I saw that two shafts had gone down—the Engine Pit and the Bye Pit. At 10.00am I was informed that another shaft had gone down—this was the Bull Shaft.'

Dobson said that on 12 September 1972 he had received a report of an old shaft subsiding in the Low Laithes area. When he arrived he found that the Bull shaft had subsided 10 feet. He had the hole filled up with hard-core. Replying to questions from Arthur Scargill he admitted that it would have been possible to have taken a test bore to the platform and from there to have plumbed the depth of the shaft—but this was not done.

Mr Scargill quoted from a Coal Board directive to management, part of which stipulates, 'In the case of old, inaccessible shafts where little or no information is available regarding the existence of platforms, the shaft should be carefully sounded to determine their presence, depth and any opening through them.'

He asked Mr Dobson, 'Why are shafts not plumbed in the North Yorkshire area?'—'I couldn't tell you.'

John Coxson, chief NCB scientist for the North Yorkshire area, giving evidence on Monday morning, admitted after persistent questioning from Arthur Scargill that any 'obnoxious smell' should have been reported to him for investigation.

Coxson seemed to be wary of answering any question that would reflect badly on the colliery management, with whom he admitted that he was on good terms. When Mr Scargill asked him: 'Would it not have been better to have taken regular water samples from the time the water was present on the face?' he replied hesitantly: 'Perhaps—with hindsight. But we might have been chasing our tails.'

SUNK

To this Mr Scargill commented, 'Would it not have been better to be chasing our tails, than have the deaths of seven men on our hands?'

Lofthouse Colliery surveyor Peter Wood was recalled to give detailed evidence concerning the drafting of plans for the development of Face South 9B. After detailed and persistent questioning it emerged that the information available from old records concerning the depth of abandoned shafts in the area was sketchy.

On the plan that Mr Wood drew up with the senior area planner, he could only say that the Bye Pit was 'believed sunk to Haigh Moor seam at 141 yards deep.' It has emerged from evidence already given that the Bye Pit was in fact at least 221 yards deep and extended to the Flockton Thin Seam which lies at a 219 yards level.

The obvious question that remains is why the local NCB management did not order a detailed survey of these old shafts to determine their exact depth.

It will be difficult for the Coal Board to counter the suspicion that all the warnings of the disaster—the shafts, smell and the water—were treated with a dreadful complacency by the officials responsible for the Lofthouse Colliery.

But one of the problems facing the NUM is that the Coal Board could now use the danger of old workings and shafts as an excuse to close down a number of pits. Arthur Scargill will probably counter this by demanding that on faces where such dangers are thought to exist there should be bore-holes drilled forward from the face to carry out checks.

It is almost certain that if this elementary safety procedure had been carried out on face South 9B at Lofthouse Colliery another seven miners would be alive today.

● Arthur Scargill elected Yorkshire president: page 14.



Loyalists step up terror campaign

SW Reporter

BELFAST:—With the Northern Ireland local elections taking up so much space in the British press, little mention has been made of the recent spate of Loyalist bomb attacks on public houses in the city.

What press coverage there has been has ignored the common factor uniting the attacks: In every case the pubs have been Catholic-owned and no warnings were given before the bombs exploded. There have been seven successful attacks in the past week alone.

All the pubs were bombed at a peak period and the bombers clearly aimed to cause maximum civilian deaths and injuries. This is in marked contrast to the tactics of Republicans who always try to minimise casualties when they bomb civilian targets.

So far two people have died and more than 20 have been injured. The surprisingly small death toll is due only to the watchfulness of Catholic pub owners. In other cases bombs have been left outside crowded pubs and have failed to go off.

In one attack last weekend, two large bombs were placed in the porch of a bar while more than 100 people

were inside. The outside doors were locked with a metal bar pushed through the handle so that people would be trapped inside. If the fuses had not burned out too quickly, it would have been one of the biggest massacres ever known in the Six Counties.

The bar is Catholic-owned and many of the customers are socialists and Republicans.

In spite of this new wave of sectarian attacks by Loyalist extremists, Secretary of State William Whitelaw is maintaining his totally one-sided campaign of harassment and brutality against the opponents of Unionism. No effort is spared in the attacks on Republicans.

At the same time little or nothing is done to catch up with the Loyalist killings. The courts continue to hand out savage sentences to Republicans while in case after case the charges against Loyalists are dropped or picked juries find them not guilty.

In recent weeks a man who was charged with nothing more than being a member of the IRA was given seven years while a member of the illegal Loyalist UVF was fined £50.

POLL SHOWS BIG SPLIT IN UNIONISTS

by Mike Miller

THE RESULTS of the Northern Ireland local council elections will have been disappointing for just about everyone bar Tory overlord William Whitelaw, although not everything went as he had hoped.

Even though the Unionist Party emerged as the single biggest party, there is little in the overall results to bring joy to the pro-Faulkner faction.

While the Unionists have retained control over a large number of councils, a great many seats have gone to ultra-right wingers, who have split from the official Unionists on the question of the British White Paper for the future of Northern Ireland.

The extreme loyalists, loosely united under the leadership of William Craig, are pledged to make the British proposals unworkable. Although they won control over only one council—Larne, which is Craig's home area—they polled a third of all pro-Unionist votes.

OPPOSED

This is significant as it is the first time the deep divisions in the pro-British camp have been so plainly shown. As well as the breakaway Loyalists, a large proportion of the so-called official Unionists are opposed to the White Paper, although they still remain within Faulkner's party.

In no council did anti-Unionists win a majority. The Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Catholic middle class party, will be particularly disappointed as they had predicted victory in at least six districts.

But it is still clear that in every area the Catholic population favoured the SDLP rather than the candidates of the Official wing of the Republican



WHITELAW: finger-chewing times

movement. This fact, coupled with the small response to the Provisional wing's call for a boycott, will have pleased the British rulers.

One of Whitelaw's major jobs has been to get the Catholic population off the streets, away from mass involvement in political action and back to the polling booths where they can play only a minor and passive role in the political process. The local council elections have proved that he has had a significant degree of success.

Out of a total of 83 candidates, the Officials had 10 elected. While the leadership declared that it was pleased enough, rank and file activists, who had carried out a massive campaign for support, were disappointed.

It is true that the Officials' election

workers had to run the gauntlet of irate Provo supporters everywhere they went and were severely harassed by the British army, but these are not sufficient reasons for explaining their failures.

While most people in Catholic ghettos still want to see an end to internment, they are quite weary of all the fighting. Their spirit to resist has been sapped. The SDLP seems to offer a reasonable compromise between their principles and their desire for peace.

The Officials had put forward a fairly thorough programme of reforms which they suggested could be achieved within the existing structure. Instead they should have been arguing for the need to replace all existing institutions of the state with a workers' state.

DEVASTATING

It is true that this would not have won them any more votes, but it would have got home the real differences between revolutionaries who have illusions in capitalist institutions and reformists like the SDLP who have.

The middle of the road Alliance Party did not do as well as had been expected, or as well as Whitelaw would have liked. While it picked up a fair number of Catholic working class and middle class votes, it had little success in appealing to Protestant workers.

The appearance of the Alliance Party in the election had a devastating effect on the Northern Ireland Labour Party, which has been all but wiped out.

Alliance firmly supports the White Paper, and while it claims to represent all sections of the community, most of its best known figures are ex-members of the Unionist Party. British hopes that it might eventually replace the Unionist Party are still far from realisation.

If the council elections are an indication of how things will go in the coming Assembly election, Unionists should win an overall majority. But the number of those elected will support the leadership line is by no means certain.

And with the almost certain victory for a large number of open opponents of the White Paper, Whitelaw's plans are still not sure of success.

Turkey book censored

FEAR OF LOSING British government printing contracts has led Direct Design, a Bournemouth-based print firm, to withdraw from its agreement to print an important analysis of repression in Turkey.

The book, *Turkey: Torture and Political Persecution*, is by Jane Cousins, Harold Wilson's former research assistant. The socialist publishing house Pluto Press were due to publish it as one of their summer titles at the end of this month.

The firm which is now refusing to do the printing, accepted a firm order to carry out the work early in May. Throughout the usual extensive negotiations prior to placing the order, the firm was fully aware of its contents.

On 21 May Direct Design obtained finished artwork and began the camera work for making printing plates. Then, within a week, the managing director, Mr Rushbrook, contacted Pluto and informed them that Direct Design would not be going ahead with the printing.

Direct Design was not prepared to have its imprint on such a book, he stated. Asked by Pluto Press to explain this, Mr Rushbrook stated that 30 per cent of

the firm's turnover was security printing for Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Jane Cousins' book is a harrowing account of the horrors of Turkey's 'parliamentary democracy'.

In the final chapter the author forcefully indicates those in Britain who are involved in supporting the dictatorship. Sir Alec Douglas Home, Tory Foreign Secretary, in particular is pinpointed as a man of inestimable value to the Turkish tyrants. It was Home who stated that the 'allegations' against the Turkish regime were 'monstrous'.

According to Pluto, it was this chapter which particularly frightened Direct Design's management. HMSO denies that any pressure was applied to the firm by its officials.

But an HMSO spokesman did say that when printing contracts were being signed or were up for renewal, every firm's 'reputation' was taken into account. This, he stated, could very well be the firm's reason for refusing to print the book.

Pluto Press has had to delay publication of the book by some two weeks as a result of Direct Design's censorship. It will now be published early in July.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

'WILSON SLAMS BIG BUSINESS GRABBERS' screamed a headline in the London Evening Standard last week. There was certainly plenty to slam. For example the Rank Xerox profit of £105.6 million equal to 50 per cent of its total capital invested in a single year.

Or the Lonrho shareholders' endorsement of Mr 'Tax Free in the Cayman Islands' Rowland and his crew of financial pirates. Or perhaps Hoffman La Roche's milking of the National Health Service to the tune of profits of £1.2 million on sales of £2.2 million. Or even Mr Harry Hyams' £20 million capital gain made by keeping Centre Point empty.

But of course Wilson was not slamming the big business profit grabbers. They are—as he once put it—'serving the nation well', although just what nation these international profiteers are supposed to serve was not specified. No, the grabbers Harold Wilson had in mind were those members of his own party who supported a proposal to nationalise 25 big firms.

This proposition, Harold Wilson believes, might lose the Labour Party some votes. And that would be to interfere with the main object of the party, namely to put Harold Wilson and his friends in office. What they would like to do if they got back into office was demonstrated between 1964 and 1970.

There is a danger that disgust at Wilson's antics may lead to the 'left' on the Labour Party national executive being given credit as 'fighters for socialism'. As a matter of fact their proposals are of exactly the same type as have been adopted by the Labour Party before.

First of all the 'left wing' do not propose to grab anything. They propose that a Labour government should buy the firms at current valuations. The estimated price today is £12,000 million. And of course such compensation would be invested by those who get it in other capitalist enterprises.

Capitalist framework

Second, the nationalised firms would themselves be run as capitalist enterprises—just like the NCB, British Rail or the Steel Corporation, firms which have records of productivity, speed up and redundancies second to none.

Just how much change there would be for the workers of these concerns in Britain and abroad is demonstrated by British Petroleum, in which the government has for many years had a controlling interest.

In short what the 'left' is proposing is more nationalisation on a state capitalist basis within the framework of British capitalism.

Whether a Labour government would carry out such nationalisation even if it were committed to do so on paper is another matter entirely. The odds are heavily that it would not. Virtually all past nationalisation measures—and they have been put through by Tory and Liberal governments as well as Labour—have been of industries that were relatively unprofitable or inefficient but necessary for capitalism as a whole. There would be violent opposition to buying out really profitable firms and all past Labour governments have caved in before such opposition.

This brings us to the heart of the matter. The theory of the Labour 'lefts' is that nationalisation by stages (with compensation of course) will gradually change society from capitalism to socialism. To make a gradual change-over work you have to keep capitalism going while you gradually nationalise. But the capitalist class will not co-operate on this basis.

They will accept, even support, nationalisation in particular cases, but only where they see it acceptable in the running of capitalism as a whole. That is why the Tories have not denationalised steel—big business wants state investment in that industry. Where this consideration does not apply, there is massive resistance. To break it requires a mass mobilisation of workers to destroy the capitalist state.

If you are not prepared for this—and the Labour 'lefts' are certainly not—the only alternative is to back down.

Socialist nationalisation is part of the working-class takeover of power, a revolution, and there is no question of buying out the boss class. What Labour's national executive proposes is as different from this as chalk from cheese.

COLONELS TRY TO STIFLE ANGER

WHILE the Greek colonels try to dress up their dictatorship in a new republican form, reports coming out of Greece indicate they have unleashed a wave of repression against the militant student movement.

Scores of students have been arrested and imprisoned in solitary confinement without being charged or given any idea what will happen to them. Prominent liberal opponents of the regime have been charged with 'conspiracy to incite riots against the state among students'.

Despite martial law restrictions, backed by ordinary and military police everywhere, the clampdown on political activity has been getting weaker since the student movement erupted last February. There have been demonstrations, mass meetings and occupations, and the grip of police informers in the faculties and in the factories has

been shaken.

The security police and the appointed trade union 'leaders' have worked overtime to prevent building and construction supply workers from striking against the government's latest 'counter-inflationary' measures, which aim to reduce the level of activity in the building industry.

The colonels reacted with a counter-offensive. First they made sure of control of the streets of Athens and Salonica by using police and 'civilian' thugs to attack demonstrations and mass meetings, so that the student movement was contained within the universities and any display of popular solidarity prevented. In this counter-offensive, three demonstrators were killed and an unknown number injured.

Yet the government was only partially successful, for although their activity has slowed down, the students have not been silenced.

Next, the colonels aimed at the student organisations—revolutionary groups and struggle committees—to demonstrate the efficiency of the security police, reimpose a climate of terror, and then weed out the isolated militants in one faculty after another.

The security police have 'screened' hundreds of students, beating up those detained for questioning and torturing anyone ranked as a 'suspect'. More than 100 militants—60 is the official figure—are in solitary confinement. These are mainly students who defied the government by standing against official candidates in the student elections or were elected to represent the students during their strike last winter.

SHOW TRIAL

Only eight students have been charged with anything: they are accused of belonging to an 'anti-fascist anti-imperialist student group' and will be tried under a law which dates from the civil war of the 1940s.

But the government had already produced a show trial before its thugs arrested the leading student militants. Six young lawyers whose only crime had been to defend students in court have been held since March. A date for the trial has not been fixed: the government seems to be waiting for the moment when a show of strength could be most useful.

It is vital that the colonels' plans do not succeed: every trial, every new wave of arrests, must be turned into a political defeat for the government and a victory for students and workers in struggle.

For more information about the struggle in Greece, contact the Union of Greek Students in London (SEFL), 60 Tottenham Court Rd, London WC1. A pamphlet titled *Greek Students in Struggle*, produced by the Greek group *Socialist Revolution*, can be ordered from I Mami, 41 Falkland Road, London NW5.



BRIEFING

IN FRANCE tens of thousands of social security employees have been on strike for a fortnight. Their wages are among the lowest, especially in Paris, where industrial wages are relatively high. A young clerk can earn as little as £20 a week before tax, and the higher grades are lucky if they get £30. Above all, the offices are grossly understaffed.

After the unions called protest strikes on 9 and 10 May, some workers in the main Paris offices stayed out and began to win over others to an all-out strike. The unions found themselves forced to join in after a strike meeting elected a rank-and-file committee to run and extend the strike. The Communist Party-led CGT trade union federation opposed the elected strike committee, and to undermine it was forced to lead and spread the strike.

By 24 May more than 10,000 social security workers were out, and 6000 took part in a demonstration in Paris. They were joined by workers from other parts of the social security system who had, by rank-and-file pressure, pushed their unions into calling a one-day strike to support the demonstration. In these other offices, too, the workers continued the strike beyond the one-day official call, and it has now spread throughout Paris, most of northern France and to Marseilles in the south.

Student nurses have also held two strikes and demonstrations, demanding a proper wage instead of their miserable £6-a-week 'grant', the right to work in hospitals of their choice, proper education rather than being used as cheap labour, and freedom from the oppressive rules which turn hostels into barracks. They are also demanding more nurses to improve the quality of service.

The CGT again opposed the strike and the nurses' elected strike committee, but is now trying to take over the struggle and impose more 'realistic' demands—demands which do not challenge medicine on the cheap.

IN SOUTH KOREA, wages are the lowest in the Far East, and the Economic Planning Board tells investors: 'Unions are recognised by law. However, unionisation is not well developed in Korea because of a large reserve of labour.'

Now workers in the textile industry, mainly women, are leading a fight for the basic right to form free unions. In a year's struggle at the Taekwang Textile Company, union members have been victimised, assaulted by company officials and imprisoned. At the Taehar textile firm, the women are demanding an end to their 18-hour day and seven-day week. The textile industry provides 35 per cent of South Korea's exports, and wages are between £5 and £10 a month for a 60-hour week.

A CLANDESTINE Maoist party in Poland, the KPP, has recently been suppressed by the authorities. An 18-month campaign against the Maoists has resulted in many arrests and one death sentence. Since the Polish press has published no details of the arrests, little is known of the clandestine party except that its leader is the old Stalinist Mijal, now living in Albania.



Demonstrations near Government House in Buenos Aires, capital of Argentina, last week on the day of the inauguration of President Campora, supporter of ex-President Peron.

Together—600 years of exploitation

by Vic Richards

PRINCE PHILIP was visiting Portugal this week as part of the celebrations for the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. In July Portuguese dictator Dr Caetano will visit London.

Dr Caetano is making the anniversary a major publicity event, which may seem surprising in contrast to the lack of interest by the Tories in Britain. As the poor partner, Portugal is in a weak and dependent position—though Dr Caetano's publicity machine has somehow managed to avoid pointing out that the alliance is the main single reason for Portugal's poverty and dependence: it gave British industry a monopoly in Portugal and her colonies.

But the main reason for the Tories' lack of interest is that British big business has turned its back on its free trading partner, and is much less interested in former trading partners such as Portugal unless they have joined the Common Market—like

Ireland, Denmark and Norway—or come to some arrangement with it.

Since Dr Caetano came to power in 1968, he has tried to adapt Portugal's trade and financial ties to the changed circumstances, but has been resisted by groups tied to Britain. Now that Britain has joined the Common Market, it is vital for Portugal too and Caetano hopes to enlist Britain's help to ease the process.

Cash in

The presence of a member of the British royal family, and the publicity he has stage-managed, should strengthen Dr Caetano's position. Of much greater value is that recently multinational corporations have set up assembly and manufacturing plants in Portugal. Dr Caetano will now be able

to press for closer association with the Common Market, for with a guaranteed market more companies will be attracted by Portugal's cheap labour.

British firms have been among the first to cash in on low wages. British capitalists wholly or partly own 200 firms in Portugal, worth £300 million, including subsidiaries of Plessey, GEC, Babcock and Wilcox, British Leyland, BICC, British Steel, Rootes/Chrysler and Metal Box. They will be powerful backing for Dr Caetano's attempt to enter a new phase of relations with Britain, and to get the Tories' aid in trying for closer ties with the Common Market.

And with good reason. Thanks to political repression and no free trade unions, the average wage for a 45-hour week in Lisbon is less than £10, and £20 for a highly skilled engineering worker. In Portugal's colonies, profits are even better: the US-British-South African mining concession pays its workers £6 a month, in slave-labour conditions.

These colonies are an important buffer for white Southern Africa, where there are much greater investments, so big business has an interest too in the vicious wars Portugal is waging in her colonies.

As well as offering cheap labour, Portugal has supplied European business with more than 1½ million immigrants who earn the lowest wage rates. Despite complaints from industrialists and generals about a growing labour shortage, Dr Caetano has no intention of bringing them back—they send more than £200 million in hard currency back to their relatives every year, and emigration takes steam out of working-class militancy.

In the new alliance planned by Dr Caetano and British big business, Portugal will become an appendage of the Common Market and will allow companies to by-

pass better-organised European workers by investing there.

Already jobs are being destroyed in Britain: Pasolds set up a children's clothes factory near Porto, which exports its products back to Britain. It pays its Portuguese women workers £4 a week.

Portuguese immigrants, with other Southern Europeans, can also be used as cheap labour in Britain, as employers such as Grand Metropolitan Hotels have discovered. Because they lack a trade union tradition, because of language barriers and the constant threat that they will be deported if they lose their work permits, they will accept low wages and bad conditions. This divides them from British workers.

Contact

Portuguese workers are also particularly susceptible to intimidation because of the serious consequences that they will suffer if deported for trade union or political militancy.

It is within the power of militants and socialists in both countries to ensure that increased contact between Portuguese and British workers leads to the spreading of trade unionism and higher wages for Portuguese workers at home and in Europe.

The process has been started, now that Portuguese and other South European workers are joining trade unions in Britain and playing an active role in the labour movement, but British workers must take a much more positive attitude. This means driving out of the labour movement the widespread patronising, and worse still, racist attitudes towards immigrants.

It also means recognising that the struggles of workers in Portugal have a direct bearing on struggles in Britain, and that we must do our best to make sure that they win.

LEON TROTSKY

On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination 45p
Fascism What it is and how to fight it 25p
On the Trade Unions 40p

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The case of the General Solicitor

AT Ayr magistrates court on 22 May Mr David Anderson, Queen's Counsel, Chief Reporter in the Scottish Office, was convicted of conducting himself in a disorderly manner and fined £50.

The evidence against him came from two 14-year-old girls, Jill Ness and Fiona McCallum, who told the court that they had been playing in the street on the evening of 18 December last year when a well-spoken gentleman came up to them and offered them £1 each if they helped him with 'a rag'.

Asked what the 'rag' entailed, the man replied that all the girls had to do was to walk on him and jump on his neck. He offered to take them away in his car to a quiet place where the 'rag' could take place.

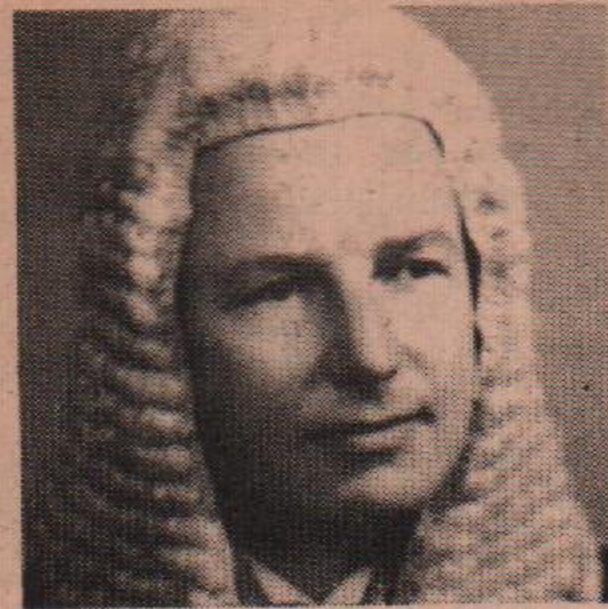
The girls declined, and later told their parents, who in turn told the police. The girls then identified Mr Anderson's car which was parked in a local car park. Mr Anderson refused to stand on a police identification parade.

In court Mr Anderson pleaded not guilty and claimed that he had not left his hotel all evening. He told the court that it was highly likely that he had been impersonated by subversives who wanted to discredit men in public life.

'There are in this country,' he said, 'highly organised bodies with the intent of destroying public confidence and discrediting the government. We have had official warning of this kind of exercise taking place against public men. I have a letter from the Prime Minister warning men in public life of this as a serious possibility.'

Finally, Mr Anderson pleaded: 'I hold the strongest possible views against this kind of conduct. It is a complete anathema to my own personal code of decency and own beliefs about what a family man should be.'

Mr Anderson was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland—in charge of law and order for five million people—in 1960. Tradition-



ally, the Solicitor-General sits in parliament, and, in December 1963, Mr Anderson fought a much-publicised by-election at Dumfries, normally a safe Tory seat.

He won the seat by 972 votes.

On 16 March 1964, less than three months after taking his seat, he wrote a shock letter to the Tory Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

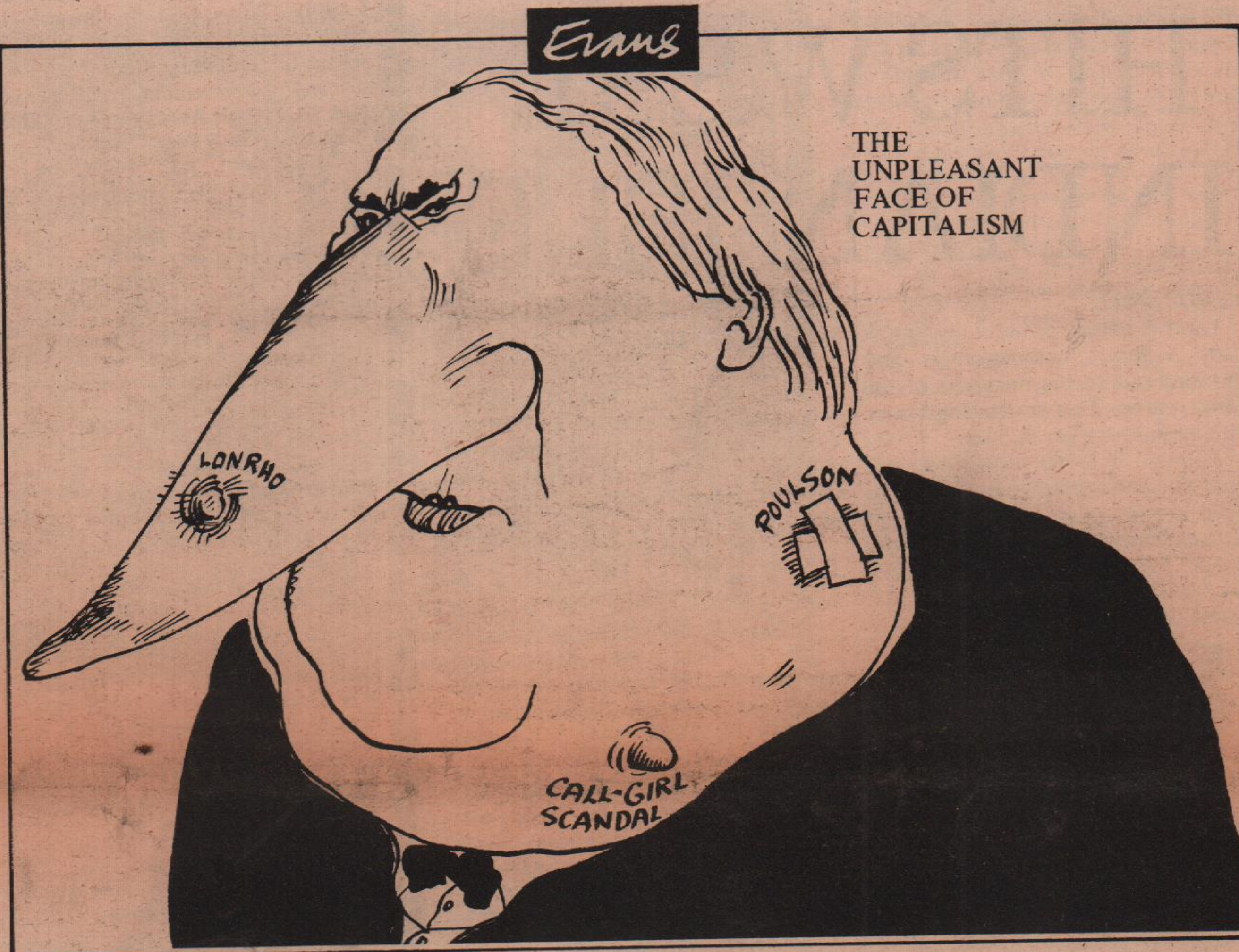
'Early last week I had to say that my doctor had advised me that I should rest. This was a great shock to me, but I have had time to think about it, I have decided that I must offer my resignation from the post of Solicitor-General.'

Back wrote Sir Alec, curtly: 'I was sorry to receive your letter of 16 March, but I must accept your decision.'

On 2 April that year Mr Anderson announced that he would definitely be standing for Dumfries again at the next General Election. Then, 12 days later, he announced that he was resigning his seat at Dumfries, and would not stand again at the General Election. His wife Juliet told the press that he was suffering from 'strain caused by overwork'.

The strain seemed to wear off soon, for the following year Mr Anderson was appointed Sheriff Substitute for the Lothians and Peebles, and last year got his government job at a salary of £8500 a year.

Mr Anderson is appealing against his court conviction.



THE UNPLEASANT FACE OF CAPITALISM

NOT MAID FOR EACH OTHER

IT IS not known at what age Lord Lambton discovered the power of the cheque book for purchasing his noble nookie but his equally important understanding of the need for the lower orders to be kept strictly in their place was instilled in him early in life.

Mrs Gladys Genchi, who now lives in Tottenham, worked 'in service' for the Lambton family before the war. She recalls the occasion when, as a kitchen hand, she had

to accompany the 10-year-old Tony Lambton and his brother to the races to dole out nosh from a hamper.

On the way home a whining Tony pointedly remarked over and over again that the car was too full with a butler, a tutor and a 'servant girl' and that things would be much nicer if she were not in the car. It is understood, however, that he did not offer Mrs Genchi £50 to get out and walk the rest of the way.



The case of the weeping sheriff

ON 24 MAY at Harrow Magistrates Court, Mr Arthur Edmond, 59, High Sheriff of Greater London, broke down and wept after being found guilty of dangerous driving. He was found not guilty of two other charges, and two others to which he pleaded guilty were adjourned sine die.

Mr Basil Ferrett, who had been driving a Mini in Harrow last 6 January, told the court that Mr Edmond's Mercedes had swept down stopping on to a main road down which he was driving.

'The next thing I knew,' said Mr Ferrett, 'he was by me nearly taking the door handles off. When he was alongside me, he gave the wheel a wrench, cut in front of me and caught the wheel of my car. It knocked the car about 2ft and I nearly ended up in the ditch.'

Mr Edmond was fined £50, with £13.35 costs.

Mrs Hilda Bendell, chairman of the magistrates, said the bench considered it an 'isolated case in view of the defendant's 37-year clean driving record.'

The case of Mr 'Fiddle' Liddle and how he saved his bacon

AT Manchester Crown Court, on 7 December last year, William Henry Liddle, a 52-year-old company director, was convicted of criminally defrauding the Ministry of Agriculture of £132,000 and sentenced to three years in prison.

Five and a half months later the rest of Mr Liddle's 'deterrent' sentence was quashed, a two-year suspended sentence substituted and Mr Liddle released from jail. He has now resumed his duties as managing director of Dixon's Pork and Bacon Company of Ashton under Lyne in Lancashire.

Mr Liddle's little fraud concerned payments he had obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture's Bacon Subsidy Scheme. This system was brought in under the Labour government in 1966 to ensure that bacon curers would be able to maintain

'reasonable' profit levels at a time when pig prices were increasing.

Over the year April 1970 to March 1971 Mr Liddle submitted on behalf of Dixon's the usual weekly returns to the Ministry detailing purchases of bacon and amounts cured. As a result of these returns, the firm was paid £132,000 in subsidies.

It was later discovered that during that year Dixon's neither bought nor cured any bacon whatsoever. There was therefore no basis for any subsidy claim. A police investigation followed. Mr Liddle was brought to trial and imprisoned.

In the Court of Appeal on 17 May, Mr Justice Shaw said he had decided to free Mr Liddle because his crime had not been motivated by personal gain. He had done it for the decent motive of maintaining his firm as a going concern and keeping

his 'loyal employees' in work.

In the light of these statements, the following facts may be of interest. Dixon's Pork and Bacon was not in any way on the rocks or even remotely near them in the year during which the fraud was carried out. In his statement for that year (ending June 1971), company chairman Mr E G Titterton reported: In reviewing the achievements of the past year, it could almost be enough for me to express the delight of the board that it has been a year of further growth and consolidation of the company's trading position.'

Profits for 1970-71 were £27,758, just slightly lower than for the previous year but still considerably above those for the year ending June 1969. A 16 per cent dividend was paid to the shareholders for 1970-71, the year in which Mr Liddle committed his little fraud not for personal gain but to keep the company afloat.

Mr Liddle, the company's managing director, is also the company's biggest single shareholder with more than 5000 ordinary £1 shares. So Mr Liddle draws the biggest share of the dividends. He also got £5356 director's fees in the year that he was forced to defraud the Ministry of Agriculture of £132,000 to keep his 'loyal employees' in work.

And incidentally if no bacon at all was cured in the year 1970-71, just

who were the loyal employees Mr Liddle was hoping to keep in work? They certainly wouldn't have been in the bacon-curing department.

Dixon's Pork and Bacon is a non-union shop and such employees as it has are accordingly badly paid. Doubtless Mr Liddle will put this to rights now he is back at the helm, having served exactly 5½ months of his three-year stretch. He also has to 'recompense' the Ministry of Agriculture. High prices and low wages will help.

POSTSCRIPT: In February 1969 James McLelland, 49, of Scarborough, a married man with two children, was found guilty of defrauding the Social Security. He obtained £4000 over a period of two years by falsely claiming sick pay. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment and released last autumn, having served almost all his time. No judge argued that Mr McLelland did it not for personal gain, but to keep his family afloat.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

'On this May morning, horses all over Britain must be neighing with delight.'
Leading article on the engagement of Princess Anne, Daily Mirror, 30 May.

Case of the lucky councillor

COMMANDER Robert Youngson, a Conservative councillor at Darlington, was found guilty of speeding at Darlington magistrates court on 21 May. This was his third driving offence in three years, and under the totting-up process, he stood to lose his driving licence.

Mr L H Walker, chairman of the bench, told Mr Youngson: 'Having

regard to the public duties you perform and the inconvenience not driving would cause, we have decided not to disqualify you.'

Mr Walker is a director of Gilbert Ash, the building firm, and his wife is chairman of a local Conservative Association.

Commander Youngson was fined £10 and his licence was endorsed.

Big strike wave after jobless youth is assassinated



Part of the 10,000 crowd at the New Jewel Movement's rally last month

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM HITS WEST INDIAN ISLE

THE PEOPLE of Grenada entered the stage of Caribbean revolutionary politics at the end of May. Workers in the docks, the telephone and electricity industries, public works, manual labourers and store clerks all struck to a man.

Following the assassination of an unemployed youth, 4000 Grenadians took over the airport and closed it to traffic for four days. Small peasant farmers who employ a few agricultural workers have stopped production.

This tiny Caribbean island of 121 square miles, with a population of 105,000, has been brought to a halt.

One figure has dominated Grenada politics since 1951—Premier Eric Gairy. The disintegration of the colonial-inspired West Indian Federation and the subsequent independence of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Barbados, left the smaller Caribbean islands to make their own way out of colonialism.

In 1967 Grenada acquired the status of a British Associated State. Gairy had responsibility for all internal matters and the British retained their hold on external affairs.

The economy is dominated by agricultural production. Nutmeg, cocoa and bananas are the major exports and land is held on the basis of small peasant ownership.

The main political party, GULP, aims to centralise all the power of the state into the hands of one man—Gairy. Land ownership is being attacked under the slogan 'land for the landless', but the landless happen to be the rich supporters of the

prime minister.

Land is being confiscated in most cases without compensation and parcelled out to the members of the ruling party. This is causing havoc with agricultural production.

Tourism is being substituted and large tax concessions are granted to American gangsters. Unemployment has accelerated to 40 per cent of the labour force as the population is murderously hunted off the land and forced to drift aimlessly.



Side by side with Gairy's attack on land ownership is an equally fierce and dictatorial thrust against working-class organisations. He is president for life of the biggest trade union on the island and has declared that anybody seeking a job must have a union card issued by his union.

Workers in other unions are being forced to join Gairy's. Civil servants, teachers and policemen are being fired or transferred if it is hinted that they oppose the regime. There have been 200 such cases in recent years.

A force of 750 'police aides', drawn largely from the unemployed, has been mobilised to maintain 'law

and order'. The official opposition party, the GNP, is weak and ineffective.

Opposition to Gairy has centred around the issue of independence. Gairy has declared that the island should be independent within a year and has had talks with the British to stake his claim.

But the people have rebelled against Gairy's idea of independence, which he sees as the final move to centralise all power into his hands.

From the mass strikes and agitation of the last few weeks has come the demand: 'Independence, yes—but we decide here in Grenada when and how!'

The New Jewel Movement has mobilised the people behind its aims. An indication of its potential power can be seen from the fact that only 2000 people attended a rally last month called by Gairy to support his demands for independence.



He had the radio station, the bus services and the threat of the police to aid him but still could get only a tiny turn-out.

The New Jewel Movement called an independence rally on the same day—a People's Convention—and 10,000 people attended and pledged that 'from tonight we shall return to our places of work in order to prepare ourselves to take power in our own hands.'

The NJM states that its political objective is the seizure of power, the destruction of the colonialist state and the reorganisation of the economy.

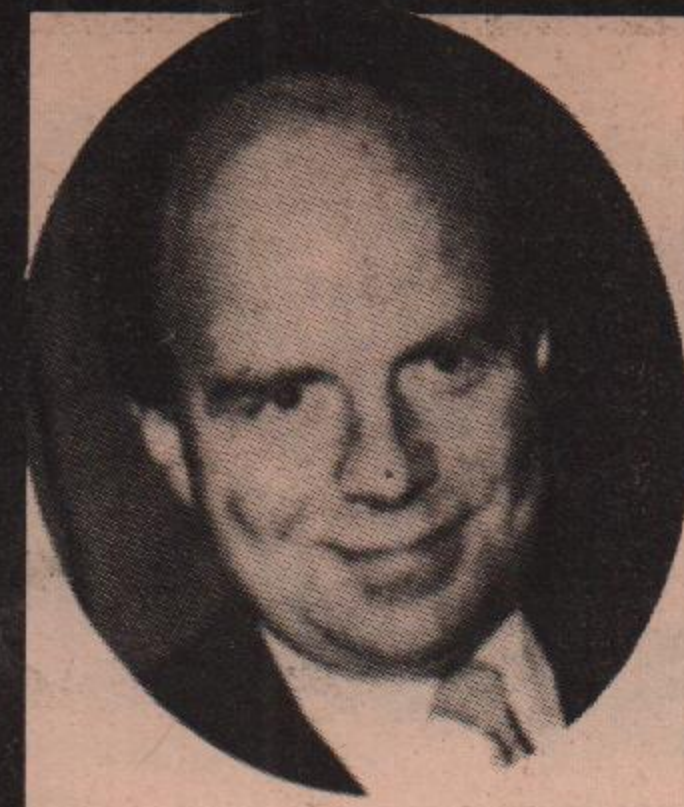
NJM proposes a redistribution of land into cooperatives and the replacement of the two-party Westminster-style political system by assemblies of the people in their communities and at their places of work.

Delegates would be sent to a national assembly which in turn would be presided over by a national council. All delegates would be subject to instant recall.

The mass of agricultural labourers and the small working class have given complete support to this radical alternative to the present system.

The mass democratic movement in the Caribbean has come of age. The seizure of power is on the order of the day.

This article was prepared by the Caribbean International Congress Bureau. For further information contact: Cause for Concern (Grenada), c/o Fenis Augustine on 01-226 6700.



The

RAIDING THE POLITICAL GRAVEYARD TO FIND ONE HONEST TOP POLITICIAN

SPARE a thought for the plight of our noble press tycoons. Solid, reliable citizens, they have been casting around for a way to boost the image of their favourite political party.

'Find us,' they cried to their faithful hacks, the political correspondents, 'a leading Tory who is honest, decent, trustworthy—free from financial corruption or moral decadence—a man that we can present as all that is best in our democratic system.'

And the obedient hacks burrowed and scabbled, scratched their heads and beat their breasts and finally returned to their masters with one united message: 'There is only one such Tory—and he is dead.'

The result has been the vast acreage of space devoted to fulsome reviews of Nigel Fisher's biography of Iain Macleod,* who died in 1970 a few weeks after the Tory election victory and his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The book is a hefty, 350-page attempt to polish up the rather tarnished image of that strange beast, the liberal Tory.

The reviewers have worked themselves into a lather of delight at the memory of Macleod. He is portrayed as a veritable monument to decency, a humane Minister of Health, a nice-to-the-unions Minister of Labour and, above all, as the great champion of the black man in Africa during his stormy tenure of the Colonial Office.

One can understand the Tory press's anxiety at this time to find such a paragon of political virtue. And it is precisely because the image of a liberal Tory has some appeal when compared to the present gang of pocket-liners and bed-hoppers that it is highly dangerous.

Macleod was not a liberal. There is no such thing as a 'liberal Tory'. There are two varieties of Tory: clever ones, and stupid ones. Macleod falls into the first category.

SOFT-SELL

Stupid Tories are openly reactionary. They blather about the right of employers to maximise profits. They talk of a class that is born to rule. They openly support the imperialist domination of Africa and Asia and vociferously back the white minorities there.

Clever Tories, by and large, believe in exactly the same things. But they are tuned into the modern world and realise the need to soft-sell their policies.

So instead of profits we have the 'national interest'. Instead of class we have 'one nation' and 'equal opportunity'. In the 'third world' we need racial harmony and even, as Macleod once tearfully proclaimed, 'the brotherhood of man'.

Iain Macleod was one of the most important political figures of the post-war years. He was a new post-war Tory MP who realised the urgent need to give the party a drastic face-lift, to bury the unfortunate image of an arrogant ruling-class party that believed the best place for its boot was on the worker's neck.

The Tory Party had been all but destroyed in parliamentary terms in 1945. War weariness and sharp memories of the miseries of the 1930s returned a Labour Party to power with massive working-class and middle-class support. The Tories on the depleted opposition benches were mainly the port-and-pheasant country squire brigade.

That image had to go if the party was to regain what Macleod called the 'middle ground' of politics: the middle

by
Roger Protz



With Maudling, a life-long friend

and working-class votes essential to a party like the Tories whose basic policies are aimed to suit only a tiny minority of the population.

R A Butler was the best known of the Tories dedicated to overhauling the party to fit the reality of the post-war world. Macleod threw himself into this important work.

The need was clear: the Labour Party had emerged as the clear alternative party of government. Talk of social reform was in the air to cover up the more obvious squalor and inequalities of the capitalist system.

From the Tory point of view, there was a very real danger that Labour, for all its timidity and retreats, could spark off a demand among working people for massive change that could lurch the country leftwards. The Tories had to drag politics back into the centre.

That, in essence, was what the 'liberalism' of Tories such as Macleod and Butler was all about: how best to maintain the existing social order of society, so that the minority could continue to maximise their profits at the expense of the labour of the majority.

Macleod was a founding member of a club of young Tory MPs called the One Nation group. The title was part of the fiction that society was basically equal. The more obvious excesses such as slum housing had to go, they argued, but the new 'welfare state' must not be allowed to go too far.

Macleod, for all his 'left' image, was one of the first to advocate the end of universal free treatment under the National Health Service and to introduce means testing for those who claimed they could not afford to pay. Shortly before he became Minister of Health in 1952, Macleod, with Enoch Powell, produced a pamphlet on the social services advocating charges for prescriptions and hospital beds.

Macleod's three years at the Ministry of Health was quiet. None of the swingeing demands of the

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Macleod: architect

only good Tory....



Macleod with the 'One Nation' group of Tories in 1951 who tried to give the party a 'progressive face': on the right are such progressives as Angus Maude, Robert Carr and Enoch Powell

pamphlet were introduced. The Tories may have ousted Labour but a degree of caution was required as far as the welfare state was concerned because of the deep-rooted support it had among working people.

In 1955 he moved to another sensitive area: the Ministry of Labour. An essential part of the 'new Tory' thinking concerned the trade unions. With near-full employment, the working class was not cowed and beaten as it had been before the war and the Tories, sitting on top of a mild post-war boom, wanted to avoid a confrontation with the unions.

But that did not mean compromise. The Tory knuckleduster was covered in smoothest velvet, but the aim of the operation was to hold back 'excessive' wage demands while loving up to the trade union officials.

RUINED

By 1958 things were not so good. The boom was running down and all the inherent problems of an out-dated economy were becoming clear. It was time for a quick flash of the knuckleduster and Macleod emerged victorious from a long battle with Frank Cousins and the London busmen who were demanding the vast sum of 25s a week more but got 8s 6d.

The stormiest years of Macleod's career were spent at the Colonial Office from 1959 to 1961. His chances of becoming prime minister after Macmillan were ruined by what the more bull-headed Tory backbenchers saw as his capitulation to black African nationalism.

Opposition to Macleod's desire to grant 'independence' to British colonies in Africa brought to the surface the basic racism and hostility to change—even when it ultimately benefitted them—of the hard-core of the party.

Macleod was the realist: he knew that unless some degree of independence was offered to the middle-class African leaders that enabled British

capitalism to maintain its grip, then the alternative was revolution and upheaval.

But the white settlers had an open door to the kith and kin in the Tory Party, who, racist and stupid, could not see political necessity staring them in the face.

Macleod won the day because the Cabinet and big business backed him. But the basic hypocrisy of the Tory 'wind of change' in Africa policy can be gauged from Macleod's last appearance as colonial secretary at the party conference in 1961. His African policies, he said, had been motivated by a belief in the rights and duties of men, of all men.

'I believe quite simply,' he said, 'in the brotherhood of man.' The conference rose to give him a standing ovation, then moved on to the next business—a successful resolution demanding restriction on the number of black immigrants entering the country.

The time for sanctimonious rhetoric about the 'brotherhood of man' was over. The economic situation was worsening. Selwyn Lloyd was setting the pace for incomes policy and wage restraint with his 'guiding light' policies. The militancy of working people needed to be diverted by the time-dishonoured use of a racial scapegoat.

Macleod, the great liberal and brother of the black man, voted in parliament for all the Tories' crude racist measures against immigrants.

It was the worsening economic situation and the Profumo scandal (an undress rehearsal for the Lambton-Jellicoe affair) that led to the downfall of the ageing Macmillan and the squalid squabble for the succession.

Macleod, because of the liberal tag and the open opposition of leading peers like Salisbury, was out of the running. When Lord Home was, briefly, the stop-gap prime minister, Macleod refused to serve under him, again because he felt that a 13th earl was precisely the wrong man to lead

a modern political party attempting to balance between the different classes.

It was Macleod's last major political fight. The Tories lost the 1964 election and Macleod died almost as soon as they returned six years later.

His political life was dedicated to safeguarding British capitalism at home and abroad and perfecting a public relations industry around the Tory Party to present it to the electorate as non-party and aware of the need for social concern. It was a gigantic confidence trick, successful to some extent until the illusion was shattered on the rocks of economic reality in the early 1960s.

EXCESSES

It is nice to have a 'liberal Tory' around in the political graveyard and to wave his bones at a time when his successors are rocked by scandal and corruption. Things would have been different, the press suggests, if Macleod was still in the government. He would have curbed the excesses of the crude grab-all boys.

But would he? He was, after all, a life-long friend of Reggie Maudling and in opposition he busied himself with preparations for massive tax changes, later introduced by Tony Barber.

Hardly liberal changes, either. He energetically worked out plans to sweep away the already miserable tax restrictions on the rich in order that they might become even richer.

It was a blueprint for the Slater-Walkers, the Harry Hyams, the Poulsons, the Polwarths and the Lonrhos. It should prove to those who mourn Macleod that the old saying is still as true today: the only good Tory is the one who's passed on.

**Iain Macleod by Nigel Fisher: Deutsch £3.95.*

of the liberal Tory illusion

Travelling by diesel? Then you'd better get a chest checkup

HAVE YOU BEEN TRAVELLING on British Rail recently? If so, you ought to get your chest Xrayed. Reports from British Rail Engineering in Doncaster reveal that blue asbestos is floating around in the passenger compartments of Diesel Multiple Units, the short distance engine-and-carriage-in-one trains that carry thousands of people to and from work everyday.

A piece of blue asbestos the size of a pinhead, once inhaled and lodged in the human lung, is sufficient to start a fatal disease process which takes anything from three months to 45 years to develop.

In the Doncaster plant where the diesel multiple units are overhauled there have been only two proven cases of death from asbestosis, with a likely third awaiting the decision of the Coroner's Court.

There are also several confirmed asbestosis sufferers working there—men who know they will die from the disease.

But the real situation is far worse. Specialists say that anyone passing unprotected within six feet of a man working with blue asbestos runs the risk of inhaling the fibres.

The full facts would be known only if an inquest was held on the death of every worker who had worked near asbestos and died of chest or lung ailments.

Without a thorough post mortem, asbestos is often passed over as plain cancer or the cause of death may go down on the death certificate as something entirely innocent.

This is very convenient for British Rail management, who have had to pay up to £9000 compensation in the past to the afflicted and bereaved.

Sensitive

And this may explain why British Rail is not at all keen to answer requests to have the men Xrayed during working hours.

Not only should this be the men's elementary right, but it is doubly necessary as the normal mass-radiography service is not sensitive to detect asbestosis. But instead of conceding, BR management is disputing the matter and has taken it to national level for 'further discussions'.

It is only recently that elementary and legally required safety precautions have been taken on this deadly material. It is now stored in air tight sacks.

And again, it is only recently that workers have been warned about the dangers involved. Previously they were told absolutely nothing and were allowed to throw it around like snowballs.

For many it is too late, especially those in the Diesel Multiple Unit shop itself where, as one man employed there put it to me, 'all 400 men could be dying.'

In this shop the men were and are in daily contact with the deadly dust. Sprayed asbestos was used to seal the passenger compartments from fire from below the floor.

The men come into contact with it when spraying it on and stripping it

by
Andy Wiard

off during maintenance. All six men who contracted to spray it on are now dead.

Even after the asbestos is applied it can and—despite management efforts—does work loose and enters the heating system. Since the air for the passenger compartment is drawn through the heating system, it is not only DMU shop workers who are exposed but passengers too.

The men have seen the dust in the heaters. Management knows it is there. Perhaps British Rail could be forced to use an alternative heating or fireproofing system.

British Rail is unlikely to remove the asbestos and develop new methods on the grounds that it would be cheaper to scrap the whole fleet. Profit and expediency as usual are at the root of it all.

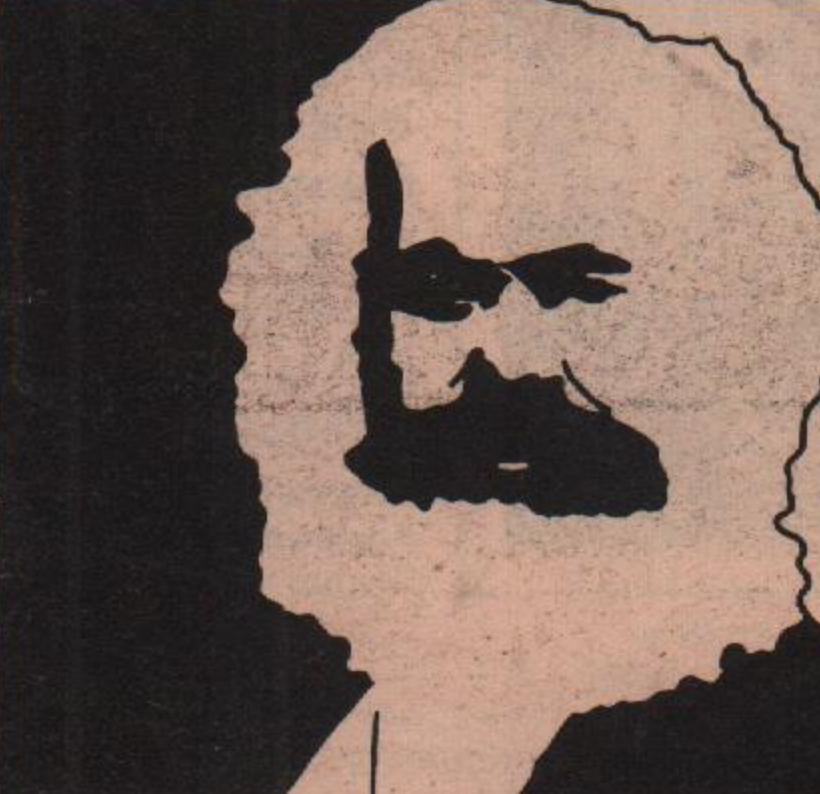
Nationalised transport is every bit as prepared as the motor car and petroleum industries to sacrifice people for the sake of a healthy bank balance.

British Rail should be made to remove all asbestos from their engineering works and to employ the present workforce and more besides to make the DMUs safe.

Luxemburg



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Why the corset king is

feeling the pin



Picture: CHRISTOPHER DAVIES (Report)

WHEN Edward Heath spoke of the 'unacceptable face of capitalism' in reference to the Lonrho affair, millions of workers in Britain must have wondered if capitalism was capable of having an acceptable face.

Those who might be the most cynical include the millions of women workers and immigrants who receive less than £20 a week take-home pay.

Among such workers, perhaps the worst exploited are those who work in the sweatshop factories of the textile industry.

These factories have always been extremely difficult for trade unionists to organise. Often the workers employed at one place number less than 100 and much of the workforce is by definition casual.

In recent years, this labour has increasingly been provided from immigrant groups—notably Indian and Pakistani women.

As a result, many small textile factories have moved to immigrant areas and the Southall area of West London is no exception to this rule. In the past six months, members of the Ealing branch of the International Socialists have

been attempting to help Asian women organise into unions in the area.

The West London organiser of the Tailors and Garment Workers Union has met the management of one of the Southall firms, the Wynuna Corset Company, to demand recognition of the union and to negotiate improved wages and conditions for the workers at the factory.

Profits

Wynuna's factory is situated in Gladstone Road, Southall where the management moved to from Hornsey in June 1967. The owners of the firm are a married couple, Anstchel and Edith Ost, who live in the select area of Golders Green.

Mr Ost pays himself £3000 a year as 'director's emoluments'

and his wife gets £750 for being secretary of the company.

In 1970 Wynuna earned £20,141 profits before tax. When this was added to the previous balance, Wynuna was left with a favourable balance of £104,441.

But Mr and Mrs Ost do not confine their business activities to Wynuna. They own the Fancia Corset Company, too, and Antschel Ost is a director of nine property companies. Fancia Corset appears to be a marketing company for Wynuna—in 1971 on a turnover of £78,848, the company made an unappropriated profit of £14,663.

The bras and corsets made at Wynuna are sold to various large stores. The bulk of their product is bought by the Dorothy Perkins chain of stores. This is a huge chain with 319 retail outlets.

Recently it has bought Biba—the expensive trendy boutique

chain—Derry and Tom, the posh West End store, and Noel Fashions. In 1972 their turnover was £19,042,000 and on this they made a profit before tax of £1,189,000.

The chairman of Dorothy Perkins, Ian Farmer, paid himself £15,000 and the highest-paid director got £17,000. In addition to his meagre £15,000 a year, Ian Farmer owns 279,874 shares in the firm.

Other firms that buy Wynuna's goods include Etam and the firm also makes Gossard bras. This is one side of the coin: Wynuna Corset Company with a turnover of nearly £250,000 selling goods to large chain stores who in turn make large profits. What of the workers who produce and manufacture these goods?

On average Wynuna employs 120 people. All but two or three of these are Asian women. It is the policy of the Wynuna management not to employ English women as they prove too militant in trade union terms.

Piece-rate

Most of the women earn between £6-£12 for a 40-hour week. Supervisors can earn up to £25 but there are very few of them.

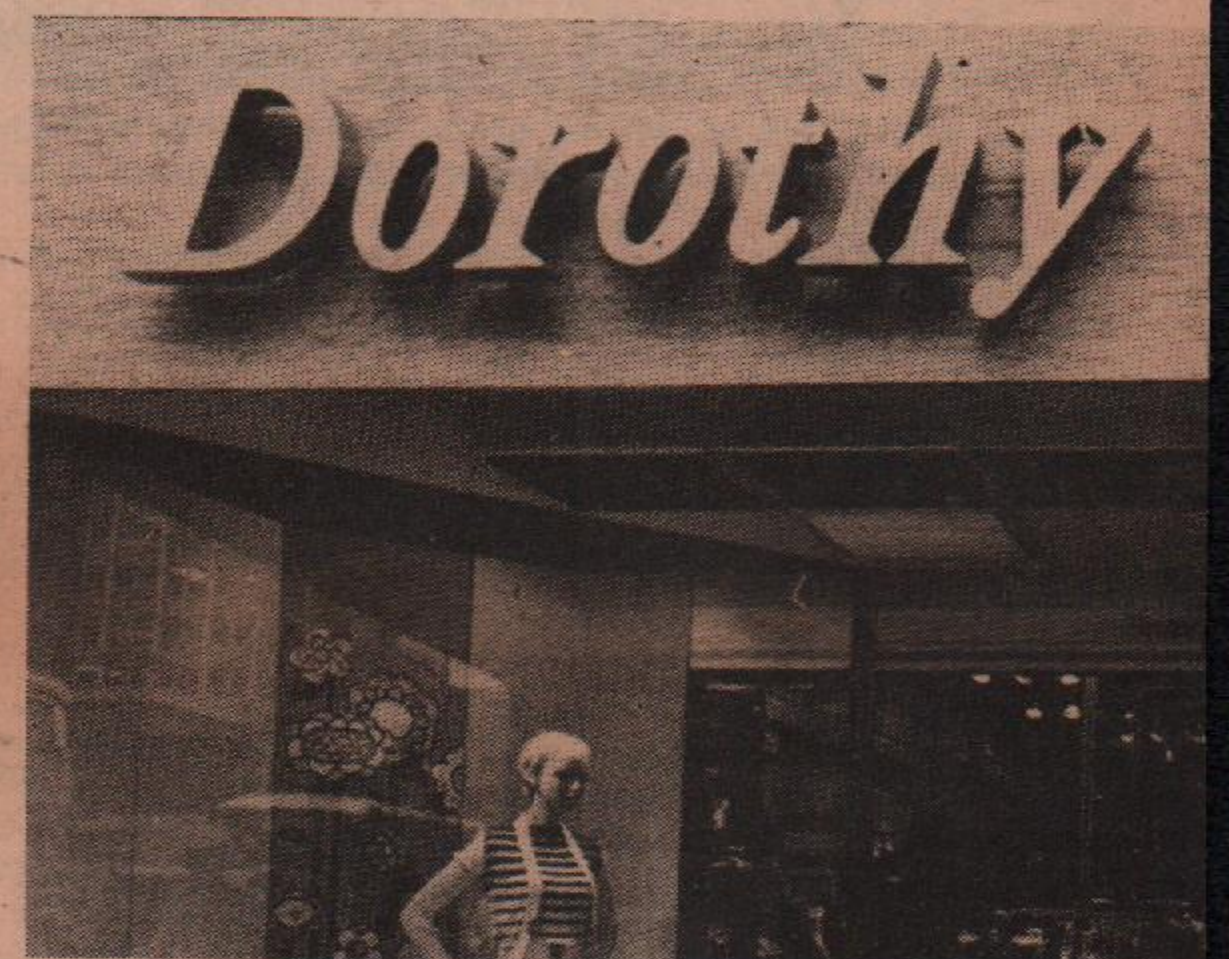
There are no first-aid facilities available at the factory: anyone injured has to go to hospital.

Much of the plant at the factory is slow and obsolete and this means that women are often kept idle waiting for work. As the women are paid on a strict piece-rate system, this is one contributory factor towards low wages.

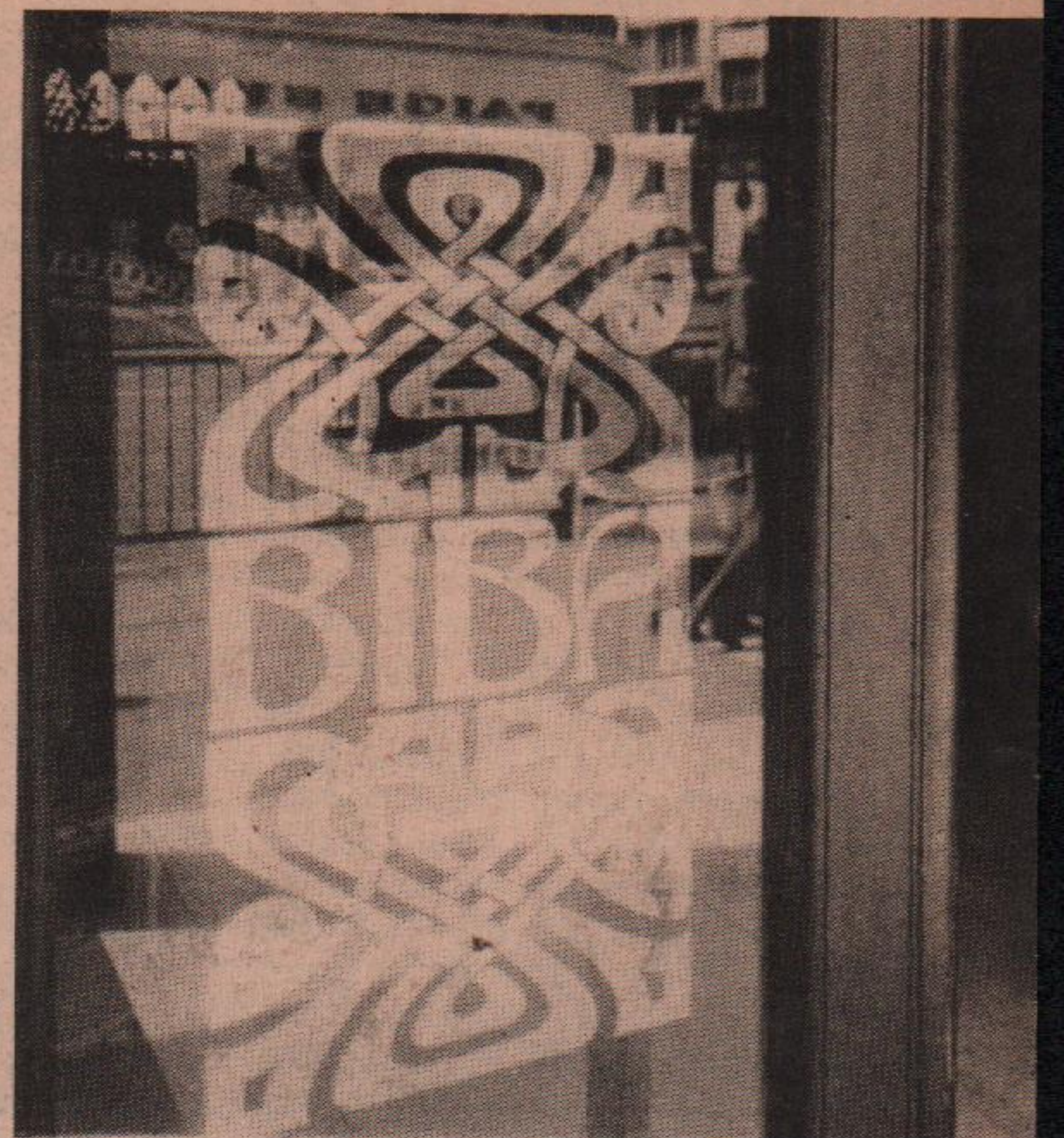
Women are expected to man up to three machines and instances have occurred when women who refuse to do this have been dismissed.

All in all, conditions at the factory are appalling. The 1970 annual report of the firm bemoans the fact that 'as soon as training is completed, many employees leave and move to other jobs. It is difficult to obtain satisfactory managerial and supervisory staff.'

It is scarcely any wonder when



Dorothy Perkins—the big chain that buys Wynuna pro



... and owns trendy boutiques like Biba

most of the workers here could receive more money from Social Security than they do after an arduous 40-hour week. Many of the women are married with young children and are paying up to £5 a week to have their children looked after. This leaves a net wage of as little as £2 or £3 for large numbers of workers.

One woman we spoke to told us that she had to work through her tea and lunch to scrape together. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that many women do not understand why they have to work in a high turnover factory. Not surprisingly, attempts to unionise Wynuna have not been successful. Many women are scared

International Socialism 59



The June issue of International Socialism features an article by Brian Trench Perspectives for the Irish left that is essential reading for all socialists fighting British domination of the 32 counties. Other features include: The Electricians—decline of a union: George Russell
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management and are not aware of their rights.

But the mood of many workers is changing. By now, quite a few of them have lived and worked in the area for several years and they are determined not to put up with their conditions any longer.

The victory of the Mansfield Hosiery strikers in Loughborough last autumn had a great impact on the Indian community in Southall

Asian women workers leaving the Southall factory of Wynuna: starvation wages for them, fat profits for the bosses.

and has helped to stiffen the resolve of trade union militants in the area.

Wynuna is only one of many factories in the Southall area where such conditions prevail. One firm in the area still pays its workers in old pre-decimal pennies in a despicable attempt to confuse their Indian workers.

Many others pay no better wages than the Wynuna management. In addition, thousands and thousands of Asian men and women work at Heathrow airport.

They have come into contact there with a strong trade union organisation and the result has been that large numbers of Asians have joined the airport unions.

Many of the husbands of women working at Wynuna are members of the TGWU and AUEW at the airport. Their support and their backing for their wives' struggle could prove crucial in the near future.

Pressure

The fact that any worker in 1973 can earn £6 for a 40-hour week is the clearest and most horrifying indictment of capitalist society that it is possible to make.

To a certain extent, it is a similar condemnation of the trade union movement and every conceivable pressure must be brought to bear to help raise the wages and better the conditions of women workers in these industries. The acid test of the sincerity of the many union officials who verbally oppose racism and sex discrimination is at factories like Wynuna.

There have recently been numerous reports about the low wages paid to Africans in South Africa by British companies. It is essential that such exploitation be pointed out and fought against.

But what is true of South Africa applies to Southall or to the East Midlands. The next few weeks will be vital in the struggle against low wages and nineteenth century conditions in the factories of Southall.

That struggle must not fail.

SEX-JUST ONE MORE THING FOR SALE

HIGH-CLASS PROSTITUTION in St John's Wood; a teddy bear with a microphone in its nose; Sunday People scoops and denials from the front benches. Even Princess Anne getting engaged to take our minds off it.

However does the ruling class get in such a mess. And what's it all about?

On the one hand we see respectable pillars of the establishment leading a hue and cry about what they call the permissive society—you know, young people having too much money and freedom and the like. On the other hand we have members of Her Majesty's government and the Peerage photographed in bed with prostitutes, two at a time.

How do these upstanding hypocrites explain their activities, now one thing, now the other? Lord Lambton, on television, found one way.

Doesn't everyone make mistakes? Isn't there something tragic about a man hounded by the gutter press and honourable about his owning up after he's been found out?

And just look at that quiet, dignified wife and family, standing by him through thick and thin. Why it brings tears to your eyes!

REDUCED

You'd fairly be convinced that exploitation and prostitution had never been the very root of these people's lives, and all their ideas. And yet it is, down to the last £50 cheque paid out to Norma Levy's husband-pimp for her services rendered.

For the capitalist everything can be reduced to cash. Anything can become a commodity for buying and selling, whether it be an acre of land or a patented idea.

When he wants education, he buys it. When he needs a suitably-bred wife, the size of her engagement ring speaks the value of the deal struck.

And when he needs to work out the fetishes and repression born of his property-locked life, and his loathing for his own sexuality, or even when he just needs someone to talk to, he goes to a broker—to buy the use of a woman on the side, in the lunch-hour between board meetings and committees in the House.

What could be more consistent? All of these things are essentially one—different sides of the capitalist coin.

Before the murky dawn of Christianity, members of the ruling class bought and sold girl-slaves and harems. Under feudalism, in some countries, the lord used to have a special right which said that he could sleep with the bride of any man in his service on the night of their wedding.

A young, pretty woman was considered a prize piece of property. And the master was simply exercising his power over the property of his servants. Really, private property was only for the few.

MISERY

When it came to his turn the churchgoing middle-class Victorian gentleman aped this same power. Girls living in his house as servants were commonly considered the property of himself and his sons to use as they desired. That's why the 'respectable' wives called them sluts and slatterns—they were literally 'bad maids'.

Never mind the misery and destitution that resulted, the suicides and infanticides when the poor girls were found pregnant and kicked out. Neither Church nor State would offer them any protection. After all, it was their own fault if in terror they submitted to their masters.

It was exactly the same double standard on the part of government and clergy alike that banned women from working in coal mines, at least partly because of moral outrage that men and women worked together stripped to the waist all day long.

Just as no real consideration was given to the plight of the male workers, still working in the worst imaginable conditions, neither was any attempt made to provide for the thousands of women left unemployed. Consequently hundreds took to the roads, and then to the streets.

The same fate befell working-class women time and again. A great number were unmarried, since poverty on this scale does not allow men and women the luxury of home building. Being working class and being a prostitute were again the same thing



LAMBTON: everything has a price

to those who moralised from their pulpits and fine houses. Even today in names of abuse the association survives—people say 'scrubber', 'tramp', 'slag'.

Women so denigrated have been denied all human rights and are at the prey of pimps and highly organised extortion agencies. The criminal element in prostitution was always in selling, never in buying.

Women in garrison towns and ports were liable to be forcibly examined for venereal diseases in case they infected Her Majesty's militia. Their customers were seen as the innocent victim: they never were.

WEDLOCK

Even now, women are arrested for soliciting whereas curb-crawling customers are not. And there are still, locked away in asylums and institutions, women committed for mental instability and moral degeneration on the sole grounds of having become pregnant out of wedlock.

Ministers don't think much of the newspapers and blackmailers who spy on their sexual activities—and we don't think much of them either, though for different reasons. But ministers can simper and retreat to the comfort of their country estates,

their stocks and shares.

Women on social security, spied on by a newly-enlarged army of state-registered snoopers, aren't so lucky. For them the state puts on its hard face.

Since we pay you the money, it says you can have no other man. Any man who stays in your house will be considered your keeper. The state acts like a very jealous husband.

Some people claim that these abuses always existed. They say there will always be Profumos, Lambtons and Jellicoes. They sneer and say that prostitution is the oldest profession in the world.

DISTORT

In actual fact, though ordinary women have been degraded and abused under many different social and economic systems it is capitalism that has perfected the prostitution of us all.

Under capitalism Lord Lambton and Lord Longford and their like buy us all. Working class men are turned into walking wage packets. All too often their own lives are so bitterly distorted, their own desires in life so repressed and frustrated, that they take it out on their women, knocking them about, keeping them short of money.

The system provides pin-ups and girly magazines for them, just as it provides true romance pulp papers to keep their wives dreaming of how it might be. At the worst, since a paid prostitute is placed on the lowest level, all of society's systematic violence and degradation is heaped down on her.

And there's always the chance that she'll finish up dumped in the river with coat hanger weals over her body.

Meanwhile working-class women who try to love freely are labelled 'cheap'. The imagery of buy and sell seeps into the most intimate moments of our lives.

And the state acts as pimp and strong-arm boy to keep it that way.

Judith Condon

Womens Voice



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Forging the links

MOST of the time, the capitalist class maintains its rule by relying on the habits of obedience instilled into the workers and on the collaboration of labour leaders.

But if all this fails, the ruling class can always fall back on the full power of the state to prop up its rule. For it has the law courts, the prisons, the police and the army. As Lenin put it, the state consists of 'special bodies of armed men which have prisons at their command.'

It is a constant disadvantage to workers that they are far less united than their rulers. Conflicts and debates do take place within the ruling class, but once these are settled, it acts as a united body, through the state and the law. By contrast, the working class acts in a fragmented way, each section taking on the bosses in isolation.

This was clearly revealed by the struggles against phase two of the freeze, which resembled an uneven mosaic.

This fragmentation is kept up by the union leaders, who rarely connect the problems of their members with those facing other workers. Of course, only in a general strike or in a revolutionary situation can the working class achieve complete unity, but the task of a revolutionary party today is to forge the links that begin to create among workers the same unity that exists among the rulers.

Of course, the ruling class doesn't need to mobilise the full power of the state except in extreme situations, such as Northern Ireland today or when an increasingly militant working class appears to threaten the basis of capitalist power. The tragedy of Italy in the early 1920s and Germany in the early 1930s was the lack of a revolutionary party able to lead working-class resistance to growing fascist movements and launch a counter-offensive to bring workers' power.

Firmness

In Britain, we do not yet face the choice between fascism or workers' power. But in a time of deepening economic crisis, the political choices open to both the rulers and the workers' movement become fewer.

The ruling class has to resort to increasing repression to safeguard its economic power. If the working class does not respond with equal firmness, its organisations will be weakened.

The problem, however, is that when confronted with a general offensive, the sectional working-class organisations are insufficient. They could deliver the goods under the boom conditions of the 1950s and early 1960s, but can no longer do so today when links need building to unite workers in different factories and industries in common action.

To achieve this task, it is necessary to build a rank and file movement based on a fighting programme that will mobilise workers throughout the labour movement, in every industry and every area. Such a movement would first campaign for solidarity with every section of workers in

in the chain of struggle

MEMO

Now is the time for all good men and women to come to the aid of the party...

A series by Sabby Sagall

file movement.

On the other hand, even if a revolutionary party existed today, it would still be too small to lead workers in struggle against the state. The rank and file movement would be like the gearbox of a car which actually transmits mechanical power to the wheels, a job which the engine on its own cannot do.

The immediate and urgent task, then, is to build the revolutionary party. As a fighting organisation uniting the most advanced militants of the labour movement, it is the medium through which they can exchange ideas and information about their different struggles.

Isolation

The Tory-employer offensive means that different sections of workers are more and more facing the same problems. Only a revolutionary party can offer militants a framework within which they can pool their experiences and transfer the lessons of different struggles from one section to another. Only in this way can they form common policies on the issues affecting the working class. Without a revolutionary party, militants cannot overcome their isolation.

At no time since the 1920s has the chance to build a revolutionary party in Britain been greater. If this chance is not taken, the growing crisis of capitalism will lead once again to barbarism instead of socialism, this time with nuclear war as its probable result.

On the British left today, the largest organisation is still the Communist Party. But since its leadership thinks socialism can come through parliament and therefore does not believe in workers' power, it is neither a revolutionary party nor capable of becoming one.

Alone among the organisations of the left, the International Socialists are politically and numerically equipped to fulfil the role of building the party. It is vital therefore that militants move from being supporters or sympathisers of IS to join and build IS into the revolutionary party that will lead the workers' struggle for socialism.

struggle, but beyond this it would provide the consistent leadership which the union leaders refuse to give and which individual shop stewards' committees on their own cannot give.

Impetus

But such a broad rank and file movement, which unites workers in common struggle, cannot be built unless the leading socialist militants are united into a single revolutionary organisation. Without a revolutionary party, based on a political programme for the transformation of society by the workers, there would be no impetus to build the broad rank and

BOOKS

REVIEW

Some old mutton

STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION by Regis Debray, Pelican Latin American Library, 50p.
PRISON WRITINGS, by Regis Debray, Allen Lane, £2.50.

SIX years ago, when Regis Debray's now famous book *Revolution in the Revolution?* first appeared, I reviewed it for this paper (then *Labour Worker*).

While being severely critical of its political line, I felt the book was of significance. Big struggles were brewing in South America. The Cuban government had taken a temporary turn to the left and was encouraging guerrilla movements. Che Guevara was reported to be active in Bolivia.

It seemed to me that the book contained some insights which could help people on the British left to understand what was going on in what was still a little understood continent.

I cannot say the same for these two books. A lot of storms have blown themselves out since 1967. A lot of books have appeared which tell us more about Latin America than Debray ever did.

Indeed, it is hard to understand why these books are being published at all. It looks like a desperate attempt to keep a fading cult figure alive.

The Pelican collection contains two essays previously published in *New Left Review*, and is padded out to make a book by adding miscellaneous articles and letters, most of which are devoted to how unimportant Debray thinks his own work is.

The *Prison Writings* are even worse. I appreciate that if I were stuck in a Bolivian jail living on soup and expecting to be shot at any time, I should write some pretty gloomy stuff. But I wouldn't ask anyone to pay £2.50 to read it. It does seem a bit rough that Gramsci, whose *Prison Notebooks* are worth reading, had to wait nearly 40 years to get into English, while Debray made it in three.

When Arthur Koestler was in prison during the Spanish civil war he was apparently greatly consoled by contemplating prime numbers. For Debray woolly philosophising plays the same role.

He is badly served by his translator, who not only makes the sense as obscure as possible, but leaves the text littered with words in French, German, Spanish, Latin and Greek.

As a result a whole number of

passages are just plain incomprehensible. For example: 'Though on paper he was a good dialectician, in practice Stalin, by the end of his life, had come to use deportation and assassination as a means to speculative metaphysics.' I defy Debray, his publisher or any of his trendy admirers to tell me what that means.

The low point of the whole work comes with a bad-tempered little 'Ideological Digression on Trotskyism', which contains the memorable sentence 'There is no such thing as a happy Trotskyist.'

These criticisms may seem carping and small. Unfortunately there is nothing much else to say. It is not that the politics are wrong. There are just no politics.

Debray ignores all the questions revolutionaries could ask about South America. What is the social nature of the present regimes? What is the political potential of the urban working class and the peasantry? Can the Communist parties lead any real struggle? All is lost in a flood of verbiage and a cult of activity.

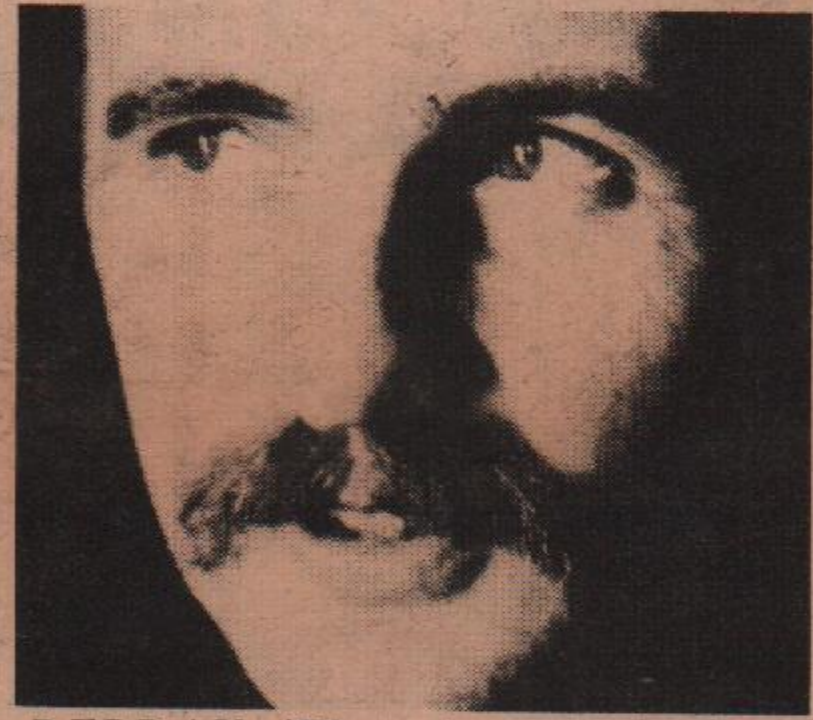
All we get is outdated prophecy: to repeat a letter written in 1970, about the success of the Tupamaros' urban guerrillas in Uruguay, now that the poor bastards have been smashed into the ground, is little more than a sick joke.

Doubtless I will be accused of merely sneering at Debray from the sidelines, without knowing the reality of the struggle. So I will conclude by quoting a real guerrilla leader, Douglas Bravo of Venezuela, who sharply criticised Debray's first book:

'Debray's book made a myth of small groups of men, legendary figures... He made the question of combat, of shooting, the central point of every struggle that is going to develop at this time, brushing aside, almost absurdly underestimating, the problem of organising the working class and the peasants and those classes which must necessarily fulfil the historical role of destroying the oligarchy and imperialism in our countries...'

'Thus the tactic proclaimed by the book was based on the idea that men in the mountains, paying no attention to the cities where the majority of the population is concentrated... would come down triumphant out of the hills in a few years and surround the cities.'

IAN BIRCHALL



DEBRAY: 'There is no such thing as a happy Trotskyist'

WHITHER LABOUR'S UTOPIA?

THE NEW TOWN STORY, by Frank Schaffer, Paladin, 75p.

THERE is no doubt that the policy of building New Towns adopted by the 1945 Labour government was one of its more successful initiatives. Since the first was started at Stevenage more than 750,000 people have been rehoused in an environment on almost every count markedly superior to where they had to live before.

In those post-war years Labour politicians saw the New Town policy as offering their vision of what life was to be like under social democracy. Lewis Silkin, Labour's Minister of Town and Country Planning, at the time, said:

'I am most anxious that the different income groups living in the new towns should not be segregated. No doubt they may enjoy common recreational facilities and take part in amateur theatricals, or each play their part in a health or community centre. But when they leave to go home, I do not want the better-off people to go to the right and the less well-off to go to the left. I want them to ask each other: "Are you going my way?"'

Clearly Silkin believed that getting workers and their employers living next to each other would abolish class differences!

The book's major flaw is that it is largely uncritical. Mr Schaffer, who is secretary of the New Towns Commission, has been involved for most of his life with the New Towns movement and is always concerned to defend the New Towns. He fails to answer several basic questions.

For example, why have the New Towns failed to house the worst housed families of London? Why are there so few black people in the New Towns? Because the industry which comes to New Towns employs a high proportion of skilled workers, these groups are excluded from the town by the job qualification system.

More fundamentally, Mr Schaffer fails to tackle the way capitalist economics is shattering the dreams of the social democrats of the 1940s. Having lived in the New Town of Harlow, in Essex, for 12 years, I have been able to observe this process at work.

Drive through Harlow and see the attractive low density, well landscaped areas of the town planned and built in the 1940s. Compare these to the high density, low rise concrete jungles which is the today's architectural orthodoxy, and—more important—cost less in land.

Ask the new tenants in these areas, paying £7-£10 a week rent, how they can't afford to switch on their under-floor heating and instead use oil heaters which result in condensation. Ask them how they are forced to run an old banger of a car because the bus service is so bad.

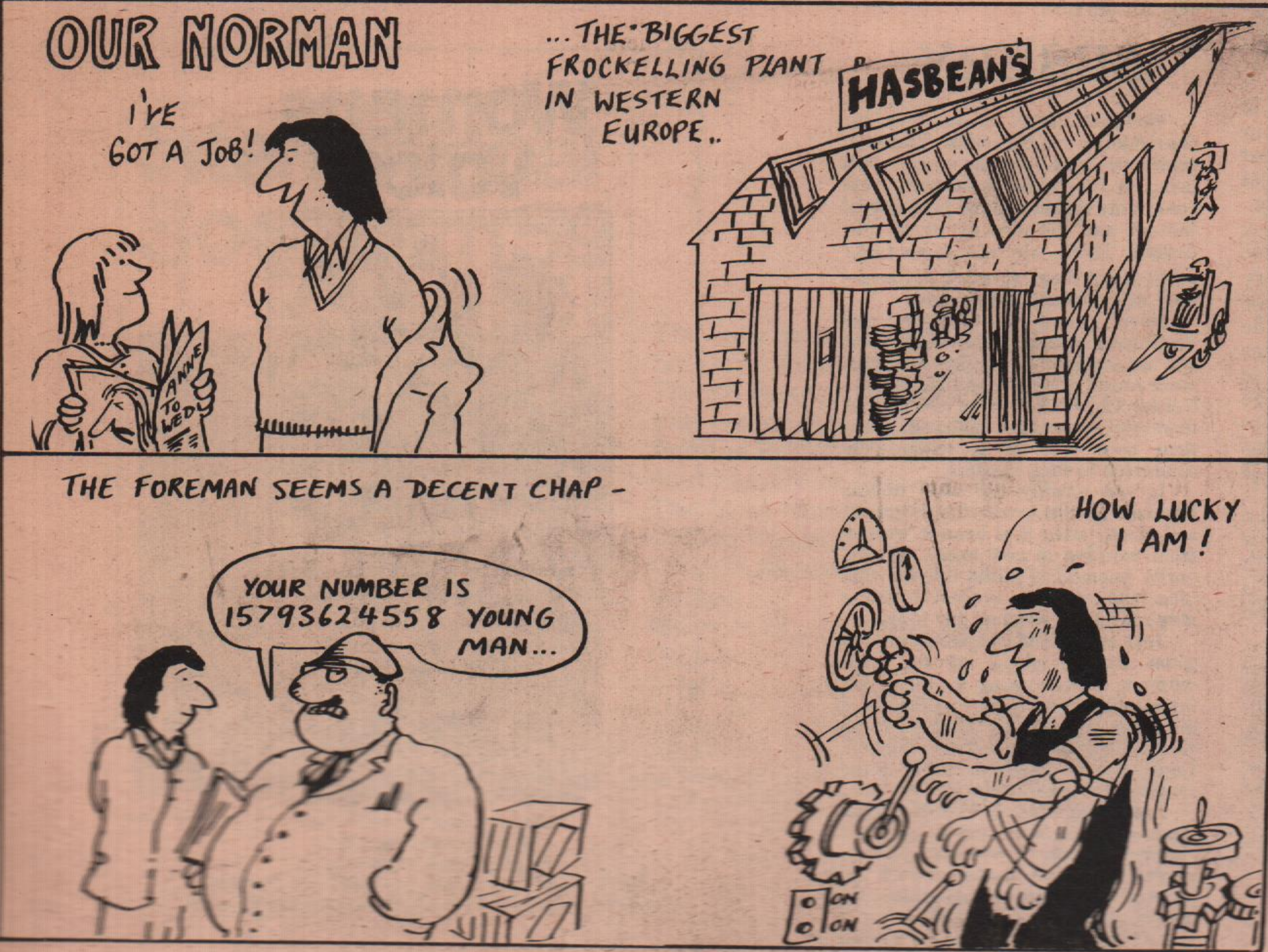
And all this the people of the New Towns are powerless to change. The major authority in the town, the development corporation, is appointed by the government and is a rubber stamp for government policy. This is despite a Labour pledge that the towns would be handed over to local councils—another Labour promise broken!

The final attack on the concept of the New Towns is now being made by the Tories. They are selling them off wholesale to the property dealers.

Two weeks ago Harlow Development Corporation published plans for the doubling of the population of the town to 160,000 people. They plan 1300 acres of new housing of which only 300 will be for renting and they openly admit the rest will be sold off to commuters. The plans have been described by Sir Frederick Gibberd, Harlow's Master Planner, as 'disastrous' and ruining the concept of Harlow as a balanced community.

It looks as if Mr Schaffer's book could become an obituary for the New Towns Movement.

HUGH KERR



POP/FILMS

REVIEW

DAVID BOWIE:
A cross between
Greta Garbo
and something
out of
Star Trek



POP BURIES ITS HEAD IN THE SAND

by Mike Flood Page

ABOUT a year ago a curious thing happened in pop music. An unknown American singer, Don McLean, had a big hit with a song called 'American Pie'. The unusual part was in the chorus which sang of 'The day the music died'.

The idea seemed to strike a chord with many people and besides providing McLean with fame, fortune and the other benefits of pop stardom, it led rapidly to a spate of celebrations of the funeral in the music press.

Throughout the 1960s, so the theory went, from the Beatles to Woodstock, music had undergone some exciting changes. From Bob Dylan's concern with civil rights, through the involvement of groups like The Who with the mods, to the birth of flower power and beyond, performers and audience were bound up in the growth of a new youth culture in which new lifestyles and radical politics combined.

The death knell of this culture was sounded at the Rolling Stones concert at Altamont where four people were killed. The campus revolutionaries turned away from politics and soon the jingle of hippy bells found its true echo in the tinkle of cash registers. The youth revolt dribbled away in the face of the harsh realities of the 1970s, protest found itself transformed into products, and then along came Don McLean to put his finger exactly on the pulse with the appealing notion that the music had died.

At that point you might be forgiven for expecting the music business to pack up and quietly make its exit. You'd be wrong.

What's happened is the rise of some of the strangest performers ever to grace our concert halls and TV screens. There's David Bowie, whose music is plundered from every facet of pop

in the past 15 years and who comes on like a cross between Greta Garbo and something out of Star Trek, Alice Cooper, who combines loud, aggressive rock'n'roll with an act out of the Hammer horror film library. There's Slade, and last, but not unfortunately least, the dimple-cheeked weenystars, the Osmonds and David Cassidy.

In each case the music is nothing new, but the way it is presented is—glitter, extravagance, decadence and spectacular theatrics are the order of the day.

It's a far cry from the faded denims or mod suits of the 1960s. No longer is there any pretence of equality or involvement with the audience. These people are 'stars', carefully kept at a remote distance from their fans, surrounded by a mafia-type entourage of managers and heavies. The music certainly has died, in the sense that they are playing nothing new, but the music business is alive and well and doing better than ever before, thank-you.

There is a parallel with the 1930s, when the collapse of Wall Street led to an international crisis which spelt poverty for millions throughout the world, a crisis only solved by plunging Western Europe into a major war.

FANTASY

In those days, the cinema was king—with cosmetics and guns, it was the main growth industry of the decade. But did you find the cinema dealing with the burning issues of the day? No, instead it followed Marie Antoinette's advice to the starving people of Paris: 'Let them eat cake!'

Hollywood grew rich by providing films which gave people an hour or so escape from the hardships of the real world into fantasy where stars such as Garbo lived lives beyond the dreams of most of the audience. Most films were like the musical spectacles of Busby Berkeley, where anonymous starlets decorated the screen like so many cherries on a cake, and the real problems of life were remarkable chiefly for their absence.

Compare that to this description of the Partridge Family, the TV series that was the springboard to success for David Cassidy, by Bob Claver, the programme's executive producer: 'The show's not meant to be realistic. It's entertainment. Viewers would like to be in that family. The characters are good looking, they're in show business, and they seem not to have the problems that plague most people. We deal in fantasy, and I can't see where it's all so ruinous.'

REISSUED

Besides fantasy and escape in today's pop music, there is an equally important tidal wave of nostalgia that comes not so much from a dearth of good new music, as a determination on the part of audience and performer alike to look backwards rather than face up to the world as it is. The past year has seen a host of reissued, packaged hits from the 1950s and early 1960s.

One record company even has a series of big band reissues from the 1940s just called 'Nostalgia'.

When mass popular entertainment has buried its head so firmly in the sand you can be sure that it has good reason. The situation we face is shown with awful clarity in the film Cabaret. Against a background of rising fascism in pre-war Germany the 'divine decadence' of the night club life goes on. In the words of the master of ceremonies as he opens the show: 'Come to the Cabaret, leave your troubles outside.'

At a time when unemployment, rising prices and rising rents go hand in hand with the rise of the hang 'em brigade, the Festival of Light and extreme right-wing groups like the National Front, we are witnessing the total bankruptcy of the youth revolt of the 1960s reflected in a music which has retreated from the real world to provide instead fantastic diversions and a fantasy escape.

Let's hope that this time, in the words of a recent pop song, unusual in its insight, we don't get fooled again.

Oh Lucky Man to miss this endless film

OH LUCKY MAN, now showing at the Warner Rendezvous Cinema in Leicester Square, London, is a new film from Lindsay Anderson, who directed *This Sporting Life* and *If*. It stars Malcolm McDowell, fresh from *Clockwork Orange*, and has music by Alan Price. It should be good but it ain't.

Anderson is one of the better English directors. His films have succeeded in marrying his view of the world to commercial success, without getting it damaged by the cash register. But his view of the world is increasingly outdated, and it shows.

Anderson regards himself as of the left, but his films don't come anywhere near an understanding of the society he's talking about.

The hero of *Oh Lucky Man* is an ambitious young man, wants to get on, becomes a coffee salesman, goes north in pursuit of fame and fortune. He meets a lecherous landlady, seedy corruption a la Poulson, is captured by the army, tortured, blown up, taken to a sinister research centre, goes south, meets a pop group, meets a wicked capitalist, gets ahead, gets stuck in jail, comes out reformed, spreads sunshine, is smashed all over the place by nasty tramps, and so on.

The audience kept half standing for the last half hour—it goes on for two and a half—under the impression

A DEAD SEA SWIM

AVANTI!, now showing at the Odeon, Marble Arch, London, is a new film from Billy Wilder, director of the classic *Some Like It Hot*, and it's terrible. Wilder's work has been notable for sharp wit and acid social comment. The film's only virtue is that it shows the narrowness of the gap between acid comment and schmaltz. The film is a dead sea of treacle. It takes two and a half hours to swim. There is one joke, which occurs a third of the way across.



Malcolm McDowell in one of the luckier scenes of the film

that the film was drawing to an end, but no, we went round for another lap.

The inspiration for the work came from McDowell, who *did* work as a coffee salesman. Unfortunately the position of an out-of-work actor, although unfortunate and doubtless illuminating for McDowell, makes a pretty bad starting point for thinking about the evils of the system.

The world seen through the film is an object to be endlessly violated, populated by rapacious capitalists, crazed scientists, smashed derelicts living on rubbish tips. OK, that is this

system—but only one part of it. I'm not asking for a group of militants to march on set singing the Red Flag, but to deal with the oppressed purely in terms of tramps and suckers does a disservice both to Anderson's ability to create art and to the cause one supposes he supports. He really hates the ruling class, but he's never met anyone else.

The logic of the film is to go off, pick up a machine gun and get to work. It's the same logic as *If*, where society, seen through the model of a public school, is eventually blasted by a group of trainee Che Guevaras on top of the school hall. It worked better in that film, rooted as it was in the crazy world of upper-class England, but when Anderson ventures into a larger landscape he gets badly lost.

John Telfair

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WOMEN FIGHT BACK

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 racism 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.

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THE UNIONS

DON'T BE CANNON FODDER

THE Trade Union Council in South Shields is mounting a campaign against recruitment to the armed forces. Local recruitment offices will be picketed by trade unionists and the council is calling for the banning of recruitment in the towns and schools of the North East.

The North East, with its high level of unemployment, is a favourite area for army recruiting efforts. The council insists that this combination subjects local youngsters to unfair pressure to join up.

Malcolm Campbell, president of the council, said: 'Young people from this area are being used as cannon fodder for the armed forces. For years the North East and other areas of high unemployment have provided the bulk of rank and file recruitment.'

'Young working-class lads are being exploited before they know what it is really about. They are being used in situations like Northern Ireland to suppress members of their own class, the working class.'

'The adverts for the armed forces show a life of beer, birds and bingo. They never mention that you will be ordered to kill—and risk being killed. We will point this out to this year's school leavers.'

'We will point out that the weapons and tactics soldiers will be ordered to use

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Royal Marines recruitment advertising: not a word about kill or be killed

and develop could be used against their own family and friends, against workers and trade unionists in this country.

'The army chiefs Brigadier Michael Calvert and Brigadier Frank Kitson are already preaching a policy of training the armed forces to be used against striking students and other "trouble-makers". The Tory Party pamphlet, "In Defence of Peace", says: "The techniques of political terrorism must now be an integral part of every front line soldier's career."

'We will ask young potential recruits the question: "When your officers order you to fire on your own people, in what direction will you point your rifle?" We will ask parents whether they really want their sons to be trained as killers.'

The anti-recruitment campaign will be directed to school leavers, students and young unemployed people during the summer. All trade unionists and other sections of the labour movement are asked to join the campaign.

White-collar leaders under pressure

THE growth of real trade unionism in the National and Local Government Officers Association, the biggest white-collar union, with 500,000 members, will reflect in the debates at the union's annual conference at Scarborough next week.

The past 12 months have seen a growing number of small-scale strikes, a prolonged struggle and boycott of emergency duty work by social workers over pay, and on May Day NALGO members struck and marched in London against the advice of the union.

On the first day of conference, there will be an attempt to commit the national local government committee to summon a special delegate meeting to consider the employers' final offer in this year's pay claim. If this succeeds, it will give NALGO members a chance to challenge the freeze directly by calling for industrial action.

At a meeting of gas workers, a motion will be put in favour of militant action over the 35-hour week, and the electricity section of the union will have a chance to support a motion condemning their negotiators for failure to act on previous decisions on pay structures and co-operation in bonus and productivity schemes.

Last year's electricity conference called for action in support of pay demands. These have not been met in full, and the motion calls for industrial action.

Focussed

The most important debates will no doubt centre around the union's attitude to incomes policy and democracy in NALGO. Several motions attack the government freeze. But the main question will be whether the conference rejects the executive's support for talks between the TUC and the Tories. Traditional NALGO policy has been to condemn statutory pay policies verbally, but to collaborate in their operation!

NALGO Action, the left-wing rank and file group, has focussed much attention on the question of union democracy. Motions call for election

by Geoff Wolfe
NALGO, Lewisham

addresses by executive candidates to be made official.

There are also two very important proposals, one calling for the election of the general secretary, his deputy, and the district officials, and another for the election by the rank and file of the national service committees, who make up the negotiating teams.

Another proposal echoing NALGO Action policy is that all pay settlements be brought back to delegate membership meetings before acceptance.

A motion calling for registration under the Industrial Relations Act should get short shrift from the conference. But the executive will be seeking approval for its document putting forward a legal alternative to the Act. It bears an uncanny resemblance to ideas now going round the Labour Party and to some of Hugh Scanlon's 'amendments'. The proposals to resurrect national conciliation machinery and the old Industrial Court, coupled with the idea of a strengthened Commission on Industrial Relations, betray the essentially reactionary nature of the document.

One branch wants NALGO to withdraw from the TUC, but this contrasts strongly with a motion calling for the TUC to black work on new private hospital building sites. There are other motions condemning the Lump, and calling for an official

instruction to members not to cross picket lines manned by other unions.

The resignation of Walter Anderson as general secretary this year has indicated a move to the left and this has been accompanied by the steady growth of the rank and file NALGO Action group all over the country.

That the executive has now appointed Geoffrey Drain to succeed Anderson shows that they are afraid of encouraging democracy in the union. The new man obviously hopes he will be safe in his £8500-a-year job until he retires, but recent developments in NALGO suggest that he might not be so secure.



IS BOOKS
6 Cottons Gardens
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Less on Lambton

OVER the last few months I have noticed Socialist Worker devoting more space to exposure and scandal style articles. Last week the front page was given over to Lord Lambton.

While believing that it is essential to nail the Tories on specific issues to show their hypocrisy, let us not forget that the purpose of Socialist Worker is to give leadership and socialist consciousness to the struggles of the working class.

We must remember the capitalist class are hypocrites all the time and keep the column inches devoted to exposures in the right proportion.—DEREK CATTELL, Handsworth, Birmingham.

Expose

CONGRATULATIONS on your front page article in last week's paper.

The article is the finest analysis of the Lambton scandal and the Tory government in any publication I have seen. It exposes Heath and his ilk for the frauds which they have always been and always will be. Yet, in spite of their failings (which are too numerous to mention) they have the hypocrisy and cheek to dictate to the working man how much his wage packet should contain.

I watched the Day-Lambton interview on television just after the news of the scandal had broken and part-way through the programme I expected Robin Day and Lord Lambton to burst into tears.

The Anne Windsor-Mark Phillips engagement has saved the day for the Tories and their bed-fellows, but the next time will be different. The Economist last week is at great pains to point out that the relations between government and Fleet Street have never been so bad. Is it because the journalists in Fleet Street can see the failure of Heath and Co? Never before in the history of any country have the ruling class been so out of touch with those whom they rule.

On the day the scandal broke, our illustrious Home Secretary, Herr Carr, was giving a talk to the dried-up Conservative ladies on porn. It seems to me that the Tories, at a loss what to tax next, are on the brink of announcing a Pornography Tax.

Yes, the Tories are a load of hypocrites and the sooner we are rid of them the better we will all be. But, as you say, 'life goes on much as usual.' At least the ugly faces of capitalism are being exposed once and for all.

Socialist Worker has exposed the true side of the Lambton scandal, as opposed to the News of the World-Sunday People sensational side. Once more, congratulations to Nigel Fountain, Laurie Flynn and Paul Foot for writing the most truthful Truth about the parasites on the backs of the working class.—VIC TAMBLING, Great Barr, Birmingham.

Strength

IT MAY SEEM surprising in a week when a National Front candidate wins 4800 votes that you should choose to devote nearly three pages to the Lambton-Jellicoe revelations but there was nothing in your treatment to merit such exhaustive coverage.

The lessons to be drawn by socialists are two: one, that a bourgeois minister spends more on a few hours 'pleasure' than the average worker takes home in a month. Two, that the British ruling class is most disgustingly two-faced on matters sexual. Contrast the debauched tenor of ruling-class life with the norms they impose on the rest of us.

Two examples: that in 1973, thorough shameless sex education is exceptional; two, that the infamous cohabitation rule with its sleazy apparatus of spies and informers

Film backs Sihanouk's claim

DECISIVE evidence of the strength of the legitimate Cambodian government, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is revealed in a film which the Prince has despatched to The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, with a request that the Foundation arrange for it to be shown as widely as possible.

Prince Sihanouk has recently rebuffed renewed American attempts

— more — on politics LETTERS



Let's hear from you. Socialist Worker wants to hear from readers—your likes and dislikes with the paper, your disagreements with IS policy, plus thoughts and comments on the multitude of problems affecting working people. Letters must arrive first post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals to avoid confusion.

takes away from many working class women their right to supplementary benefit.

We socialists cannot exploit 'scandals' in a classless fashion. We must draw out the political lessons to strengthen the class in its struggles.—FRANK PHILLIPS, ARTHUR FORD, Wolverhampton.

I NOTICE that the Our Norman cartoon last week has a laugh at the 'call girl' along with her exploiters.

Perhaps the not so laughable aspect of the whole affair is the hypocrisy of those who decry the press for prying into the private lives of their lordships while condoning the snooping of the government spies on working class women claiming social security—JANET RUDGE, London N6.

System

AS A FOLLOW-UP to the article on 'USSR Ltd' (26 May) how about this statement by Mr Jozef Barecki, editor of the Warsaw paper Trybuna Ludu? 'Poland,' he said, 'is a big corporation and we are the company paper.' (Guardian, 29 May).

He went on: 'We have to decide what gets printed about the internal operations of the enterprise and we certainly don't think it serves its interests to give away any industrial secrets.'

This is an interesting suggestion that the top men in the state capitalist countries are well aware of their own role and the nature of their system. More than that, they are prepared to admit it! How long then can our friends on the left persist in the pretence that countries like Russia and Poland are 'workers' states'?—MARTIN SHAW, Hull.

Disgust

THE REVIEW of Themroc in last week's Socialist Worker has at last prompted me to express my utter and mounting disgust with the reviews

to impose a settlement of the Cambodian conflict, at the expense of Cambodian national sovereignty and independence. The Russell Foundation has issued a call for the formation of an international committee of support for Cambodia, to campaign for solidarity with the Cambodian peoples liberation struggle.—KEN COATES, CHRIS FARLEY, Gamble Street, Nottingham.

page. When are we going to get reviews that are mainly about films that most people are going to see and an end to the 'intellectual' and elitist rubbish that keeps appearing?

And what on earth does Dave Widgey mean by praising a load of crap like Themroc and actually recommending people to hire it?

If the struggle we are fighting is on the level of people dropping out from their jobs to knock off their sisters, knock down the walls of their own houses and eat coppers, then it is not the struggle most workers are fighting. This is revolution for 'heads' and intellectual pretenders.

We believe workers are capable of becoming conscious of their oppression and of fighting back consciously, articulately and collectively.

An act of insane 'sane' revolt is not an act of revolution, and we'll need more than grunts and sexual orgies to even begin to smash the bosses' system.

Even though the film was made by a drop-out worker turned professional film-maker (and what's so marvellous about that—it's an individualist answer to the degradation of production-line work), I think this kind of stuff is in the end anti-working-class.

I don't think anyone should bother to go and see it—even if they are one of that vast majority of ordinary people who live in Piccadilly and flock regularly to their local 'Other Cinema'.—CELIA DEACON, London N16.

The policy of Socialist Worker is to attempt to review films on mass distribution. But, as Celia Deacon may be aware, the two main cinema circuits are controlled by profiteering, censorious semi-monopolies that ban or lock away many important films. This means that occasionally we have to review films shown by groups like The Other Cinema.

Surprise

LAST WEEK'S edition was most surprising for the admissions of Magnus Williamson, a former national president of the National Union of Journalists.

He tells us that a Labour Party official informed him of the re-adoption meeting for his seat as a councillor resulted in a four-three vote against but that as a member came in late and voted against him, the meeting had to be reconvened.

The big question is: How did the official know which way the members were voting, since the vote was supposed to be by secret ballot. Were the papers marked?

As for the reconvened meeting, many members complained that Williamson won six to four because those voting were not paid-up members and had been specially informed to attend some days before. This resulted in a strong protest from the local chairman of the OAPS

But the most surprising thing about Cllr Williamson is his admission that he uses part-time non-NUJ staff and justifies this practice because the capitalist press do it. His claim that he was in fascist Spain at the time of the Edinburgh Evening News strike is therefore beside the point, and as a former top official of the NUJ he should have set an example.

He cannot do a Nixon and lay all the blame for strike breaking on his employees.—F ROBERTSON, Edinburgh.

Lonrho meeting: it's a massive vote for greed...

LAST WEEK the newspapers were full of the story of Lonrho. Reading the reports after the Extraordinary General Meeting, you might think that the vote on whether or not to keep Tiny Rowland as the £64,000 a year chief executive was a great blow for democracy.

There is also a danger that Sir Basil Smallpeice, the defeated deputy chairman, appears as a knight in shining armour. Both these ideas, put out by the press, are nonsense.

Voting at shareholders meetings is on that well known democratic principle one share one vote: the richest people have the greatest votes.

There are around 47,000 shareholders in Lonrho, who have been happy enough to go on collecting dividends over the years and nearly 1500 of them bothered to turn up for a meeting that allegedly vitally affected the future of the company's 80,000 workers across the world. Many, of course, couldn't come as they live in countries outside the UK where the tax laws are more accommodating.

Of the 66 million shares that these shareholders own, around 30 million were cast in favour of Rowland and about 4.5 million against him remaining in office. The voting was helped considerably by the fact that Rowland himself owned 12.6 million shares at the last count, and is believed to have bought just over a million more in the weeks before the meeting.

Serious

But what were the issues at stake? Why did the shareholders vote to keep a man who had paid money secretly to politicians and businessmen to further the interests of the company, and who had made himself rich by favourable treatment of his own private companies by Lonrho?

There is no doubt why Sir Basil Smallpeice wanted to get rid of him. Rowland didn't consult the remainder of the Lonrho board sufficiently. The way he was spending the company's money on new projects could cause a serious liquidity crisis which 'would be fatal to the interests of the shareholders.'

In listing the reasons why Rowland must go, in a letter dated 17 May, Smallpeice does not mention the workers once. In fact, in an interview with the Sunday Express, talking about his earlier career at Cunard, he said:

'The majority of the shareholders did well out of the takeover [by Trafalgar House Investments]. I got a shock when I was totting up my shares the other day for capital gains tax to see how much profit I had made on Cunard shares.'

That is all that Smallpeice can say about the takeover—which he opposed at the time—of Cunard by the experienced asset strippers of Trafalgar House.



His lack of concern for the workers can be further illustrated: in 1971 Peat Marwick Mitchell, a leading firm of accountants, in making a report on the company said there were 10,000 employees. In May this year Sir Basil was claiming it had 80,000 employees.

In effect, Sir Basil's main complaint about Tiny Rowland was that he hadn't run down the work force and run up profits quickly enough: 'He has demonstrated an utter intolerance of advice and criticism.'

The £12,000-a-year Smallpeice was concerned about the value of his shares. So were Rowland's supporters. The report of the Shareholders' Action Group which supported Rowland said: 'Lonrho will return to its former happier days of progress with profit, bringing in turn A HIGHER SHARE PRICE' (their capitals).

For this is the reality of it. Both sides wanted the same thing: to be richer. The vote in favour of Rowland was a vote in favour of the last 12 years of plunder of Africa, during which time profits have increased from £158,000 to £19.3 million. This year the amount of money that can be shipped out of Africa back to safer bank accounts in this country is expected to rise from £2.4 million to nearly £5 million.

The vote in favour of Rowland and the votes against him were overwhelmingly of greed. This is the ugly face of capitalism as has been on show. It is the only real face capitalism has.

T H Rogmorton

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.

Price: £1 plus 15p postage.

PLUTO PRESS, Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH.

MEN STRIKE FOR EQUAL PAY CLAIM



Left-winger is elected

LEFT-WING miners' official Arthur Scargill has been elected president of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers with a hefty majority over his two rivals. The ballot result was: Scargill 26,130, J Laydon 8760, J Leigh 7041. The result is a decisive defeat for the right wing in Yorkshire.

ECCLES, Lancashire:-90 men and women office workers at Salford Electrical Instruments have come out on strike in support of a claim for equal pay being fought for at the company's two factories in the Manchester area.

They are demanding the difference between men's and women's rates be reduced by a third as a step towards equal pay in 1975. This would be over and above the £1 plus 4 per cent management has already

offered and the workers have turned down.

The bosses say the dispute started because of differing views over the interpretation of the Equal Pay Act. The Act is only too easily 'interpreted' in favour of the employers. Its promise that women workers would get 90 per cent of men's rates by the end of this year has already fallen foul of the wage freeze, but women workers are still entitled to an increase of one third of the difference between men and women's rates.

by Penny Morris and Sara Carver

But Brian White, the firm's managing director, claims that none of the women do the same work as men. Said one striker: 'That's nonsense. I sit facing a woman who does exactly the same job as me.'

When the women started a go-slow 10 days ago in support of their claim, White refused even to negotiate and threatened to suspend all those on go-slow. In response about 90 members of APEX, the office workers' union, came out on strike. The men are just as determined to win the rise and are standing shoulder to shoulder with the girls on the picket line.

So far picketing has been successful, Cary Everett, APEX steward said: 'They don't stockpile here. They rely on daily deliveries'. After only two days of picketing the loading coil section has been forced to close down.

her part in the strike.

'How bloody-minded can you get?' said APEX representative Joe Sharkey. 'The majority of our girls only earn £15.50 basic and take home pay is £10 to £10.50. We are part of the GEC combine which made £110 million profit last year, yet they're willing to ruin a girl's holiday for a miserly £33.'

Management has also refused to pay the two days owing to the strikers from the beginning of the week, which means that many of them are facing the weekend without a penny in their pockets. 'They're using this as a lever to blackmail us because they know we have no money,' added Joe.

After long negotiations the management paid the holiday money but refused to pay the two days owing to the other strikers.

At the firm's factory in Heywood, shop floor members of the engineering union (AUEW) have voted to black goods in solidarity with the strikers. This will have considerable effect.

Rumour has it that management at Heywood has threatened to close the factory if the black is put on. One striker said: 'That's no threat. With Arnold Weinstock in control of GEC, it could be closed down next week anyway!'

This is a vital strike in the struggle for equal pay. Please send donations and messages of support to: Iain MacLean, APEX, 45 King's Way, Levenshulme, Manchester 19.

WHAT'S ON

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

IS MEETINGS

IS LANCASHIRE REGION Day School: Sunday 17 June, in Wigan. Morning: The Traditions of IS. Afternoon: Why IS? Speaker Tony Cliff. Further details available from branch secretaries.

TOTTENHAM IS public meeting

THE POWER BEHIND ENOCH POWELL
Speaker Paul Foot
Thursday 14 June, 8pm
YWCA, 628 Tottenham High Rd, N17

NORTH HERTS IS public meeting: Who runs the unions? Speaker Andreas Nagliati (IS industrial organiser). Tuesday 19 June, 8pm, The Red Lion (club room), Great North Road, Old Stevenage.

ROCHDALE IS public meeting on Ireland. Thursday 7 June, 8pm, Slubbers Arms.

LONDON IS IRISH FORUM: James Connolly—his relevance—today. Speaker Jimmy Greal, Friday 22 June, 7.30pm, The Roebuck, 108 Tottenham Court Road (nearest tubes Warren St and Goodge St).

IS CIVIL SERVANTS meeting: Sat 16 June, 11am, at 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2. Speakers include Duncan Hallas. Redder Tape social in the evening.

NORWICH IS public meeting

SOCIALISTS AND TRADE UNIONS
Speaker Harry Wicks
Thursday 14 June, 8pm
Red Lion, Bishopsgate

GLASGOW IS public meeting

PROFITS AND CORRUPTION IN TORY BRITAIN
Speaker Paul Foot
Thursday 21 June, 7.30pm
McLennan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street

HACKNEY IS public meeting

HOW TO FIGHT RACIALISM
Speaker George Peake
Monday 4 June, 8pm
The Rose and Crown, corner of Albion Road and Stoke Newington Church Street, N16 (opposite Town Hall/bus 73)

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS SOCIAL

Friday 22 June, 8-11pm
Jake Thackray
Sandra Kerr and John Faulkner
The Newmaid, Stratford Road, Birmingham 12
Admission 50p (or 40p in advance from South Birmingham IS treasurer: phone 021-444 5692)

NEWHAM IS public meeting

FINE TUBES—THREE YEARS ON STRIKE—WHY?
Speakers: Dave Edwards (Fine Tubes strike committee) and Chris Davison (IS National Committee)
Wednesday 13 June, 8pm
The Castle pub, Greengate, Barking Road, Newham

IS GAY DISCUSSION GROUP

National meeting
Saturday-Sunday 23-24 June
Details from Don Milligan
2 Blades Street, Lancaster

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST RACIALISM

picket Monday Club film show 'England, whose England?'
Shire Hall, Chelmsford
Friday 8 June, 7.15pm
Picket organised by Chelmsford IS

SOUTHERN AFRICA IN STRUGGLE

LIBERATION MOVEMENT LEADERS SPEAK
Central Hall, Westminster
Wednesday 20 June, 7.30pm
Speakers: MARCELINO DOS SANTOS (vice-president FRELIMO), OLIVER TAMBO (acting president ANC, South Africa), JIMMY REID, ABDUL MINTY, JUDITH HART MP, WINSTON PINDER (chairman)
Tickets at 10p each available from: Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1, phone 01-580 5311, and Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2, phone 01-734 9541

OTHER MEETINGS

CONFERENCE for socialist teachers in the ATTI, sponsored by local Rank and File Technical Teachers groups. Saturday 16 June, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham (room 3). ATTI members only. Details from Liz Peretz, 81 Lansdowne Road, London W11.

RANK AND FILE TECHNICAL TEACHERS meet at The Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road, London W1 (near Warren Street tube), Sunday 10 June, 7pm, to discuss the National R&FTT, aims and constitution, national paper.

CLANN, ICRA public meeting: The Irish Worker in Britain. Friday 8 June, 8pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1.

NATIONALISM and the Struggle in Northern Ireland. Public meeting. Friday 15 June, 7.45pm, St Pancras Library, 100 Euston Rd, London NW1. Organised by London Group of Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist).

SOCIALIST MEDICAL ASSOCIATION meeting: The Dental Services we want. Speakers Kathleen Moody, Sean Creighton, Renee Short MP and Pat Ward-Booth. Chairman John Silkin MP. Tuesday 12 June, 7pm, House of Commons (committee room booked by John Silkin). All welcome—admission free.

ISLINGTON Indo-China Solidarity Group: Film 'A Question of Torture'—harrowing 'World in Action' film of prisoners in South Vietnam, plus speaker Malcolm Cauldwell. Thursday 14 June, 8pm, City University, St John Street, London EC1 (near Sadlers Wells).

CONFERENCE: REVOLUTION AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

Saturday 23 June/Sunday 24 June
Manchester University
Speakers include Marcelino Dos Santos (view-president FRELIMO), Bob Sutcliffe, Fred Halliday and Basil Davidson
Registration (includes set of 10 conference papers) £2, should be sent in advance to: Convenor, End the Alliance Campaign, 'Welfare', Students Union, Oxford Road, Manchester
Floor accommodation 50p, bed accommodation £2 may be reserved at same address
Conference sponsored by Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2, phone 01-734 9541

OUR COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST 600-YEAR-OLD 'ALLIANCE' OF EXPLOITATION BRITAIN/PORTUGAL/ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE/GUINE-BISSAU

public meeting
Thursday 7 June, 7.30pm
Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1.
Speakers: Portuguese workers, representatives of African liberation movements, Mike Cooley (past president TASS/AUEW).

NOTICES

LEICESTER: Comrades moving to Leicester this year should write to Accomodations, 11 Edward Road, Leicester, for details of accommodation, branch work, etc.

WORKERS REPUBLIC: Articles on things that matter, ie, Political Prisoners in England, Housing, Legal drug peddling, 6p from J Durkin, 244 Heathfield Road, Southport, Lancashire.

WANTED: Flat for two in London from end of June to October. Contact Box number SWM, Whats On, Socialist Worker, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

MASCULINE ATTITUDES

A discussion conference open to men only organised by Men Against Sexism who stand for
Opposition to oppression of women
Liberation from the disadvantages of masculinity
For socialism without sexism
Sunday 10 June, 10.30am-7pm
48 Platts Lane, London NW3
Details from Dan Muir at 01-444 0711
Creche available

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP's new report: What Future for the Amerindians of South America? 45p (51p post free) from MRG, 36 Craven Street, London WC2.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS: The facts behind the Deportation Business in this month's special supplement to Race Today. Single copy 10p. Annual subscription £1.60. Cheques, POs to RACE TODAY, 184 Kings Cross Road, London WC1. Phone 01-837 0041.

OXFORD: Would any member of IS who has lived in 15, 17 or 60 Charles Street please collect belongings from 60 by 15 July. Anything left will be sold for branch funds.

UNIQUE GIFTS TO FRIENDS (or just you!): Pure silk-woven portraits of Marx, Lenin, Engels, etc. Sizes 16in x 10½in—70p; 28in x 19½in—£1.10; 7in x 4in—24p. LP gramophone record, Chinese choir and orchestra singing The Internationale—39p. At once delivery. D Volpe, 16 Belmont Court, London N16 5QD.

WORKERS WANTED

SW (Litho) PRINTERS requires an apprentice printer
Maximum age 18. Will have to sit NGA entrance exam. Day release given.

SOCIALIST WORKER requires assistant business manager
Typing an advantage. Date of commencement can be negotiated

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS head office requires van driver
capable of driving 2¼-ton Austin. No HGV required.

For all the above jobs, contact Jim Nichol, 6 Cotton Gardens, London E2, phone 01-739 1870

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS need clerical assistant to help in industrial department
Fast typing essential, interesting work
All applicants contact IS industrial dept at 01-739 6273

MISERABLE

This upset Ken Taylor, the section manager, who took to driving at full speed through the picket line. This earned his car a dent from a placard.

The bosses have shown they will sink to any level to defeat the workers. Lorraine Benson was due to take her annual holidays in Guernsey this Saturday, but the management at first refused to pay her miserable £11-a-week holiday pay, claiming that she has broken her contract because of

Union 'court' move against teachers

SOUTH LONDON:—Three Wandsworth teachers face the threat of expulsion from the National Union of Teachers. Disciplinary charges have been brought by the union executive against Fred Scott, Eric Porter and David Whiteley, who have all been closely associated with the journal Rank and File.

The charges arise from a meeting held at Central Hall, Westminster, in February during the London teachers' strikes for a higher London allowance. The platform at the meeting refused to accept resolutions from four local associations of the union, though the majority at the meeting wanted to discuss the London allowance issue.

The lights were switched off to close the meeting, which would have broken up in disorder but for the intervention of the three, who took over the platform, restored order and read out the resolution, which was passed overwhelmingly.

The next day union president Max Morris, a Communist Party member, told The Guardian the disorder was caused by 'Trotskyites and International Socialists, half of whom were not teachers.'

The official NUT paper The Teacher followed this up by publishing a virulent attack on the militants by the secretary of the Havering NUT Association. When Wandsworth NUT Association tried to reply, it was told that the matter could not now be covered as it was 'sub-judice'.

Scott, Porter and Whiteley are now to appear before the NUT's professional conduct committee, which is made up entirely of members of the executive. Should they decide to appeal against its decision, their appeal would also be heard by members of the executive alone.

The NUT leaders are fulfilling exactly the role mapped out for union leaders in the Industrial Relations Act. No independent action by any section of the membership is to be allowed. The Young Teachers

Conference has been abolished, local associations can no longer call strikes and those who do try to mobilise the members can be brought to face disciplinary action.

At stake is not just the future of three militants, but whether or not the NUT can be made to fight for the interests of its members. Nor is this a matter for teachers alone. If the NUT can get away with such actions other union leaders will not be slow to follow.

A lobby of NUT headquarters at Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London WC1, has been planned for Saturday 23 June from 9am onwards and all trade unionists are urged to support it.

Messages of support and donations to: Wandsworth Three Defence Committee, c/o Alan Jackson, Flat 4, 697 Garratt Lane, London SW18 (phone 01-947 3999).

Protest over unpaid dues

WEST LONDON:—Busmen at Southall bus garage are refusing to operate unscheduled mileage in protest against management's failure to act against a busman who has not paid his union dues for several months.

The busmen are all in the transport union. Bus driver Bernard Bateman, spokesman for the garage union branch, told Socialist Worker that London Transport was reluctant to take action against the man out of fear of the Industrial Relations Act.

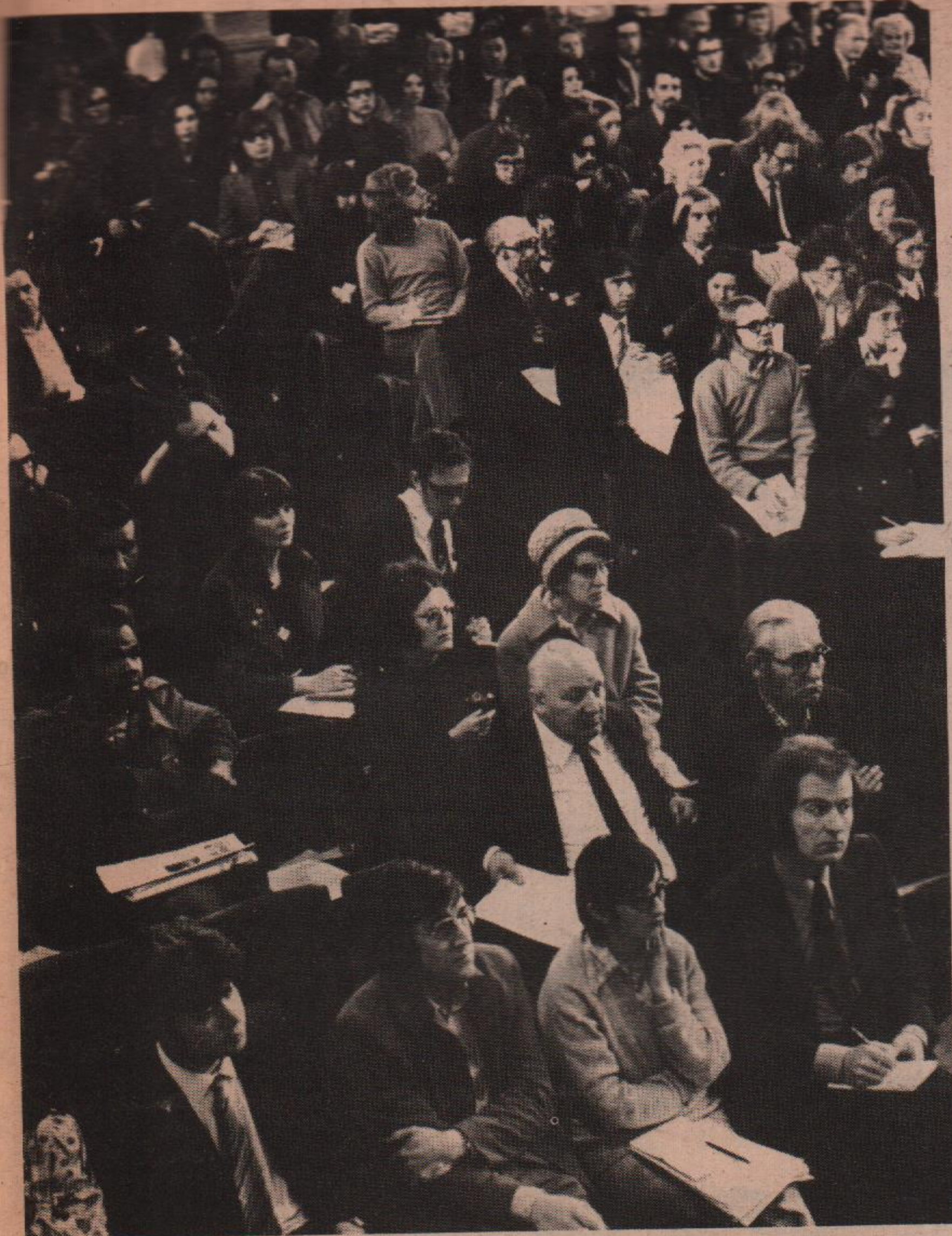
In another dispute the busmen overwhelmingly voted to refuse to do training for one-man buses. In a 1968 agreement London Transport agreed to keep crews on certain routes and that training should be voluntary. Now they are demanding that all routes are converted to one-man buses.

Freeze barrier is broken

NORWICH:—10 computer operators have won a 16 per cent rise after occupying the workroom at Norwich University's computing centre for 10 weeks. They also won their claim to be graded as technical rather than clerical staff, which puts them on a higher pay scale, and won other negotiations to be completed by July which will boost their pay rise further still. And the entire agreement is back-dated to July 1972.

The operators defied university management, a High Court injunction and the Government, which declared a previous agreement illegal because it conflicted with phase two of the freeze.

The sit-in strike shows that small groups of workers can win pay rises if they are determined and that the government can be made to find bogus 'reasons' for allowing wage claims despite the freeze.



Some of the 350 people at the trade unions and racialism conference last weekend

RACISM: STOP LIP SERVICE, UNIONS TOLD

BIRMINGHAM:—Trade unions too often pay lip service to racial equality while in practice betraying black workers, speakers told the Conference on Trade Unions and Racialism last Saturday.

The conference was attended by 350 people, including delegates from the Indian Workers Association, the Nottingham Black People's Freedom Movement, many other black organisations and left-wing groups.

The most impressive contributions came from black workers who had faced racial problems on the shop floor, including members of the Mansfield Hosiery Strike Committee from Loughborough, who had called the conference.

by Parmen Leontovitch

The Mansfield Hosiery strike was outlined in detail by Bennie Bunsee, who highlighted the way management had introduced immigrants as cheap labour and then denied them promotion to skilled jobs—a racist move in which many white workers and the hosiery and knitwear workers' union were only too happy to help. He described the role of the union in the dispute as 'subversive'.

The dispute had shown that black workers could win if they were determined enough and that outside support from socialists was vital because of the lack of help from trade unions.

A member of the Indian Workers Association from Birmid Qualcast told how shop stewards at the Conygre Foundry, Tipton, had negotiated in 1967 a 'blacks only' redundancy scheme with no opposition from the engineering union.

The Industrial Relations Commission report commissioned by the last Labour government contained the discriminatory clause that 'a worker who cannot speak fluent English cannot become a shop steward.'

DISCIPLINED

Chansal Singh of the IWA from Nottingham, member of the Transport Union, accused the trade unions of neglect and discrimination against black workers and demanded that officials who behaved in this way should be disciplined.

He pointed to several strikes in the East Midlands involving immigrants—Crepe Sizes, Jones Stroud, E Jaffe—where the union had not supported the workers in their struggle.

In the Jones Stroud dispute the TGWU district secretary had said that if black workers had put up with the conditions in the factory for 10 years why should they bother now. At British Celanese, Derby, a newly elected black shop steward was not given his credentials by the TGWU for more than four months, for no other reason than that he had replaced a shop steward who had been there for 21 years and who was known to 'get on very nicely with management'.

At the Courtaulds plant at Harwood Cash, Mansfield, where 18 Pakistanis had unionised 110 white workers, the union official appointed shop stewards with the collaboration of the management over the heads of the men.

A speaker from the Black People's Freedom Movement, Nottingham, highlighted the special problems of young black workers who were dis-

criminated against in their search for jobs and harassed by the police. He criticised the TUC policy of refusing to make black workers a special case. The inactivity of the TUC made it an accomplice to racial discrimination, he said.

Black people would only be successful against racialism if they were determined to fight and to spread the struggle from the factory floor to the community.

Delegates were divided over how to fight racialism.

Some emphasised the need to fight against racialism through the trade union movement. Socialists should use the 'existing machinery at all levels' both in the trade unions and the Labour Party, said Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary of the AUEW.

Others argued that black workers had to organise themselves to fight in the unions for recognition and equality.

But the conference failed to make clear exactly how socialists were to fight racialism in the working class. It could do no more than issue calls for action—it could not organise.

Yet the urgent need for organised intervention in the working class is clearer than ever with the threat of the National Front and the bombing of black homes and community centres.

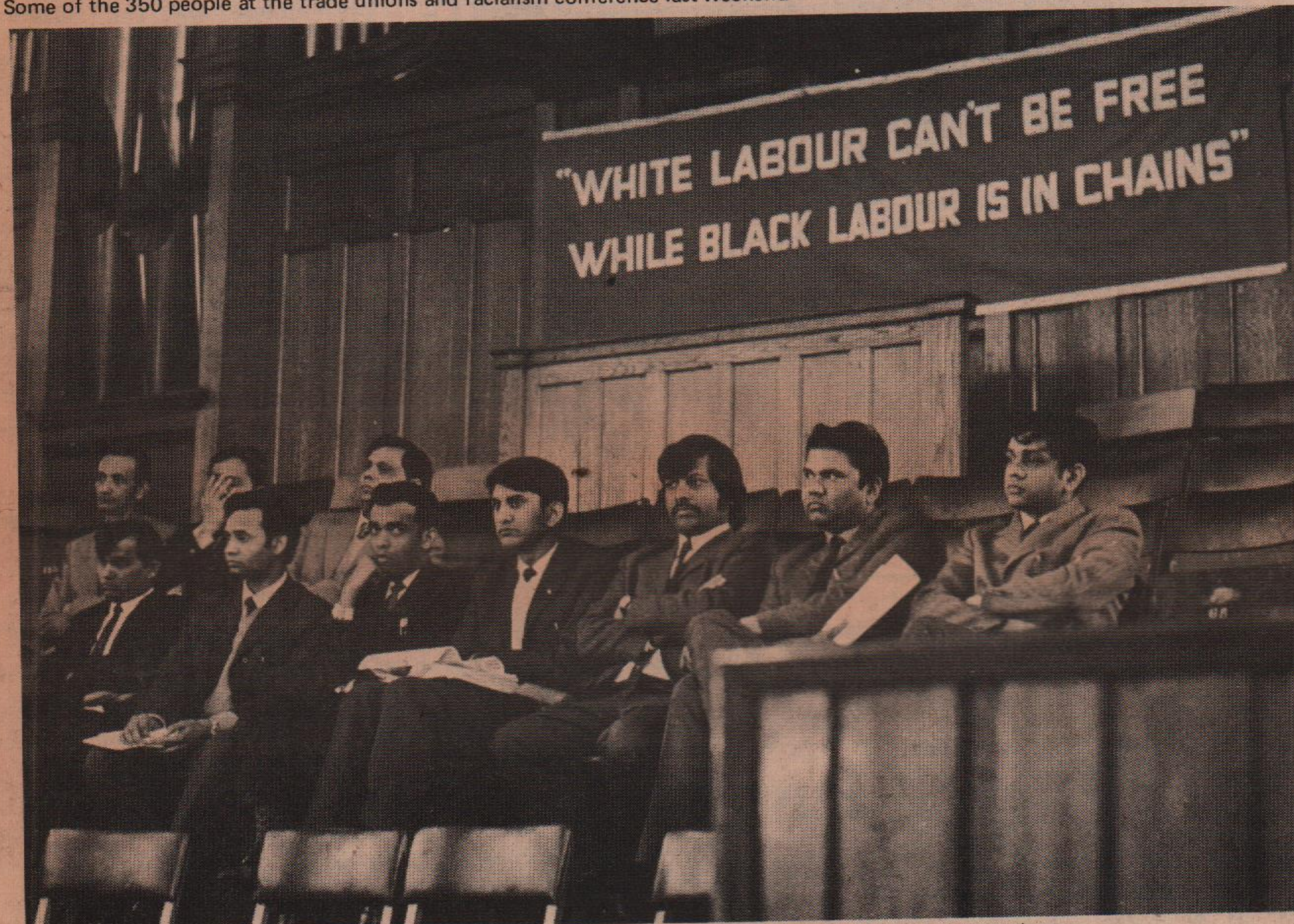
George Peake, newly-appointed immigrant community organiser of the International Socialists, said racialism, which divided the working class, was one of the sores produced by the cancer of capitalism. The way forward lay in the building of a working-class revolutionary party to smash capitalism.

Students at crossroads

AN EMERGENCY conference is being held this Saturday by the National Union of Students as part of its campaign for increased grants.

Delegates will face two clear alternatives. The first, put forward by the majority of the executive, including the Communist Party members, seeks to end the present campaign and call off all rent strikes for this term, and hold a 'non-campaign' next year around the government's three-yearly review of grants for 1974-77, mainly aiming to win support from education authorities and MPs.

The second alternative, put forward by the Socialist Alternative grouping and a minority on the executive, calls for the campaign to be linked with workers' struggles against the freeze. Unless the students' claim is met by 30 September there should be a massive campaign nationally and locally, including rent strikes, sit-ins, catering boycotts and demonstrations, leading to a national week of occupations.



Members of the Mansfield Hosiery strike committee at the conference. PICTURES: Chris Davies (Report)

SACKINGS PROVOKE BUILDERS' WALK-OUT

NORTH LONDON:—Building workers on a 925-home council housing site near Finsbury Park have struck against victimisation and in defence of union organisation.

Last Thursday morning the workers on the site voted for 100 per cent trade unionism. At midday the employer sacked 10 men, including the convenor, the labourers' steward and the scaffolders' deputy steward. The excuse given was 'lack of work'.

The employer, Thomas McInerney, built his empire on lump labour, first in Ireland and now in Britain. He has won an increasing number of council contracts in south-east England, where he is notorious for his anti-union activities.

The men on the Finsbury Park site have little if any experience of trade union organisation and the sackings came at a time when trade union organisation was establishing itself on the site. Mac the Lump clearly wants to nip it in the bud, but all men directly employed by him are out on strike and a strike committee has been elected.

Pay Board brought into shipyard row

BELFAST:—The Pay Board has been bought directly into the dispute between steelworkers in the Harland and Wolff shipyard and the yard's managing director, Hoppe.

Hoppe has been insisting that he cannot pay productivity bonuses promised last year because productivity, he says, has not risen sufficiently. To pay them would mean breaking the freeze law, he says.

So he has now referred the dispute to the Pay Board.

The 2300 steelworkers, who have been locked out for more than a month, blame management for the failure to reach the agreed productivity level. The British dock strike last summer, and the fact that 600 of the steel workers are trainees, also affected output.

Even if the bonus were paid, the shipyard workers would still be getting up to £10 a week less than British shipyard steelworkers. The wage freeze has fixed these low wages and the men's unions have made no move to take militant action against it.

The dispute has now lasted 17 weeks and the steelworkers have

suffered terrible financial hardship. They get no unemployment or social security payments. But they have intentionally isolated themselves from other workers in the yards, whose help has never really been requested, and this is largely the reason they have not won a quick victory.

Religious sectarianism has led the steelworkers into an alliance with a section of management who resent Hoppe's policy of employing Scandinavian management whizz-kids. This local management has always been strongly Orange and right-wing.

Sparks locked out

ROMFORD:—30 electricians employed by W T Parker have been locked out at the Ind Coope brewery site—the firm's reply to a request for a 10 per cent increase in overtime payments. The Electricians' Union area official, Bert Gray, claims his hands are tied since the men had tried to get an on-site agreement, outside the industry's Joint Industrial Board.

The management had been trying to introduce lump labour employed by Boves Brothers, the same firm that supplied the lump strike breakers for the St Thomas' hospital site.



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

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

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STOP LIP SERVICE,
UNIONS TOLD—page 15
MEN JOIN EQUAL
PAY STRIKE—page 16

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

LEYLAND DUST OFF RED SCARE

Flying pickets close Chrysler

by Eddie Tomlinson
 Sheet Metal Workers Union

A FEW weeks ago British Leyland bosses were cock-a-hoop. They had record profit figures and a new car ready for the European market.

They were so cocky that they brought forward the launch of the Austin Allegro by a week. With 10,000 already produced, they were sure they could meet the demand.

Their dreams have been short-lived. Industrial disputes have meant no production of the new car since the spring bank holiday and to cap it all production in Oxford of Marinas also ground to a halt last Friday.

The press has leapt in to claim that groups of 'left-wing militants' are behind these strikes. 'Did plotters stir up the Allegro strike?' screamed a headline in The Sun on Tuesday.

For years British Leyland blamed its failures to meet delivery dates on the piecemeal system of payment that operated in its plants. But now that the main Austin-Morris plants are on a flat rate, Measured Day Work system, that excuse no longer holds. So 'Reds under the bed' is the new excuse.

Discontent

But such stories are given the lie by the way a rash of disputes have broken out in quite isolated sections of workers in different parts of the combine. These different groups have been bound together, not by some plot, but by simmering discontent over pay and conditions.

Maintenance and toolroom workers at the Longbridge plant, Birmingham, started an overtime ban when their agreement ran out just before the bank holiday. This meant that a second finishing line for the Allegro, due to increase weekly production from 1000 to 2500, could not be installed over the holiday weekend.



The world's first Hydragas suspension system makes all those short-cut roads feel like the M1.

Sometimes you may like to get off the beaten track. Take those short-cut roads that other cars just have to avoid. That's when the rugged character of the Allegro and a revolutionary suspension system called Hydragas really comes into its own. Hydragas is a revolutionary suspension that rides on gas. It gives Allegro far superior handling qualities to any other car in its price range. It's a tough system too because it needs no regular maintenance for the life of the car. We drove a test car over a high kerb at

30 mph. more than 1,000 times to prove it. Combine that with the extra traction of front-wheel drive and you've got a car that's a pure delight to handle. Safer too, on corners and wet roads. Allegro gives you a power choice from 1100 to 1750 plus a five speed gearbox on all 1500 and 1750 models—and that's a feature never before offered in a range of this type. An electric cooling fan which aids engine efficiency and front disc brakes. A Quartic steering wheel that's shaped to let you see your instruments more clearly and give you more positive control.

Room for 5 people and 15 cu. ft. of boot space. Alternator. Fresh-flow ventilation. Comprehensive safety package. And there are 12 models to choose from, starting at the 2-door 1100 DeLuxe all the way along to the powerful 4-door 1750 Sport Special. Pick one out at your Austin dealer now, before the waiting list builds up.

Allegro

The new driving force from Austin.

'The new driving force from Austin', says the slogan on the advert—but no workforce, no driving force

Then when the 2000 Allegro workers reported back after the holiday they were sent home because of a strike at Swindon, where 650 press operators struck because they objected to the work measurements Leyland were trying to impose. As a result no body stampings were available. The Swindon stoppage also threatened to close the Cowley plant at Oxford, but a separate strike by 80 plant attendants did it instead. These men start and stop the assembly

lines and their strike for upgrading stopped all production of Marina, Maxi and 1300 GT models. 12,000 men in the assembly and body plants were laid off. British Leyland has successfully pushed through Measured Day Work—described by the man who introduced it in Chrysler, George Cattell, as 'the modern form of slavery'. But the strikes which have stopped the Allegro show that it has not yet succeeded in completely imposing its will on its workers.

Ford men link in Europe

AN important international initiative was taken last weekend by rank and file representatives from Ford plants in Britain, Germany, Belgium and Holland. At a special conference in Cologne they discussed a wide range of issues affecting Ford workers throughout Europe.

These issues included the shorter working week, holidays and problems of stress arising from production line speed. The representatives agreed to set up a permanent international rank and file committee to co-ordinate policies in European countries where Ford operates.

The recommendations will now be discussed by the British Ford convenors' committees and will be put to union members at Ford for endorsement.

COVENTRY:—4500 men at Chrysler's Ryton car assembly plant came out on strike last Thursday against increasing management provocation.

The men had returned to work after being laid off the week before, when management called in the stewards of the body-in-white section—which assembles Avenger bodies before they are painted—and told them the men were not being paid because the quality of their work was too low.

The stewards said the reason rubbish was being turned out was because the panels being used to make the bodies were no good, with many already marked 'Return to Linwood'. The men sat in at the plant for two hours. When management refused payment for the lost time, the men repeated the sit-in the next day.

Full-time officials were called in and immediately tried to put a face-saving compromise to the firm. But Chrysler's American hatchet man, Irwin, hurt their pride by telling them he was too big to talk to them.

There was a shift changeover after the spring bank holiday, with a new day shift in the section which had not been involved in the dispute. But the maintenance workers had shown sympathy with the men under attack and had not done any maintenance work during the holiday, so the paint shop could not work and the trim track could not run.

But management did not lay anyone off—trying to turn one shift against another. Despite this, both shifts voted overwhelmingly for strike action.

Picket lines surrounded the plant to make sure contractors were not brought in to alter the track while the men were out, and on Tuesday a flying picket from Ryton closed every plant in Coventry.

The initiative for the flying picket was taken by the Ryton Action Committee, a ginger group of militants, who picketed the Ansty storage depot on Monday. The joint shop stewards committee backed this action on Tuesday and pickets were sent to close the other two storage depots and the railhead used to link the Coventry plants with the Chrysler plant at Linwood in Scotland. The transport section gave its full support to the pickets.

Many militants are saying the workers should further take the initiative by bringing forward the wage claim—which is due in a few weeks time—and linking this to the strike.

We'll defy NIRC, says union

THE film and television technicians' union (ACTT) will continue to black the showing of government television films in defiance of Monday's National Industrial Relations Court order to stop it. This was the unanimous decision of the union's executive at an emergency meeting on Monday, held immediately after the court made its order.

After an application from all 13 British commercial television companies for an

order that the union lift the blacking, the court ruled that this was an unfair industrial action and that the union must desist. The order was due to come into effect on Friday and will be effective until the court hears the TV companies' full case on 2 July.

The union decided to black the films from last Tuesday in retaliation against a decision by the government Central Office of Information to make 18 directly em-

ployed government film workers redundant and hand over their work to outside private contractors. COI officials refuse to give the union precise information on just what price the sub-contractors would be paid.

ACTT believes that the price is so low that the firm could not possibly pay union rates. All the COI will say is that packaging the job out is cheaper than doing the job itself.

Direct employment in the film industry has dwindled to less than 500 permanent jobs out of a workforce of 5000 and property speculators have been moving in to make their killing out of the industry. The situation is parallel to those in construction, where there is the lump, and in the docks, with unregistered ports.

The Central Office of Information is consistently refusing to disclose any information on the matter. Indeed Lord Jellicoe was quoted as the authority for not disclosing any information the very day before he had to resign over the call-girl scandal.

An ACTT spokesman told Socialist Worker that the union was convinced that the commercial TV companies had been put up to using the NIRC by the government in a bid to give it a breath of life and to use the case as another bargaining counter in the new talks with the TUC.

The blacking of all government film making, processing and transmission was, he said, the most successful action ACTT had ever mounted. The union now faces fines and possible seizure of its assets if it declines to compromise and insists on direct employment at the COI.

3 DENY PLOT CHARGE

BLACKBURN:—The police are doing their utmost to intimidate three men whose only 'crime' seems to be political support for those trying to get British troops out of Ireland. Sean Colley, John Patrick McCabe and Christopher Knealey have been charged with 'conspiring to cause damage to property' and have been refused bail.

All three deny the charges. The main prosecution case rests on the discovery in the homes of the three men of a child's chemistry set, climbing boots and ropes, two antique air rifles and combat jackets and berets. None of these allegedly highly dangerous articles were brought before the court but photographs of them were shown.

The men were also accused of being members of the Irish republican organisa-

tion, Sinn Fein and of being a possible future danger to the community.

The events so far in this case have been shrouded with secrecy and the place of the hearings have twice been changed to prevent the defence committee from sending observers. Both occasions the men have appeared in court they have been manacled to each other and to the dock and surrounded by armed Special Branch officers.

After last week's hearing three members of the defence committee who managed to attend were hustled into an ante-room where they were interrogated by local Special Branch men who demanded their names, addresses, motives for being at the trial and to which political group they belonged.

The defence committee is only in its early stages and needs offers of help or donations. Send them c/o Paul Whittaker, 33 James Street, Blackburn.

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