

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Chrysler men snub union leaders

'WE WON'T BLACKLEG'

Bombings: the real damage...

THE BOMBINGS in London railway stations this week have done nothing but damage to the workers' struggle in Britain and in Ireland.

If, like the bombings in Dublin last December, they were carried out by agents of the British secret service, those agents have triumphed.

If they were carried out by anyone connected with the Irish Republican movement, the bombers have done their movement lasting injury.

No one who has done any harm or meant any harm to Ireland has been hurt by these bombs. On the contrary. The people who placed the bombs knew when they did so that their actions would cause injury and probably death to innocent people.

So the press has been able to whip up a witchhunt against the IRA and Irish people in Britain. And all those who oppose Orange bigotry and army violence in Ireland, all revolutionary socialists have been portrayed as indiscriminate killers.

Indiscriminate killing and individual terror have no place in the activity of the International Socialists or any other organisation worthy of the name socialist.

Ruthless

We move forward by organising and developing the mass working-class power which can take on and defeat the ruthless minority who run industry, finance and our society.

Within that working-class movement, whatever the excesses of sections of the Republican movement, we wage war against the incomparably more brutal excesses of the military authorities in Ireland.

Perhaps the worst aspect of the bombings is that they have enabled the yellow press and television to gloss over the mounting evidence of army atrocities in Ireland.

A meticulous report this month from the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the Association of Legal Justice listed more than 100 reckless killings of Irish men, women and children by British troops.

The report also gave details of 'community harassment' by the army in the Catholic areas of Belfast and Derry—continuous arrests of youths, bulldozing of street lighting, wrecking of clubs and homes, insult and abuse in the streets.

Last Monday, Granada's World in Action report detailed instances of army harassment and blackmail of young men in Belfast and Derry.

Disgusting

A third report by Father Dennis Faul of Dungannon and Father Raymond Murphy of Armagh publishes the statements of 14 men and boys who have been tortured in the most disgusting circumstances in the Royal Ulster Constabulary torture chambers in Ballykelly, Co. Derry.

The information in these reports, taken together with the increasing hostility to the government in factories and workplaces all over Britain, provided more ammunition for working-class opposition to Whitelaw, Faulkner and their sectarian gangs.

Almost all of it, however, has been washed down the drain by the reaction to the station bombings.

But this paper will continue to defend the IRA or any other body which fights to defend Irish working-class communities against the legalised thuggery of the British army.

It will continue to fight against anti-Irish chauvinism and witchhunting, especially in the labour movement.

It will continue to call for an end to the long history of British plunder in Northern Ireland.

And it will continue to criticise lunatic bombings which fragment the collective working-class action capable of ending the 'Irish problem' once and for all.

LINWOOD:—7000 manual workers at Chrysler's Scottish factory have taken a magnificent stand in defence of basic trade union principles.

They struck last Friday after the company announced their intention to introduce scab labour to do the jobs of electricians and millwrights who had struck

earlier in support of electricians in the Coventry Chrysler plants.

At 12 noon on Tuesday the 350 Linwood stewards met to discuss the situation. They voted

unanimously to stay out on strike. John Carty, chairman of the joint shop stewards' committee said: 'We are not prepared to go back to work while the company is using scab labour.'

Willie Lee, the press shop steward, said: 'No one under any conditions would go in and work blacked jobs.' A Transport Union track shop steward told me: 'The men will stay out on this one. If the only thing we win is unity, it will be worthwhile.'

At Tuesday's meeting the stewards heard a report of talks with management the previous day. At that meeting the senior shop stewards told Peter Griffiths, Chrysler's industrial relations director, that the Linwood workers would return only when all non-union labour was withdrawn from Chrysler's Coventry factories.

Griffiths informed the senior stewards of a statement the executives of the TGWU and AUEW had made to their Coventry members that they could 'continue to work normally' and 'ignore' the effects of the electricians' strike.

This statement was rejected out of hand by the Linwood shop stewards.

'FANTASTIC'

Jackie Robertson, the Linwood electricians' convenor, told me immediately after his 120 members had voted unanimously to continue the strike: 'I think the support up here from other workers is fantastic. It's really encouraging to see some trade union traditions carried on.'

'You know what I think about Chapple's [the ETU leader] right wing policies,' he went on. 'But you can say one thing about him. He's not a paper tiger. He doesn't pretend to be something he isn't like Jones and Scanlon.'

The Linwood workers have taken their stand fairly and squarely on the trade union principles involved. They will not work with scab labour.

They have set aside scandalous appeals from the transport and engineering union leaders. Speaking to the press at Blackpool last week, engineering union executive member Bob Wright stated: 'The electricians are involved in actions which are contrary to our members' interests and therefore we cannot be expected to act in solidarity with them. Our members at Linwood should not black these machines.'

Before long the engineering and transport union leaders will make forceful attempts to sabotage Linwood's stand. If that happens then all sections of those unions must redouble efforts to get the union executives to reverse their disgraceful position.

by Steve Jefferys



Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

Belle Vue, Manchester
Sunday 11 November

Admission 10p

Details from IS Industrial Department
8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Engineers and transport union members on the picket line at Chrysler's Linwood plant in Scotland. Their defence of union principles is in stark contrast to the instruction from their union leaders to cross electricians' picket lines.
● Support for IS call: page 3

South Africa murders
and Chile: back page

Dodging all the issues

posed by Phase 3



Delegates at last week's TUC: fake unity of the left used as a cover for keeping on talking to the Tories.

AS FAR AS the leaders of the Trades Union Congress are concerned, their week in Blackpool was far from a waste of time.

They managed to avoid any serious discussion of what happened over Phase Two of the Tories' Incomes Policy when hospital and gas workers were left to go down alone. They managed to avoid any discussion at all of what has to be done over the forthcoming third phase.

And most important of all they secured a mandate to return to Downing Street and continue the talks with the Tories.

To renew their season ticket they put Sir Sidney Greene, general secretary of the railwaymen, up to lead the fight. Greene's speech was a masterly summary of the position of the trade union top brass.

He gave a quick outline of the growth policy the TUC had spent two and a half years urging on the government. Then he expressed his continued sorrow that they had not adopted it, preferring instead to let profits and prices soar. For his finale he concluded with a plea to let the TUC leaders, himself included, return to Downing Street and try again.

Mistaken

'I believe we have had some influence on the government,' Sir Sidney told the Congress. 'Look at the increase on pensions... There is only one way you can make progress. You cannot do it by being passive, sitting down. You can only do it by going to the government.'

Sir Sidney was ably supported by David Basnett of the General and Municipal Workers who gloried in his comments that the incomes policy and its outlawing of strikes was 'mistaken and misguided', 'not only unfair but unworkable.'

In conclusion Basnett further extended the remarkable logic of Sir Sidney Greene. 'There is an election coming up. We must not, in a petulant fashion, embarrass ourselves, we must embarrass the government.' By being responsible and talking again, of course.

The gang was complete when Jack Jones himself stepped into the fray and made the position of his union



**TUC
'73**

Analysis
by Laurie Flynn

absolutely clear—the TGWU was in favour of the talks, though a breakdown was not at all unlikely.

But the most interesting aspect of the whole debate was the featherlight quality of the opposition. Ken Gill, the new general secretary of TASS, the technical section of the AUEW, moving the motion to end the talks, was particularly discreet. He spelled out the fact that the talks were a delaying tactic for the Tory government as it rode out Phase Two with TUC consent.

But, insisted Gill, there was no

intention of challenging the integrity or personal qualities of those who supported the talks. This was merely a difference of opinion and approach.

The notion that informs this sort of remark is that the TUC leaders are moving slowly but inexorably to the left. There are therefore no fundamental differences any more, merely those of 'emphasis'.

Various points are advanced as evidence for this remarkable analysis of the British trade union movement. They range from the fact that the TUC general council actually threatened to call a general strike for one whole day when the dockers were in jail, to the TUC's newfound commitment to consider industrial action in support of the pensioners. All are false.

What has happened is that the so-called lefts of yesteryear have won the middle ground. With fantastically intensive attacks coming from the employers and successive governments, their rhetoric is useful and still does not require that anyone does anything in particular.

Just how deep the rot goes can be seen from the goings on over the engineers' move to halt the talks with the Tories. The left wingers allied to the Communist Party on the delegation soft pedalled like crazy to keep

the temperature down and 'left unity' intact.

They split their motion against collaboration with the Tories so that a boycott of the National Industrial Relations Court might get through courtesy of Jack Jones' 1.75 million votes.

The fall-back position was the TASS motion to break off the talks. This was so clearly thought out that even the TASS delegates were unsure as to its precise meaning.

And in his speech Ken Gill made it clear that trade unions must always go on talking with and advising governments, and must always therefore be subordinate to the state.

Sidetrack

This is not some marginal issue. The Tories have more than mere intentions to harness the grovelling of the trade union leaders in their strategy to attack working-class organisations. And if the Blackpool Congress is anything to do by, then they are doing very nicely.

Their problem is that the fight against Phase Three will come. Doubtless the TUC leaders will try to dodge the issue once again. Even now they are still looking for a deal and doing all in their power to prove their 'responsibility' by sidetracking and in

some cases sabotaging strikes.

The appalling thing about the Blackpool Congress is that some fake unity of the left is being used as a cover for the whole operation.

By contrast to the time, energy and fervour devoted to re-affirming a stand already adopted on the Common Market, the one principled decision taken by the TUC was rushed through at a breakneck speed.

Congress did vote overwhelmingly against the racist witch-hunt of so-called illegal immigrants and for the wholesale repeal of the racist 1971 Immigration Act. But only the mover of the motion and of the still tougher amendments were allowed to speak.

It appears that where there are real issues to be hammered out and where debate would be beneficial none is allowed.

But no one is really organised to press for that debate to take place. The so-called left is too busy counting the votes in advance, or kidding itself that a few more 'sympathetic' gentlemen have crept on to the General Council to fight hard.

With an unremitting offensive from the Tory government and the employers, there could not be a more stupid and counter productive stand to take.

Urgent need to counter

by NIGEL HARRIS

THE FIGHT back against the attempt to terrorise black workers in Britain through the House of Lords' decision on 'illegal' immigrants has been very patchy.

The Southall Indian Workers' Association originally took the lead with four demands: for a mass day of protest action, for a boycott of the government-sponsored Community Relations Councils by all immigrant organisations, for the formation of local action committees to organise a national campaign and defend black people accused of being illegal, and—if the Lords' decision was not reversed—strike action.

But the respectable 'immigrant' organisations converted the 'day of action' into a 'day of mourning'—not to defy the government, but to plead with it to relent and have pity. On the London march in July, there were about 7000.

The excellent fighting spirit of that march should not disguise how small it was. The census says there are 1.2 million people in Britain born in the 'New Commonwealth' (ie black countries). There are also thousands of white anti-racists. No matter how we look at it, the number was poor.

Nowhere has the demand for a boycott of the CRCs really stuck. Even in Southall, first the non-IWA people returned to the council, and now, we understand, even one close associate of the IWA, has retaken his seat.

Elsewhere the withdrawal hardly took place. You might think boycotting the councils was a fairly empty sort of gesture if you want a real fight, but even that has not held.

The results on the creation of action committees have been even poorer. The real task is to build mass organisations which can fight, and for that we need really powerful roots in the black communities.

But the black organisations are often lacking in just those roots, so that they cannot mobilise real strength for the fight.

The problems of basic organisation in the factory and in the black community become decisive for strike action. Black workers are in a position to push the local trade union organisation consistently in only a few areas. At Standard

Telephones in New Southgate and other key strikes, the tremendous courage and tenacity of black workers in struggle stands sharply contrasted to the relative weakness of organisation.

On a national scale—in any strike against the Lords' decision—this is even more important. There can be no real organisation without the politics of consistent fight—without both, talk of a strike remains just talk.

Unofficial

In France and Germany, there have been three major examples of what a tremendous fight immigrant workers are capable of.

The first was at the great Renault car plants in France. 22 per cent of the workers are from abroad, and in March and April of this year they paralysed the plants in their struggle to win equal rights with white workers and decent conditions.

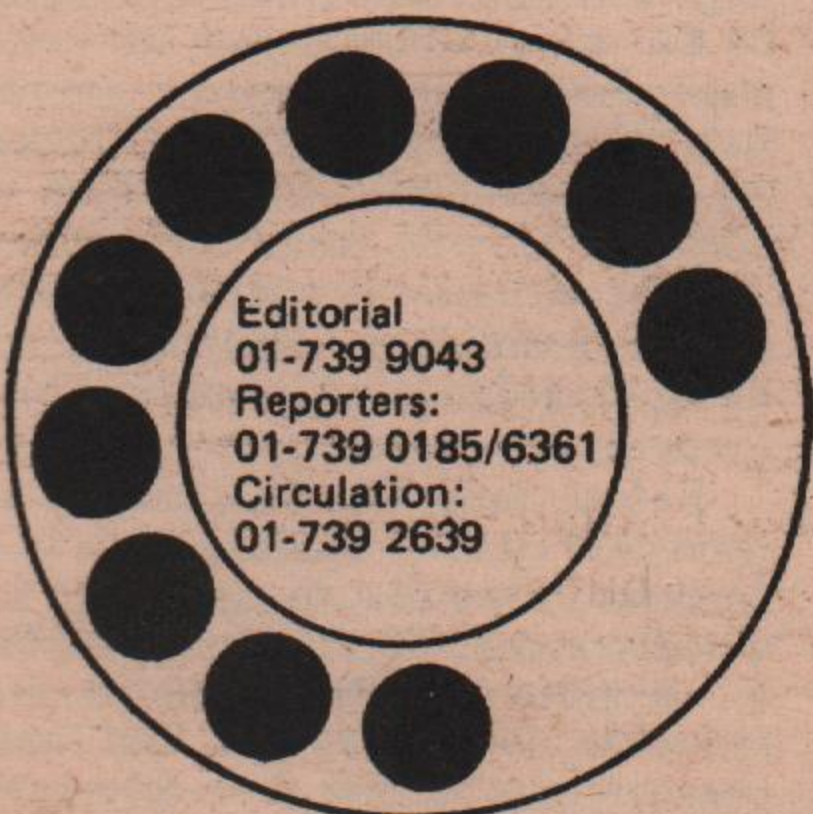
The second was at Cologne in West Germany last month. The core

of the wave of unofficial strikes that rocked the engineering industry was at Ford, Cologne. Here there are some 15,000 foreign workers—11,500 of them Turkish—out of a total workforce of 33,000. The sacking of 300 Turkish workers who, it was claimed by management, arrived back late from leave, was the key issue in the last phase of the battle at the plant.

In both cases, it was the black workers who gave a militant lead to the white workers. They had more fight, determination and audacity, for they had seen the viciousness of capitalism in its least disguised form.

The third case concerns the appalling events in Marseilles in France. Seven Algerians have been deliberately murdered there in an attempt to set off general race riots. The French crime syndicate of the port—run often by the most vicious elements of the former white colonists from Algeria—has been using a deliberately racist campaign to wipe out the Algerian Mafia or force it into alliance. At stake are the proceeds of the smuggling, narcotic, prostitution and petty crime rackets of the city.

It is from the gangsters that the finance comes for the killer squads



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WILSON CALL FOR CITY TYCOON

SW Reporter

HAROLD WILSON, leader of the Labour Opposition, has called for the sacking of Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and for his replacement from the bastion of capitalism, the City of London.

Speaking at Redruth, Cornwall, last Saturday, Mr Wilson said:

'One's eyes dim as we peer along Mr Heath's front bench. But with all that wealth of city and economic experience which sits behind him there must be someone who could create more confidence, whose speeches and actions would carry greater credibility—someone prepared to listen to the needs of the nation and not the shibboleths of Conservative Central Office.'

ASSOCIATES

The Sunday Express drew the inevitable conclusion: 'Clearly Mr Wilson is aligning himself with some recent Tory demands that the influential Mr Edward Du Cann should be brought into the Cabinet.'

If Wilson did intend to 'split the Tory Party' by recommending Edward Du Cann as Chancellor, he has sunk to the depths of the political gutter.

Barber, of course, is a boss and proud of it. He has spent three years at the Treasury defending the rights of his family, his friends, his associates and anyone else who makes a fortune for nothing.

But Du Cann represents the robbery of modern capitalism more closely than any other single politician. As chairman of the Keyser Ullman Merchant Bank he has been closely involved in profiteering from the bankruptcy of Vehicle and General Insurance in 1971, from the purchase of Central and District Properties in 1972, from the destruction of working-class communities in Pimlico, London, by Swordheath Properties this year—and of course in the continuing scandal of Lonrho Ltd, whose bankers are Keyser Ullman.

WEALTHY

There is no limit to the fortunes Du Cann and his associates have made from property speculation, insider dealing and all other forms of exploitation which Wilson characterises as 'city experience'.

Even if Wilson did not mean to



Wilson: hint that



... Du Cann should join government

refer to Du Cann, his speeches of the last few days are a grim reminder that the Opposition leader is preparing for office. Gone are the cheeky assaults on the Tories and the wealthy which were creeping back into the Wilson vocabulary.

Now, we are told: 'What we want is a national policy.'

If the Tories would only produce such a policy, says Wilson, they could expect the support of Labour.

The Tories know, however, that they have the support of Labour already. After three years' verbal opposition, Wilson and his colleagues are organising once again to slide into office as the 'national alternative' to the Conservatives.

See City column, page 13.

Support for call by IS

WE, the undersigned TGWU and AUEW convenors and shop stewards from factories in South East London, are deeply concerned at the situation existing at Chrysler's Coventry plant. Members of our union are working alongside strike-breaking electricians and we understand that instructions from our national leaders, brothers Scanlon and Jones, have been decisive in this.

We wish to see the official stand changed to give full support to the Chrysler electricians who are engaged in strike action against the Tory wage restrictions and we fully support the call for united action to the Communist Party from the International Socialists in the trade union movement as a first step to speedily achieving this change.—D Barber, (AUEW) convenor RACS Woolwich, member London South District Committee; H Johnson, (AUEW), convenor GEC Elliotts Lewisham, member London South District Committee; P Lisle, (AUEW) convenor Molins Ltd, Deptford, member London South District Committee; B Luton, (AUEW) convenor Henry Sykes (Charlton), member London South District Committee; R Pittard, (AUEW) foundry steward, Stone Wallwork Charlton; J Munds, (AUEW) Malham Photographic Equipment, Forest Hill; M Rodda, (TGWU) convenor United Glass Containers, New Cross; L Botting, (TGWU) branch secretary and shop steward Fords, Woolwich.

menace of Race Act

who have toured the Algerian districts. No doubt they are also behind the fascist organisation—the Nouvelle Ordre and its front, the Marseilles Citizens Defence Committee—that has been pasting up slogans calling for the reopening of the Nazi gas chambers and the burning down of the 'Casbah'—the terrible slum area of the Aix Square district where 10,000 Algerians are forced to live.

The reaction of Algerian workers has been fantastic. Despite the opposition of the respectable 'immigrant' organisation, the workers have organised and struck. 30,000 of them walked out in the Marseilles area.

The strike was 100 per cent at the giant Fos industrial zone where for many months the management have been trying to lay off masses of foreign workers. The day after, the overwhelming majority of North Africans in the Toulon area struck.

The trade union federations in a few places—notably, at the Hemery engineering plant—made the strike official locally, so that white workers also came out. But in general, the mass of white workers just watched this time: with the right organisation, next time black militancy will ignite white support.

On a smaller scale, we can see similar possibilities in Britain to what happened in the Renault and Ford strikes. The same combination of gangsterism—no doubt, tied up at the same time with sweat-shop bosses financing illegal immigrant rackets—generalised white racialism and appalling industrial and housing conditions for black workers can reproduce a similar outcome here as in Marseilles.

Appalling

The British ruling class, like the French, desperately need both increased racialism to divide the workers' challenge and—as long as the boom continues—an increasing number of workers at lower rates of pay. It is officially estimated that if the Common Market is to grow economically up to 1980 at the same pace as in the past, immigration needs to be doubled.

Small bosses are now crying out for workers and quite willing to finance the import of cheap labour whatever the law says. An illegal worker cannot protest against low wages, or no wages, and appalling conditions. In this divided situation, it is the right which grows, and the National Front leadership in this

country is no doubt also following the French events.

We do not have to wait until seven Indians, Pakistanis or West Indians are deliberately murdered to begin organising. The task is not going to be undertaken by most of the existing bodies. We have to start from scratch.

That means black socialists beginning to build the basic groups—two or three people in number—on which much larger numbers can be organised. By this means, the strength, anger and courage of the black communities can be focused in the fight back. What is more, black militants can give a lead to all workers.

Our own experience is still modest. But some of the basic groups are beginning to appear in IS. It is the two or three dedicated militants who, in the first instance, are decisive. That means that often intensive discussion with one or two is more important than the big meeting.

The opportunities are immense. The dangers if we fail are equally great. Both are painfully clear in the three magnificent strikes in Europe. We have begun to make the first steps, but now is the time to consolidate and build.

Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

THE TUC horse has baulked at the only fence that mattered. There will be no concerted TUC opposition to Phase Three of Heath's incomes policy swindle.

Earlier this year the TUC leadership was forced to call for a token strike in protest against the state regulation of wages, the May Day strike. Of course the stoppage was no sooner called than the attempts at sabotage began. Nevertheless, it was called.

Now there is not even the pretence of action. That is the measure of the extent of the retreat over the last six months.

And what a six months! Prices have gone on rising at an annual rate of about 10 per cent. Interest rates are at an all-time high, giving another upward twist to the inflationary spiral. The Tory Rent Act is being enforced, council rents are about to go up again. Productivity, output per man per hour, has gone up steadily. The rise in the last two years equals the total for the previous four.

As a result of this and of the economic boom profits have climbed rapidly and continue to climb. Everything is going up, only wages are being controlled.

This is the situation in which the TUC decides to continue its comic role of 'putting our case to the government' in that long-running farce, the Downing Street talks. The TUC will continue to give Heath what he requires—the appearance of 'reasonableness', of willingness to negotiate, until Heath decides that the talks are no longer serving his purpose and unceremoniously shows the general councillors the door.

The most significant feature of the Blackpool Congress was the role of the best-known leaders of the 'left'. Jack Jones was all for carrying on the talks, that is for no fight against Phase Three. Hugh Scanlon was forced, against his wishes, to vote the other way but showed his true feelings by objecting to a card vote on the issue.

On the Industrial Relations Act, Scanlon wanted to carry on with passive resistance but his delegation voted to accept the TGWU amendment which called for 'defensive' appearances before the NIRC—that is for no fight in practice against the Act. Communist Party members of the AUEW delegation actually voted in favour of accepting the TGWU position.

No real action

Of course there was a splendid diversion from these sell-outs—the call for industrial action, 'as a last resort' as Jack Jones put it, in support of the pensioners. The pensioners' issue is very important but just how seriously the supporters of the TGWU resolution take it is shown by a significant incident. The UPW spokesman, Norman Stagg, opposed the industrial action clause. He was assured from the platform that the threat was necessary and that the General Council would do its duty and lead the action. With that assurance Stagg withdrew the UPW amendment! He, like everybody else, understood that an action 'led' by the General Council would be no real action at all.

Blackpool should prove to all but the blind and the deaf that the 'left' leaders have neither the will to fight Phase Three nor a strategy to do so. It is crystal clear that those individual unions that do fight will be left to fight alone, just as the gasworkers, hospital workers and civil servants were left to fight Phase Two alone.

It was obvious enough before Blackpool. The scandalous disregard of basic trade union principles by the leaderships of the AUEW and the TGWU in the Chrysler dispute shows just how seriously they take the solidarity they preach from conference platforms.

None of this means that the fight against Phase Three is lost. The government knows it has nothing to worry about from the TUC but it also knows that it is vulnerable to serious action by any important section. The very success of the government, with the help of the union leaders, in holding down wages in Phase Two while prices and profits soared has laid the basis for a massive backlash. All the indications are that the industrial struggle is going to hot up.

The problem of developing solidarity and real unity on a fighting basis remains. The central need today is a big rank and file movement based on the rejection of class collaboration and working for the widest development of working-class solidarity against the bosses and their government. The 11-November Conference called by Socialist Worker will be a modest but significant step in that direction. It merits wide support.



BRIEFING

THE FORMERLY militant Black Panthers in the United States have moved further towards all-out support for the Democratic Party. In dealing with the Watergate affair, their newspaper of 4 August praised the chairman of the Watergate hearings, Senator Sam Ervin. 'If constitutional democracy is to exist in America, every citizen of this land has a duty to actively and resolutely support Senator Ervin in this historic confrontation,' it said. The Black Panthers, like many American liberals, have been willing to

forget Ervin's history of racism. He has been for many years a well-known member of the racist 'Southern bloc' in Congress that prevented the passing of civil rights legislation for decades. His reputation as an authority on constitutional law rests on his brilliant arguments in favour of the constitutional right to deny decent housing, jobs and the vote to black people.

Ervin was also the co-author of the anti-trade union legislation known as the Landrum-Griffith Act, and wrote the

model 'no knock' law for the city of Washington which allows the police to bash down doors without warning.

AT A MEETING of the Divine Light cult in Detroit, USA, a custard pie was thrown in the face of the Guru Maharaj Ji, the 15-year-old superstar of the mysticism revival. 'This was probably nothing like nails through Jesus Christ,' he sighed.

Two weeks later, the young radical who threw the pie was in serious condition in Detroit's General Hospital, recovering from brain surgery after being viciously beaten up in his apartment by two of the 'Perfect Master's' followers.

IN BESANCON, eastern France, a meeting of solidarity with the victims of police repression was attended by 400 people and supported by the revolutionary organisation Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle) and by the CFTD trade union federation.

The purpose of the meeting was to protest at the imprisonment of 30 young people on convictions of assaulting the police during last month's demonstrations in support of the workers of the Lip watch factory, whose work-in was brutally ended by police on 14 August. Contrary to accusations (by the Communist Party press among others) that the trouble on the demonstrations was caused by 'outsiders brought in in coaches', nearly all of the 30 were workers in the Besancon area.

The first speaker at the meeting was a Lip worker who said on behalf of all those taking part in the work-in that they gave full solidarity to those who had suffered for showing solidarity with them.

Two young workers who had been detained and later released described the bad treatment those arrested on the demonstrations had had—no food for over 24 hours, refused medical attention from outside, and refused the legal visits from their relatives. The Communist Party, the CGT union federation, and the Socialist Party all refused to associate themselves with the meeting.

THE STATE of emergency declared in the Sudan last week is evidence of growing discontent in that country. At least three people have been killed in recent disturbances.

The agitation began with students demanding an end to the military government of President Nimeiry. But it soon spread to the working-class, and in particular there was a strike by railway workers.

The railwaymen have always been the spearhead of the Sudanese working class. They have great strategic strength in a country with hardly any cross-country roads. It was a railway workers' strike in 1947 which led to the founding of the Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation and in 1964 a general strike brought down a previous military government.

Sudan is one of the few African countries to have a well-organised trade union movement and a strong Communist Party. When Nimeiry came to power in 1969 the Communists supported him and entered his government.

But Nimeiry took advantage of a short-lived 'left-wing' coup in 1971 to launch an offensive against the Communists and the unions. The general secretaries of both the Communist Party and the Trade Union Federation were executed. A drive was launched against working-class militants—who, incidentally, were hunted down with Russian-built tanks and with the active encouragement of the Chinese government.

But the working-class movement was not smashed, though it had suffered a severe setback. Whether the present disturbances can mark a new step forward for Sudanese workers depends largely on whether the most militant workers can break with the traditional tail-ending position of the Communist Party.

ENGINEERING STRIKES DEFY GIANT UNION

by John Hellebrand

WHEN the giant German engineering union IG Metall signed its 8½ per cent wage increase with the German engineering industry at the beginning of this year it was broadly welcomed as an important step towards controlling inflation.

Last week German Chancellor Willy Brandt was on television appealing for moderation and urging the unofficial strikers at the Ford plant in Cologne and other plants in the Ruhr to return to work.

The strikes began three weeks ago in the Ruhr, the heartland of the German engineering industry, over demands for bonuses to compensate

for the rise in the cost of living over the past six months.

The main plant hit by the strikes was Ford, which employs about 20,000 men. More than half of them were out at the strike's peak, causing a loss of 1000 cars a day. The strikers were also protesting against the dismissal of 300 Turkish 'guest workers' sacked by the management for having overstayed their annual holiday.

After two weeks and continual stoppages Ford decided to settle and pay its employees 280 DM (£45) as compensation for the price rises. Payment is to be spread over the next four months.

This is obviously unsatisfactory and no solution to inflation. But the strikes do mark an important turning point in the trade union movement in Germany. For years IG Metall, which has 2,300,000 members, has kept them in line with the wishes of management and government.

EMPIRE

Eugen Loderer, who heads the union, is trying to contain the spread of militant action by bringing forward to next month the national pay talks, scheduled for the end of the year.

Loderer also sits on the board of directors of the Krupp Steelworks and the Volkswagen empire. He holds these positions because the German trade unions 'participate' in the running of all major industries in Germany.

It seems Loderer is a far better manager than union leader because German business has been having a record year with production and profits zooming ahead, while German workers have been participating in everything but their own improvement.

When the German workers, after years of heeding the union's call to compromise and moderation, decide they have had enough, it can be no clearer example of the fraud hidden behind the word 'participation'.

Cholera epidemic exposes the slums

by Mike Balfour

THE cholera epidemic in Italy which has so far killed 18 people has exposed the appalling conditions of life in the Southern Italian slums. Government spokesmen have been busy trying to blame the spread of the epidemic on the eating of mussels.

It has been suggested that the shellfish were not really Italian but imported from Tunisia. The slum-dwellers of Naples and other southern towns know otherwise. They have taken direct action against the local authorities for neglecting basic public hygiene.

In Naples, where the epidemic struck hardest, barricades went up in one slum. In another the local town hall was attacked. In other poor quarters large angry demonstrations clashed with the riot police who attacked them with truncheons and volleys of CS gas.

Life in the slums of Southern Italy is permanently infected—by disease, poverty and unemployment. Infant mortality is high, typhus and hepatitis are rife. Even as far north as Rome, 536 cases of typhus were recorded last year.

Sanitation is medieval. In some districts of Naples, the sewers run open along the side of the street. According to the correspondent of a Rome daily, huge rats can be seen in the piles of garbage in the streets even a few yards from the National Museum at Naples.

Profitable

The inefficiency of the state means that basic public services are pitiful. In Fifteen hundred zones in Naples are scheduled to be cleaned every day. On average only 707 are maintained daily while the rest are put off.

Meanwhile the backlog of dirt and refuse in the streets piles up. Despite grand government plans the slums have not been cleared. State funds intended for cheap housing have gone to speculators for more profitable private housing schemes.

The South is one of the areas of highest unemployment in Europe. While the Italian economy boomed in the 1950s and 1960s the South was left to rot. It provided a source of cheap labour available for the northern industries where capital was increasingly concentrated.

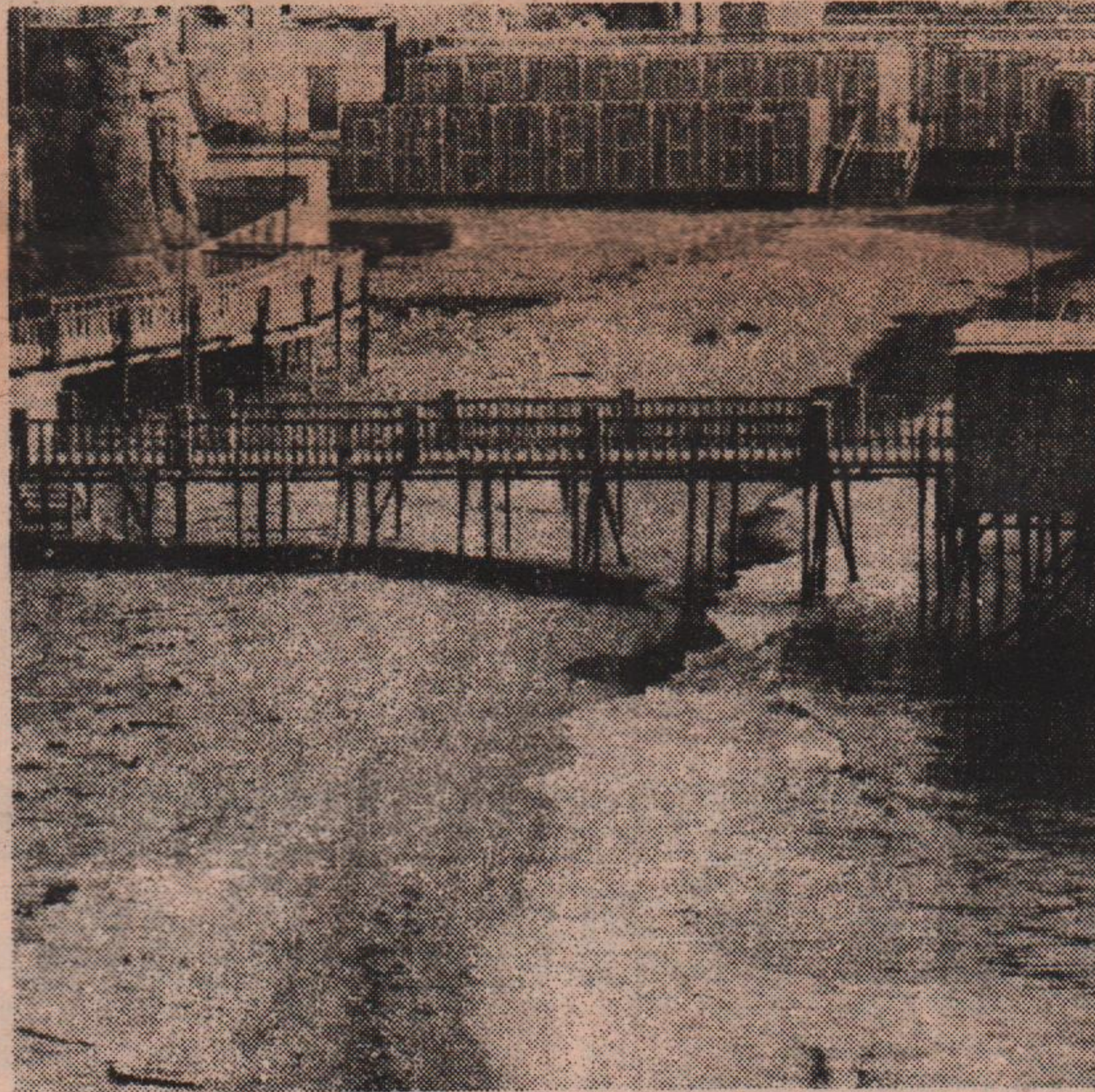
Millions of workers were forced to emigrate northwards to live in the slums of northern Italy or the 'barracks' of Switzerland. One of the southern

provinces, Calabria, has a total population of two million, of which 400,000 are unemployed. Income per head in the whole of the South is half that of the North but prices are rising at an unprecedented rate all over the country.

The cholera epidemic has focussed the anger of the slum-dwellers on the inefficiency of local government and the speculation of local capitalists. Several days after the cholera broke out, only 100,000 people had been vaccinated in Naples, despite mass demand.

Shop-keepers and local companies were making enormous profits out of the sudden demand for mineral water and lemons. In Naples the price of lemons has risen to nearly 35p a pound.

But it is neither mussels, nor government inefficiency, nor speculation that lie at the origins of the cholera epidemic. Southern Italy is one of the backyards of Europe and the sewers which run through it are filled with the refuse of capitalism. The ill-health and poverty of the slum-dwellers of Naples is just part of the price we all have to pay for the profits of a few.



A beach near Naples, deserted because of the epidemic. The authorities are trying to lay the blame on imported shellfish. The people know better.

Apartheid firm sacks 500 strikers

WHEN a demand for bread-line wages by 500 South African textile workers was ignored, they took strike action and were immediately sacked.

The Frame Group of textile companies is notorious even by South Africa's standards and was one target of the massive strikes in Natal earlier this year. In June the works committee put in a claim for a £3-a-week increase, which would take minimum wages up to £12 per week—still below the poverty line. In August the company offered a rise of 30p to 40p.

All 500 workers who struck have been handed their cards and told to re-apply and the nine works committee members, the shop steward and union officials have been told they won't get their jobs back.

This incident is significant in the present climate of increasing militancy and strength of black workers which is forcing management, the state, and the white labour

aristocracy to reconsider some of the ideas which have kept black workers in a state of semi-slavery for a hundred years. So the action of the Frame management has been widely condemned.

More modern and efficient means of exploitation are beginning to show themselves among South African bosses. One advocate of this, the Johannesburg Star, says in an editorial: 'An underpaid, under-educated labour force limits the potential of industrial expansion. And nurtures the seeds of an even more insidious force which can destroy both business and the system in which it functions.'

TUCSA, the predominantly white English-speaking group of trade unions, has reacted by calling for government action against Frame. 'Can South Africa, and employers in particular, afford the Frame Group much longer? All of the present overseas criticism is founded on

labour practices like those of the Frame Group,' said their secretary-general.

TUCSA is beginning to recognise and fear black labour power and has called for its member unions to set up parallel black unions under their umbrella, since non-racial unions are banned by law. It needs to protect white workers' privileged status, and fears that unorganised black labour may be used to undercut their wages.

Repressed

The liberal noises of the press and the white unions are a big danger in the long run. The changing structure of the economy and the increasing pressures on it—not least from the unorganised black workers—are calling for new resources.

Shortages of skilled labour demand the opening up of previously barred jobs to blacks, the manufacturers' need for home markets demands

increased black wages, while apartheid demands the creation of powerless black institutions. These are all contradictions in an economy based on a cheap and repressed black labour force.

TUCSA, and the government too, want to make sure that these necessary changes take place slowly and under their control.

Many people outside South Africa interpret these surface alterations and manoeuvres as a dismantling of apartheid and the white supremacist system. The visit of the British TUC delegation to South Africa in October, including Vic Feather and Jack Jones, as guests of TUCSA is a sign of this and can only serve to confer respectability on TUCSA and so shore up white supremacy.

But the real strength of blacks can be harnessed to exploit these contradictions and smash the power of racist supremacy only through real, independent black unions.

Peterlee Massacre

EVEN Tory sceptics were a little shocked when Peter Walker, while Secretary for the Environment, appointed a frightful Tory squit called Harold Stevenson to the chairmanship of the Peterlee and Aycliffe Development Corporation in 1971. Stevenson was 26 and had spent

a few gentle years in market research after leaving Cambridge. His main qualification for the job appeared to be his slavish devotion to the Conservative Party and his 'dynamic youth'.

Since going to the North East, Mr Stevenson has lived up to Mr Walker's highest expectations, and has received in return anything he wants from the Tory government.

His latest excess has caused murmurs of 'scandalous!' even in the offices Durham County Council (which have for the past two weeks been full of fraud squad policemen wading through documents connected with the Poulson case).

The Peterlee Development Corporation some months ago put up plans for building six enormous country mansions on the edge of one of the most famous beauty

spots in the county—the gorge at Castle Eden Dean.

If the proposal was accepted, the plan was to sell off plots of land to industrialists coming into the area at about £6000 each, and let them build their houses to their own design.

Durham County Council immediately announced its opposition to the plan. It had refused all applications over the previous five

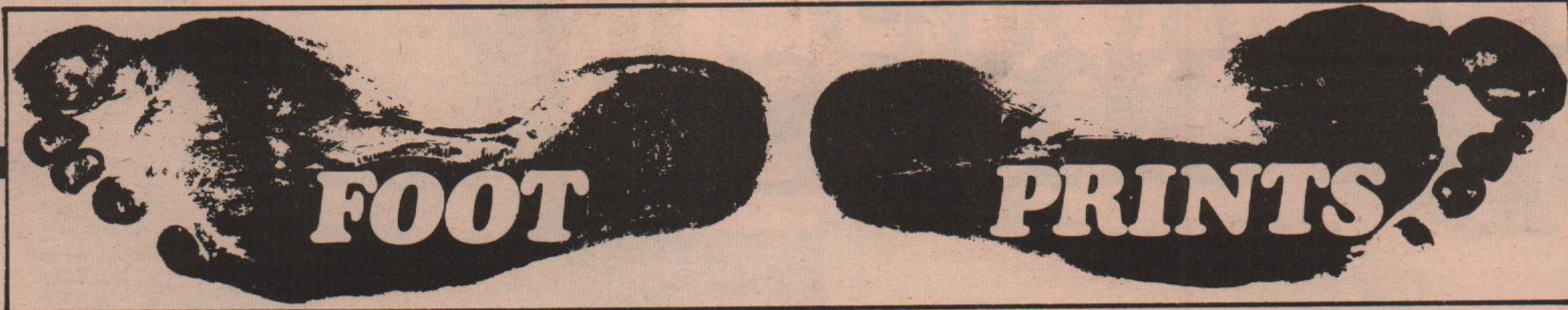
years for planning permission to build in or around the gorge, and was determined to keep the area clear.

The gorge is isolated from any other settlement, the trees in it are covered by a preservation order and there is evidence of ground subsidence. Every single conceivable planning argument could be used against the proposed development.

But Peterlee and Stevenson persisted—and appealed to the Secretary for the Environment, well-known building contractor—Geoffrey Rippon. Rippon immediately agreed that the mansions should be built, and soon six lucky industrialists will be swarming up to take advantage of one of the best sites in the country.

The average density of newly-built private housing in Britain is 15 houses to the acre. The six mansions will be built at one and a half to the acre.

Oh, and by the way. Until Andrew Cunningham resigned all his public posts after his recent unhappy arrest, he was a member of the Peterlee Development Corporation—and alderman on Durham County Council.



The man's Nat guilty

LEADING the drive to moderation in the new Northern Ireland parliament is Nat Minford, who was recently elected speaker of the House despite the opposition of the supporters of ultra-right-wing William Craig. Welcoming Mr. Minford's election—which carries with it a salary of £8000 a year and a free mansion—Brian Faulkner, that other well-known moderate Ulster Unionist, declared: 'His position as Leader of the House has called for delicacy and respect from all parties.'

In this context it is worth remembering one of Mr Minford's most famous speeches which he made at an Orange parade in Larne on 13 July 1958

Addressing himself to the problem of Catholics, the delicate and respectable moderate declared: 'I feel we should not fill our jails with them. These Fenian buggers, and I speak of them mildly, are costing us £8 per week to them and their families and are drawing family allowances and assistance. For £8 I think we could put them down 8ft. I think we could find them plots where the birds would not see them.'

That kind of language is still being talked of as 'disgracefully moderate' by some Ulster Unionists.

BOOT FOR BRIDEGROOM

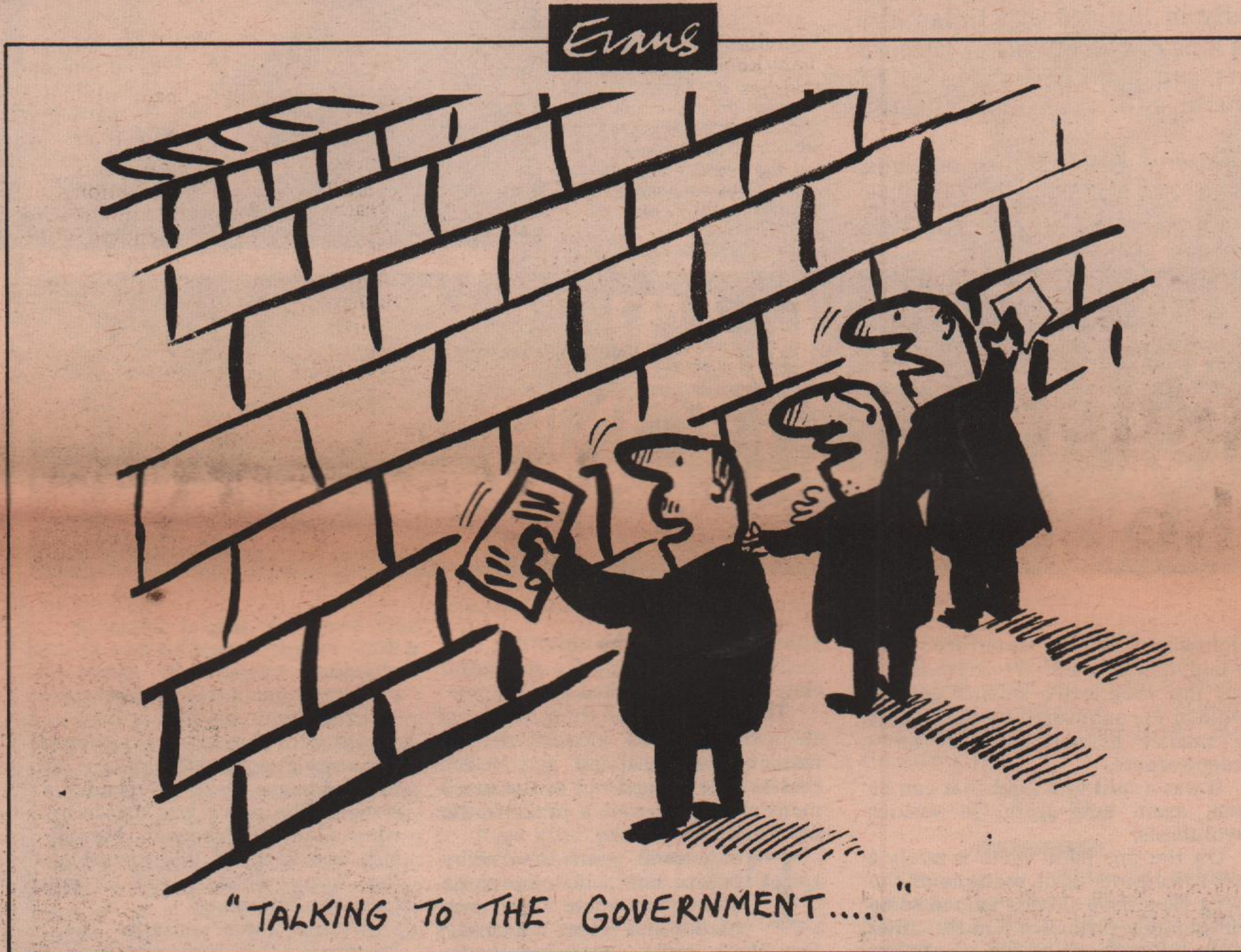
I AM interested to see that the standards of the employers in the few remaining private coal mines in Britain are living up to the best traditions of private enterprise.

Raymond Mott, who works on the face at Storey Lodge Colliery, Cockfield, County Durham, told his bosses some weeks ago that he planned to get married on 25 August and asked for an extra week off. He was told that if he wanted time off for his marriage, he had better get married during his holidays.

This he could not arrange, and the wedding went ahead as planned. Because the Motts had to move furniture into a new house, Raymond was forced to take three days off work.

When he got back to the pit, he was given one week's notice. He had worked in the pit for nine years and had missed only one shift this year. One week of his holiday this year had been in compensation for a damaged thumb.

Raymond's mates are all out on strike in protest.



The royal road to socialism

I WOULD be very sad if anyone missed the following letter printed in the Morning Star last week:

I DEPRECATE the printing of such letters as the one "To Anne" (August 13). I am sure they do no service to Socialism or the Communist Party.

In the first place, the princess could not help being born in the royal family. As for working, the princess herself said she intended to earn her living. There are other ways besides factories, etc., etc.

She certainly has something to be proud of in her work in the horse field. As I say, such letters do a disservice to the Communist cause and should not be printed.

EDITH E. FULFORD
Birmingham.

THE Labour Party annual report this year brags about an increase in individual membership of 3508 (less than 0.5 per cent). Since this is generally assumed to be the year before a general election, I thought it might be useful to compare the figures with those for Labour Party individual membership in each of the three other pre-election years when Labour has been in opposition since the war:

1954:	933,657
1958:	888,955
1963:	830,346
1972:	703,030



Vestey interest

All our readers in the docks will be longing to hear the result of this year's Royal Windsor Cup polo competition. The news is wonderful. Lord Vestey's team won. Here are the handsome four after receiving the cup from the Queen. Left to right: H Barrantes, the Hon Mark Vestey, Lord Vestey and J Horswell. You can send congratulations to Lord Vestey at any one of his three homes, but the best bet is Stowell Park, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

How to make oil loyal

IN the first chapter of Anthony Sampson's recently-published book on the ITT, he describes a meeting he had with the chairman of ITT, Harold Geneen, at a barbecue in 1971. Sampson writes that Geneen spoke 'about America's difficulties with the rest of the world—how her oil supplies were in danger, and how eventually she might need to move into the Arab countries to protect them.'

The sentiment is interesting in view of a speech made at a recent special meeting of company directors organised in Israel by that country's centre for administration.

The speaker was General Yitzhak Rabin, who was commander-in-chief of all Israeli forces during the six-day war in 1967 and until recently was Israeli Ambassador in Washington.

When asked about the influence of Arab oil on American policy, and the state of the 'energy crisis', Rabin answered: 'An awareness is growing and crystallising in the US that in an extreme case it is permitted to the civilised world to take control by force of the oil sources. Experts in the US are saying more and more openly that if some medieval-type rulers really mean to endanger the oil needs of hundreds of millions of people in the civilised world, then it is permitted to the West to take tough steps in order to prevent this.'

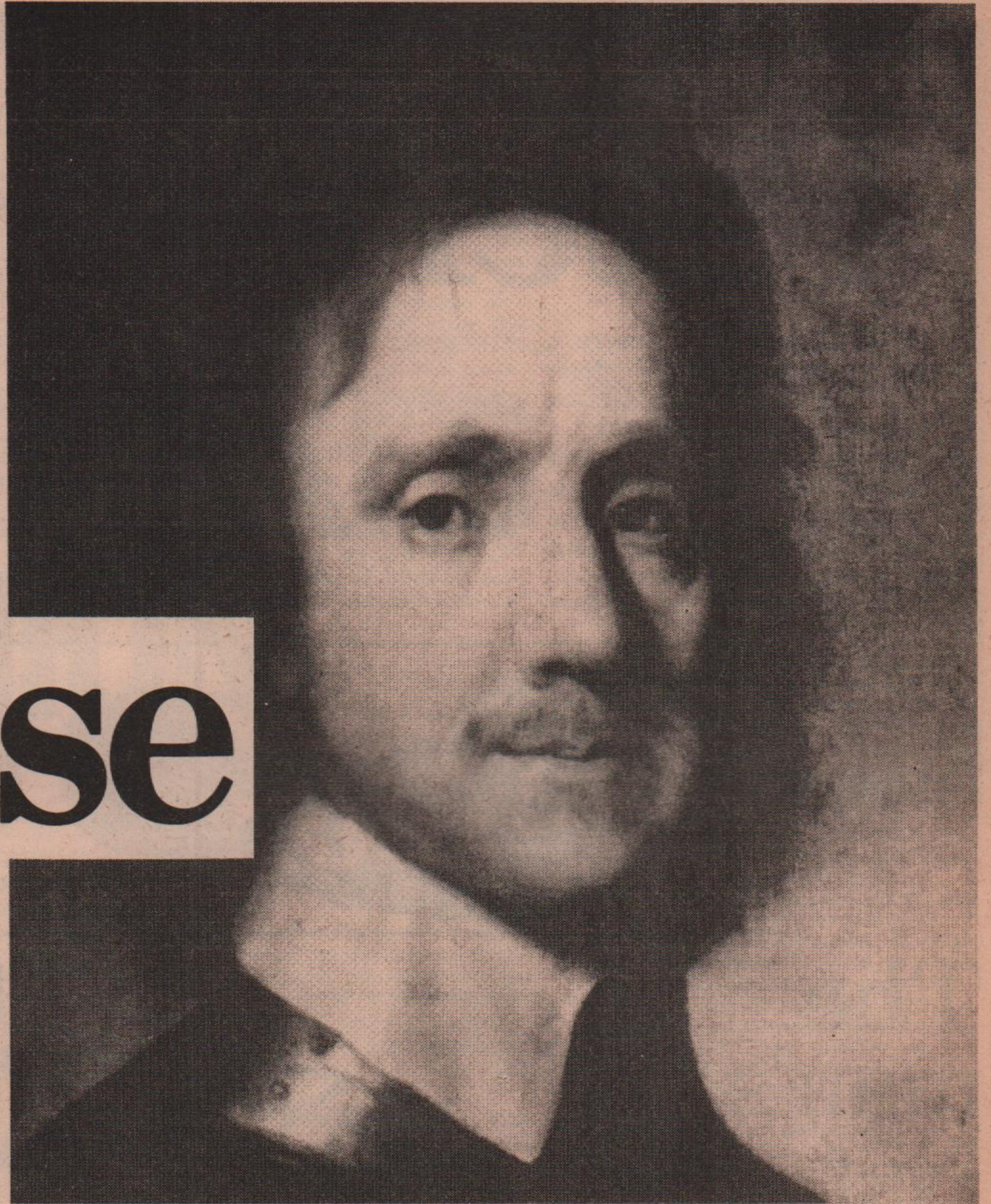
Municipal Barbarism

A MEMBER of the International Socialists who works in local government in the North West writes to me about a curious situation in the newly-formed 'rebates department' of Liverpool City Council, which is still Labour-controlled.

Workers hired to distribute means-tested rebates under the Housing Finance Act are told that they will be 'tried out' for six months, and then taken on if satisfactory. Every six months minus one week, however, with startling regularity, each member of the staff is sacked, and then re-employed. By this device the council ensures that its workers lose all rights to paid sick leave, paid holidays, long service increments or pensions.

The unofficial council answer to trade union complaints about this novel departure in municipal socialism is that the new rebate scheme costs money and who better to pay for it than the workers in the new department?

Civil war, then compromise



Oliver Cromwell, who gained supreme power after the execution of Charles Stuart. (Right) a contemporary print showing Leveller leader John Lilburne behind bars.

When all thought one battle would decide,' said one of the 'Roundhead' leaders early in the civil war. In fact the English revolution was a long drawn-out affair because the capitalist merchants and landowners wanted to win without drawing the mass of the people into the fight.

The parliamentary leaders knew their property would never be safe until they had destroyed the semi-feudal monarchy. They knew too that their heads would be lopped off if the King won.

But they feared the 'small people', the peasants and artisans—there were then few workers of the modern kind—at least as much as they feared the royalists.

Their strategy was to force the King to compromise with them, to become their figurehead in a 'constitutional monarchy', that is to say, one under capitalist control. Accordingly they fought a defensive war and resisted the attempts of the more radical Roundheads to press the fight to a finish.

The truth is that the argument about *means* (how to win the war) was really about *ends* (what are we fighting for?) Hardly had the war got under way than this split developed on the Roundhead side.

As usual, at the time, it was put in religious terms. 'This conflict,' writes the marxist historian Christopher Hill, 'is usually described as one between Presbyterians and Independents... but religion had little to do with it... the real difference was between the win-the-war party and the compromisers.'

'It was, in fact, a class split between the big trading bourgeoisie [in other words capitalists] and that section of the aristocracy and big

THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS

by Duncan Hallas Part Two



landowners whose interests were bound up with them—Presbyterians—and the progressive smaller gentry, yeomen etc supported by the masses of smaller peasants and artisans—Independents.'

It was a split of a kind that can be seen, again and again, in various revolutions.

On the one hand there is rarely a real revolution until sections of the rising class have already gained some considerable influence. On the other hand, the sections of the rising class that have got the furthest on the road to power always, invariably, try to

compromise with the old order.

To carry through the revolution they have to be pushed aside.

The same sort of thing is true of the working-class movement. The mass of paid officials and leaders that have developed out of the movement always become a brake on the movement.

For several years the Presbyterians controlled the parliamentary armies. There were battles and sieges but always the Presbyterian-controlled parliament avoided pressing the royalists too hard.

Even when the main royal army was shattered at Marston Moor in 1644 the victory was not pressed home and King Charles was given a breathing space to raise fresh forces.

'Without a more speedy, vigorous and effective prosecution of the war,' said the Independent leader Oliver Cromwell after Marston Moor, 'we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of parliament.' The Presbyterian leaders, he said 'are afraid to conquer.'

The Presbyterian attitude was summed up by a parliamentary general, the Earl of Manchester. 'If we beat the King ninety and nine times, yet he is still King.' To which Cromwell, then Manchester's deputy, replied: 'If this be so, why did we take up arms at first?'

Forced

The conflict between Independents and Presbyterians came to a head when the Independents proposed a 'Self-Denying Ordinance'.

All the senior army commanders were members of the parliament in which the Presbyterians had a large majority. The bulk of the army, especially the cavalry, were by this time Independents. The Ordinance forbade members of parliament to hold military command, in other words it sacked the Presbyterian generals.

Naturally, the Presbyterians resisted. They were forced to give way, in 1645, under the pressure of

their own troops. This was no mere technical change. It meant that parliament had lost supreme power.

From now on power had to be shared with the army, or rather with the army's senior officers who, after the Ordinance, were Independents to a man. The point was driven home when General Cromwell, himself an MP, was declared 'indispensible' by the Army Council and exempted from the Ordinance.

Within three months the reorganised royal army was destroyed at Naseby, the biggest battle of the war, and the king fled north to surrender to the Scots.

What the rich Presbyterians had feared now happened. The 'dirty people of no name', as a royalist writer called them, the small property owners in the ranks of the army, began to take a hand in affairs. They were called Levellers.

They were, for the most part, young farmers and tradesmen. Their programme, the 'Agreement of the People', called for votes for all property owners, however small, a republic and religious freedom.

The Independent leaders, 'the Grandees' as they were coming to be called, had varying degrees of sympathy with some of these ideas but were themselves substantial property owners. They had no wish to see 'mean and beggarly followers' sharing their power.

Cromwell himself came to believe 'there is no other way to deal with these men but to break them in pieces.'

But the power of the Grandees rested on the army. The Presbyterian-controlled parliament still existed and, in 1646, it bought King Charles from the Scots—for £400,000, 'the only benefit Scotland ever had from monarchy'.

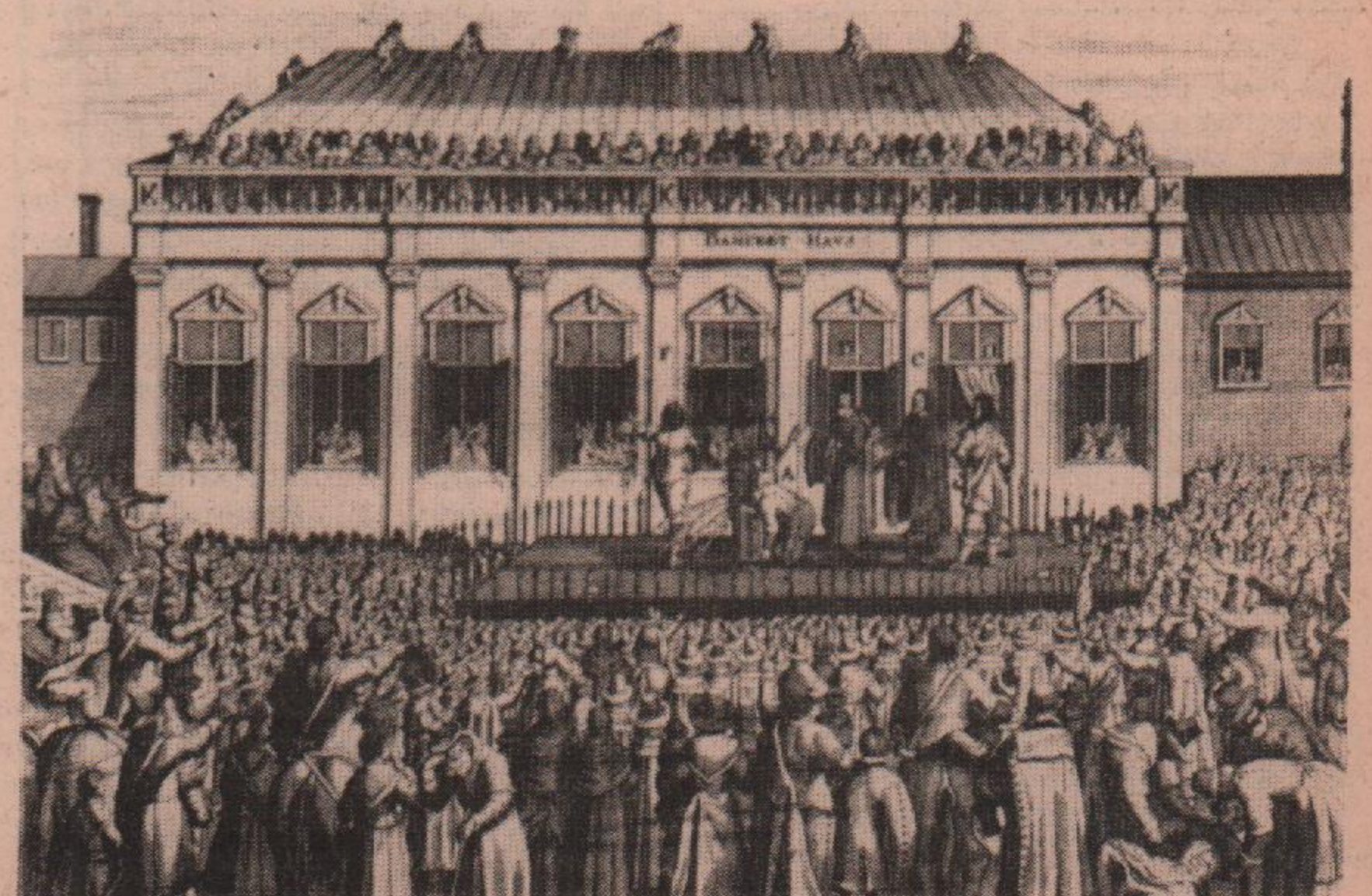
Alliance

The Presbyterians and the defeated royalists now drew close together and began to intrigue with the King for the sort of compromise the right-wing Presbyterians had always wanted.

The army stood in the way. The parliament tried to disband it, bit by bit, so Cromwell and his associates were forced into alliance with the Levellers. Army and parliament now existed side by side as rival powers in the state.

In 1647 the Independent generals and the Levellers agreed to refuse to disband 'until the liberties of England be secure'. The Army Council was broadened to include elected delegates, called Agitators, from the regiments.

A print showing the execution of Charles Stuart



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It was not long before the two sides fell out again but in 1648 the King escaped and, supported this time by many of the most conspicuous leaders of the Long Parliament as well as by the Scots, renewed the civil war.

To gain his new support the King had promised to concede all the original 1640 demands of the Roundheads and had further agreed that Presbyterianism should be the sole religion tolerated in England and Scotland. He reckoned he could deal with his new allies after the revolutionary army had been defeated.

But he was beaten and the revolution reached its highest point. The Presbyterians were 'purged' from the parliament, leaving an Independent 'Rump'. In January 1649 'that man of blood Charles Stuart' was executed in Whitehall. The House of Lords was abolished and, on 19 May that year, the Republic was proclaimed.

Plunder

Now Cromwell had no further need of the Levellers. The time to break them in pieces had come.

It was done partly by direct force but largely by taking the army to Ireland. Cromwell's conquest of Ireland fastened a foreign rule there that was to last for centuries. It also turned the mass of Leveller supporters into conservative sharers in the plunder.

The defeat of the Levellers meant, in the end, that the Republic could not be maintained. It had against it on the right the great mass of the propertied class, Presbyterians and Royalists, without having a popular effective base of its own.

Cromwell soon quarrelled even with the 'Rump'. This last remnant of the Long Parliament was dispersed by force in 1653 and Cromwell ruled directly through the army, itself purged more than once. The regime collapsed with his death and in 1660 King Charles II was brought to power with the help of the Presbyterians.

Property

It was an unstable arrangement and, in 1688, the last Stuart king, James II, was overthrown by what was termed 'The Glorious Revolution'. It was 'glorious' in the eyes of the capitalist class because James II was overthrown by an army of foreign mercenaries commanded by a Dutchman, William of Orange. No dangerous, levelling, English revolutionary force was needed.

In William of Orange the men of property got the 'constitutional monarch' they wanted. He was a man with no conceivable title to rule but that which the parliament gave him, a foreigner unfamiliar with the country and wholly dependent on the new rich capitalist class.

With the revolution of 1688 they came to rule the country in their own interests. They have been doing so ever since. They will go on doing so until the working class makes its own revolution.

NEXT: when the American 'colonies' split from England

GOOSE STEPPING TO THE BANK WITH NAZI GLORY FILM

A LARGE Second World War industry has grown up in recent years. Starting with mementos of the Allied campaigns, the products quickly changed to focus on Nazi emblems, insignia and weapons.

The industry shows no sign of running out of steam. In April the Sunday Times colour magazine carried an article called The Home Life of Hitler. Stills from a new film called Swastika were shown, along with a highly favourable article that claimed that the film was 'A straightforward account—no more, no less... Most of the time it even gives you the impression that, of all the Hitler movies currently coming to the screen, this is the one that the Fuehrer himself would have wanted you to see.'

Just what this means becomes clear in another passage of the article by Frederic Grunfeld. He writes, 'As for the human beings around Hitler, brilliant editing slowly envelops and involves us in their beautiful (!) dream of a world at last safe for order, discipline and cleanliness.'

This is done by showing the audience that 'At Christmas time, Goebbels and Goering play harmonicas and buy toy steel helmets.'

Swastika is a production of a firm called Visual Programme Systems of 21 Great Tichfield Street, London. The two men behind VPS are both of Jewish origin—Sanford Lieberman, an American of Russian Jewish parentage, and David Puttnam, who previously was a photographer's agent handling people like Lord Snowdon and David Bailey.

MINDLESS

The two previously worked in Good Times Enterprises which produced Performance and That Will be the Day.

Swastika is not the only film about the Nazis that VPS is handling. Their latest production is called Double-Headed Eagle.

This film got its first showing at the Edinburgh film festival this month and the film critic of the Scotsman, a paper not known for its revolutionary views, wrote: 'The best that can be said about it is that it is utterly mindless. Ostensibly a study of Hitler's rise to power, it is nothing but a facile assortment of film-clips which glorify fascism... The end product is repellent.'

The Double-Headed Eagle had not been scheduled to appear originally at Edinburgh but a foreign film failed to arrive so that the first time the festival committee saw the film was when it appeared on the screen at the public showing. The film had been recommended to the committee by Douglas Rea, who quite coincidentally has just been hired by producer Tony Bastable to host his television show, Magpie. (Tony Bastable was the man who produced the Monday Club's racist film, England, Whose England?)

TERRIBLE

In addition to Double-Headed Eagle and Swastika, VPS have bought the film rights for Albert Speer's biography, Inside the Third Reich. It is clear that this company is making a deliberate effort to make money out of films which to say the least give historically questionable accounts of the rise of Hitler.

In the publicity material for Swastika, VPS quote a speech of Goebbels in 1945 saying, 'Gentlemen, in 100 years' time they will be showing a fine colour film describing the terrible days we are living through. Don't you want to play a part in that film? Hold out



Just a loveable old family man at heart—a clip from Swastika

now, so that 100 years hence the audience does not hoot and whistle when you appear on the screen.'

Immediately below this quote, VPS say, '28 years later Visual Programme Systems Presents Swastika.'

Page after page of this revolting rubbish follows. Two quotes will have to suffice: 'But in the first six years of his total control over Germany only a minority were casualties of his utopian dreams. The majority of Germans were having a better life than they had had in years. Hitler radically reduced un-

employment, flattered the Germans about their racial superiority, inaugurated massive reconstruction projects, revitalised German nationalism and revitalised the German army.'

SICK

Then again: 'Hitler in colour suddenly becomes closer to us, more real, more immediate. No longer a phantom monster on scratched film but an actuality. We are psychologically more vulnerable to a colour image, particularly to

something we have never seen in colour before.'

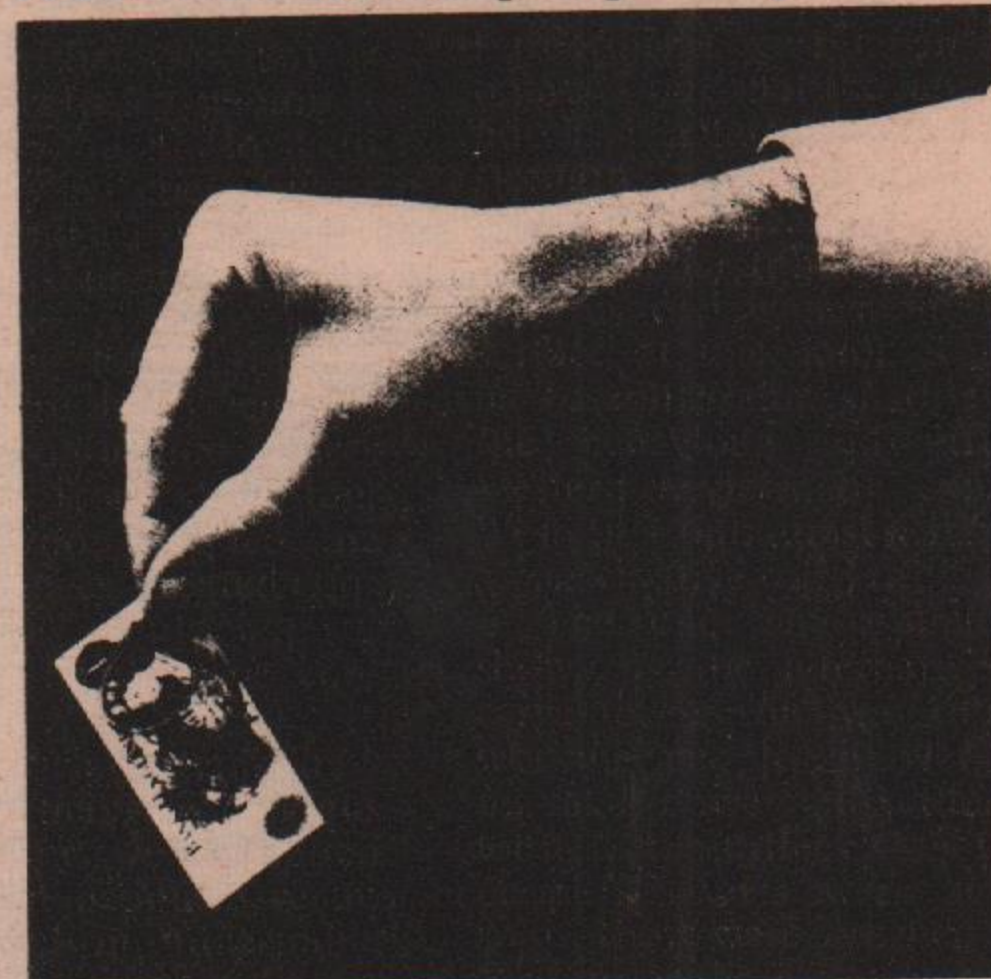
All of which makes the finance behind VPS a very strange affair. The vast majority of the shares are held by Rothschild Nominees, the Jewish merchant bankers.

It is one of the sickest ironies that here are Jewish film makers and Jewish financiers trying to amass fortunes out of films about Hitler and Nazism.

Martin Tomkinson

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The press we

IN JANUARY 1911 there was a print-workers' strike and lock-out in London. Sir Joseph Causton, boss of the Daily News, swore he would never give in to the printers' demand for a 50-hour week and the rest of the press responded with a cataract of lies and abuse against the locked-out men.

The printers decided they had had enough. They produced a daily eight-page sheet which put the workers' side in the dispute. They called it the Daily Herald.

Helped by the Herald, the strikers won their demands. By the time the strike sheet folded on 28 April that year, large numbers of men and women were demanding a permanent, mass-circulation paper for labour.

There were urgent discussions all over the country. Ben Tillett, who had led the great dockers' strike of 1889, George Lansbury, Labour leader from East London, and a host of other workers' representatives finally raised enough money to start the Daily Herald a year later.

The paper played a crucial role in the upsurge of working-class activity before the start of the First World War.

Through the Daily Herald League it organised support for strike after strike—especially among London transport workers, dockers and Midlands iron workers. When the South Wales miners came out on strike in 1914 the Herald proclaimed, in a front page headline: SOUTH WALES MINERS FIND A BETTER WAY THEN THE BALLOT.

Struggles

Lansbury, then editor of the Herald wrote, in his book, *The Miracle of Fleet Street*: 'All this time the dominant note of the Daily Herald was its fierce attack on the leaders of the Labour Party... The leaders of the trade unions were also attacked. The most reactionary of all the trade union leaders, Jimmy Thomas, sued the Herald for libel and took £200 damages.'

To continued cluck-clucking from Labour and trade union leaders, the Daily Herald and its League took up the struggles of Irish workers against imperialist bosses, of women in their fight for emancipation, and against British invasion of Russia after

How the TUC killed workers' newspaper



Rupert Murdoch on the Sun's launch day

the 1917 revolution.

When Jim Larkin, Irish workers' leader, was released from prison in 1913, he wrote first to the Daily Herald, thinking the paper for its support.

When one 1918 anti-war Herald rally was banned by the Albert Hall Council, the electricians' union threatened to pull out the plugs for the following week's Victory Ball. The council, under pressure from the government, rapidly changed its mind.

By 1920 the Herald had built a circulation of more than 250,000 copies a day. For all its faults it was founded on the fighting spirit of working people. 'We were to all intents and purposes a rank and file paper,' wrote Lansbury.

But under capitalism the Herald was in difficulty. Its circulation, though large did not bring in enough revenue in sales alone to enable it to compete with the other popular dailies.

Its working-class readership was unattractive to advertisers, and because Lansbury was hostile to any form of revolutionary organisation, the paper had around

it no organisation which would sell or subsidise it from rank and file contributions.

The only source of heavy subsidy was the trade unions, and so, reluctantly, in September 1922 Lansbury handed over the Herald to the TUC and the Labour Party.

Almost at once, the fire went out of it. Strikes were only supported after they had been declared official. 'Dangerous subjects', notably Ireland, were carefully avoided.

Circulation was maintained and even increased slightly, but the problems of the paper redoubled.

They were solved, in capitalist terms by an arch-capitalist, Julius Elias. Elias, later Viscount Southwood, was a printing boss who had previously teamed up with the crooked and reactionary Horatio Bottomley in the printing and publication of the crooked and reactionary magazine *John Bull*.

Elias agreed to print and publish the Herald if the trade union movement, notably Ernest Bevin, a young and ambitious dockers' leader, stomped the country to build up its circulation.

Drummed

Bevin and other trade union leaders used their influence to drum up more than 100,000 extra readers, and when the Daily Herald was first printed under its new management—51 per cent of the shares owned by Elias' Odhams press and 49 per cent by the TUC—it had reached a circulation of more than two million.

All through the 1930s, Elias concentrated on building the paper's circulation by means of all kinds of free gifts, and competitions, while the TUC and Labour leaders drummed up

readership from their rank and file. Although the Herald won the race to two million readers, the paper steadily deteriorated.

Politics were relegated as far as possible, and the TUC directors ensured that what politics were published safely reflected the views of the TUC leaders.

The process continued after the war. As the Labour leaders became less and less interested in their rank and file, so they lost interest in their daily paper.

In 1961, the TUC sold out. When IPC took over Odhams, it also took over the Herald completely. The paper continued to decline.

Vague

In 1964 it was re-named the Sun and rejigged to get rid of its 'cloth cap' image. It lost its working-class readers too. Finally, in 1969, the Sun was sold to Rupert Murdoch, who has turned it into mass-circulation pornography.

At last week's TUC, Richard Briginshaw, general secretary of the print union NATSOPA, moved the ritual TUC motion complaining at the anti-trade union bias of the capitalist press. Vague demands were made in the debate as they will be at the Labour Party conference next month, for a new TUC/Labour Party paper.

The wretched history of the Daily Herald since its take-over by the TUC 50 years ago proves how self-destructive is reformist, social democratic propaganda.

A workers' paper is useless unless its propaganda is backed and enriched by organisation and agitation. Unless workers see their paper as a guide to action and organisation as well as arguments against the Tories and their system, the paper is bound to lose out to the big battalions.

Defeat

The crucial characteristic of Labour reformism is its distaste for working-class organisation and independent action. Its papers can only argue and state. They cannot agitate. So they cannot rely on the people who read the paper to subsidise and sell it. They are driven by necessity to the same techniques of survival adopted by the capitalist press.

They need the 'business genius' of the Viscount Southwoods and the advertising of great capitalist corporations. And in the hunt for such genius and such advertising they defeat their own propaganda.

We must rebuild a mass socialist press in Britain—but not by making the same mistakes as made by the Daily Herald. The driving force of our socialist press must be the belief in independent working-class action, and the need for socialist papers to organise and co-ordinate that action.

We cannot build a socialist paper without a socialist organisation—or vice versa. That simple fact is written in the ashes of 50 years' copies of the Daily Herald, burnt and buried by the Trades Union Congress.

Paul Foot

No. 1.

To "ONE AND

What is this—the sound and
Like the wind in hollow valleys
When the storm is drawing
Like the rolling on of ocean
In the eventide of fear?
'Tis the People marching on.

Men of the L.S.C.

What nobler inspirer for the
the object—your modest, legiti
mand for a shorter working day—
author of the above, that noble Old
Master Printer, William Morris, who
his men as men, "fellow craftsmen," i
famous Kelmscott Press, down Hamma
way?

Yes, after many years of that tranq
which leads
sound and
the worker
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lasting drau
If it is to
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And t



PREMIER

HIS MESSAGE
TO NATION

Great Day
History of
Labour
FORWARD!



PRIME
GRE
"I SEND
GOOD



George Best after the news that he was "going home" to Old

RAD

International Socialists pamphlet 10p

PAUL FOOT

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The Daily Herald.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1911. PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

is a Labour Party in the House, and it holds supreme power.

On we march, then—we, the workers, And the rumour that ye hear Is the blended soul of battle And deliverance drawing near, For the hope of every creature Is the banner that we bear:

50-48.

Yours, fellow workers, in the hope that we conquer.

W. F. REAN.

STRIKING PARAGRAPHS.

We have arrived. At last we have a daily paper of our own. If we differ at all from the orthodox daily press, it will be in the fact that we shall give the correct position of affairs day by day.

We ask our readers to be kind, and excuse

Daily Herald

MONDAY, MARCH 17, 1930

WELCOMES THE NEW "HERALD"

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REGISTER TO-DAY!

PROTECTION AT HOME, AT WORK AND AT PLAY

TO-DAY is the day on which

DON 'ALL OUT' TOMORROW FOR A SPEED RECORD

PHONE TALK TO THE "DAILY HERALD"

FAITH IN HIS CAR

FOUR MILES A MINUTE—OR MORE?

By KATE DOW

an interview by Train-Splitter

Telephone

THE Sun

Friday, September 7, 1973

FRANK CLOUGH SAYS

'They're either more merciful than Florrie Nightingale or daffier than a brush'

PETER BATT SAYS

'Without him, the place was as empty as a title fight without Muhammad Ali'

IT IS BACK!

No fooling, he tells the boss

By LESLIE HINTON

GEORGE BEST is going back to football—again. And he pledged yesterday: "I can't afford to make a fool of myself."

Suntanned, smiling and 10lb overweight, he said: "It took a hell of a lot of doing to come back."

"The longer you stay away the harder it is. This time it's for keeps."

The 27-year-old prodigal son decided to return to Manchester United after a dramatic telephone call from manager Tommy Docherty.

SENSIBLE

"He said he would like to come back, to start training and playing football again," revealed Docherty.

"I met him and had a very sensible chat. I feel he's very sincere and I'm over the moon."

George, too

VERDICT BY CLOUGH AND BATT: SEE PAGES 26 & 27

The Sun's front page on the day a Minister was accused of lying to the House of Commons

'THE MAIL', said Lord Northcliffe at the beginning of this century, 'is the busy man's newspaper' for tomorrow's thousand-a-year man', who 'likes reading news about people who have succeeded. He sees himself as one of them eventually and is flattered.'

Those few words which sum up the aim of much modern journalism and advertising. 'The closer the free press gets to the market place,' wrote Karl Marx, 'the less free it becomes.'

It is no longer a question of being close. The press barons are running the market, selling everything—including modern versions of Lord Northcliffe's thousand-a-year man.

Every reader is king. He might make a fortune like the smug bloke in the gossip column, he or she might become the famous film star on page three. Don't worry about the photo of the plague/war victim because there is a nice lady next to it with no clothes on selling a shampoo. It's a dream, but it must be real, because it's in the paper.....

After the success of the Mail in the newspaper boom in the early 1900s Northcliffe bought up the British press. By the end of the First World War his empire stretched from the Mirror to The Times. From humble beginnings he had made the dream of every Mail reader true—for himself.

Schemes

What the dream meant came home to him not quite in the way intended. He went round the twist, and died a lonely lunatic in 1922.

With Northcliffe's death his empire broke up. One should not feel too sorry for his family, they weren't on the breadline. They just split the papers up between them. Northcliffe's brother, Lord Rothermere, took the Mail, London Evening News and a host of others.

The 1930s, with the depression and mass unemployment, saw a cut-throat newspaper circulation battle. Give-away schemes by subscription departments were a favorite tactic. Writer George Orwell pointed out that a miner's family could get a complete new set of clothes and collect large number of dictionaries, encyclopaedias and other worthy articles by shrewdly switching from one subscription to another.

The long-term results were disastrous for the press. Outside London the local papers were battered out of existence by the big combines. Local Tory rubbish was now replaced by nationally-controlled Tory rubbish.

Success

By the end of the decade the circulation battle was beginning to exhaust even the press barons and the war came as merciful release. During it the paper the establishment wants the workers to regard as their own broke throughly.

The Daily Mirror had begun in 1903, once again with Northcliffe, 'written by gentlewomen for gentlewomen.' It was not a success. The embittered Northcliffe claimed later he had learned two things 'women can't write and don't want to read.'

In 1933 it was re-vamped by Cecil King, nephew of Northcliffe, and Harry Bartholomew—who, according to King, couldn't read but knew a good picture when he saw one.

The Mirror issued a statement which still sums up its outlook: 'The old Tory England has gone forever. The old Liberal middle-class England is as good as dead. The new England will be the

PROFITS are good for the news moguls. Latest profit figures for Associated Newspapers (Daily Mail, London Evening News and others) are £9,560,000; for Beaverbrook Newspapers (Daily and Sunday Express, London Evening Standard, Glasgow Evening Citizen) £4,430,000; Pearson Longman (Financial Times, Westminster Press Provincial Newspapers, Penguin Books) £2,840,000; Thomson Newspapers (The Times, Sunday Times, Scottish TV and a string of provincial papers) £2,900,000; and Reed International (Daily and Sunday Mirror, Sunday People and massive holdings in magazines, TV, papermaking and printing) £63 million.

This was beautifully illustrated recently by a recent Mirror 'shock issue' in which the shocking fact that seven per cent of the population own 80 per cent of the wealth was revealed. The Mirror's conclusion was that the unions 'should do something to help the lower paid'.

Why can't the seven per cent make a contribution? Like giving up the 80 per cent?

The past 25 years have seen the papers that fought the circulation battles of the 1930s gradually eliminated. Throughout this century newspapers have been tools in the hands of rich and ruthless men. The robber barons have increasingly been replaced by corporations, more concerned with profit and loss accounts than with waging eccentric power struggles.

One should not make the mistake of believing that the corporations represent 'progress'. They symbolise a situation where the newspaper finally disappears into the market place. The Sun has grown phenomenally over the past couple of years on a diet of sex, football and Donny Osmond.

It would be unfair to say that the Sun is the Fleet Street press, and it can't be denied that some papers have distinguished records in the exposure of public scandals. But which scandals are exposed depends very much on what can safely be revealed.

When you're sitting on top of £50 million you'll think carefully about allowing your journalists to expose some unpleasant person who's sitting on top of a similar sum. After all, it might give the readers ideas.

Nigel Fountain

This important new pamphlet is an outline of the policies of the International Socialists, the development and nature of modern capitalism—and the urgent need for a workers' party to overthrow it. Its 40 pages are essential reading for Socialist Worker readers and all IS branches.

ROGER ROSEWELL

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YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!
CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

A READER from Hampshire has written asking about a common cause of confusion among socialists.

'I've probably read the wrong books, but I've just read that Lenin's additions to marxist theory, particularly that of the infallibility of the party, laid the foundations for Stalinism. I would be interested to hear how you would counter this argument.

The idea that Stalinism and Leninism are the same thing is common. Writers who support the present rulers of Russia continually propogate it, in an attempt to make people believe that the present tyrannical regime is justified as a continuation of the revolution. So too do opponents of marxist ideas who want to give the impression that socialism always leads to the destruction of freedom.

But there is little evidence to back this up. Those who argue for it do so by taking out of context a few sentences written by Lenin in 1903 and comparing them with what Stalin did 30 years later. They ignore the other 40 or so volumes of Lenin's writings.

More significantly, they ignore the fact that before he could consolidate his power finally, Stalin had to murder virtually all the old Bolsheviks. By 1937, only one in 10 of the surviving members of the Bolshevik Party of 1917 were still in Stalin's Communist Party.

The party which Lenin built was quite different to the instrument by which Stalin ruled.

In Stalin's party there was no possibility of members discussing policies. Anyone who questioned Stalin's decisions faced instant expulsion from the party, imprisonment or even execution. The same ban on discussion persists in Russia today, as the trial of Yakir and Krasin last week shows.

In Lenin's party it was quite the other way. The history of the party is a history of debates, which took place openly, in the party's paper. For instance, in April 1917 the majority of the party took a different position to Lenin, and when one of Lenin's articles was published in Pravda, an editorial-written by Stalin-expressed disagreement, saying Lenin was out of touch.

DEBATE

In July 1917, workers and soldiers in Petrograd wanted to stage an uprising against the middle-class government of Kerensky. Lenin, Trotsky and the majority of the Bolsheviks thought this was premature, for outside Petrograd most people would oppose the uprising. But large sections of the party disagreed openly, and the Bolshevik soldiers' paper supported the attempt at a rising.

In October 1917, Lenin and Trotsky thought the time was ripe

WHICH ROAD TO STALIN?

for revolution. But two of the most important Bolshevik leaders, Zinoviev and Kamenev, disagreed to the point of arguing against it in public.

Such debates took place in the party because it was the party of the most militant workers. Even when the party was illegal, in August 1917, about one in 12 Russian workers was a member. Free discussion was necessary if a policy was to be hammered out that would enable these militants to give a lead which less militant workers would follow.

Nor is it true to say that Lenin always believed the party was right and could make no mistake.

In 1905, when the first Soviets-workers' councils-were formed, the Bolsheviks in Petrograd were suspicious of them. It seemed inconceivable to many old-time militants that previously backward and conservative workers could suddenly join in the struggle against Czarism and build a fighting instrument of their own.

But Lenin quickly corrected this mistake. He insisted that 'the masses are making heroic efforts to rise to the occasion and cope with the historic tasks of world significance imposed on them by history.'

'Months of revolution sometimes educate citizens more quickly and fully than decades of political stag-

nation,' he said. Later he argued that the workers councils, invented by the Russian masses, must be the basis of a real workers' state.

The same gap between old militants and workers who had just entered the struggle developed in autumn 1917. Lenin told Trotsky that the non-party workers were much more revolutionary than the workers in the party, and that the rank and file of the party were much more revolutionary than the leadership.

Lenin still believed that the working class needed a party if it was to counter, in a centrally organised manner, the manoeuvres of the ruling class. But he insisted that the party had to learn from the workers as well as teach them, and it could not do that unless there was open discussion within the party.

ATTACK

By the time of Lenin's death in 1923, all things were changing. Democracy gradually disappeared from the party.

But this was not because of Lenin's ideas. It was for a much more material reason. After the revolution, the workers' state had been attacked by internal counter-revolution and by every major power in the world. Many of the best militants were killed at the front, the economy was devastated, famine and disease plagued the country, most of the factories were shut for want of supplies.

Under such conditions, the workers' democracy of 1917 could hardly survive-you cannot have factory councils if you do not have factories. The Bolsheviks were left holding power, while the class which had made the revolution-the workers-had virtually disappeared, for a period at any rate.

It was this situation that made it possible for a new bureaucracy, headed by Stalin, to take over in Russia and destroy the gains of the revolution.

BOOKS

REVIEW

Puppeteers in a dance of death

THE POLITICS OF WAR, by Gabriel Kolko, Wildwood House, £1.50.

'THE war with Germany ended in an ignoble maze of obvious intrigue and jockeying for advantage,' writes Gabriel Kolko in this book.

The carve-up at the end of the Second World War drew the map of the world we live in. There have been many books, many television programmes about that war, but there are few like Kolko's, which really cuts through the massive hypocrisy and barbarity of this fateful period.

Kolko is not a revolutionary socialist, but he has no illusions about the motives of the men who ruled the world at that time. His book begins with a warning that should be engraved into the front of every history book ever written:

'Solely as a form of literary convenience, throughout this work I refer to the "United States", "Americans", "Washington", "London", "Moscow", and the like. In fact what is meant is the leaders or rulers of these abstracted nations . . . in no case should it be thought I am referring to the entire people of a nation.

In the conduct of wartime grand diplomacy the people of all the major nations were the object of worried attention, manipulation, and, in many places, physical restraint, but nowhere were they consulted . . .

What was the war all about anyhow? We're usually told it was a war against fascism, against evil men like Hitler and Mussolini who had destroyed democracy and thrived on concentration camps and racial massacres.

Prison

But this wasn't quite how men like Winston Churchill felt about it. Kolko quotes what Churchill wrote in his Memoirs about Mussolini, the man who smashed the Italian trade union movement and destroyed all political opposition:

'The alternative to his role might well have been a Communist Italy, which would have brought perils and misfortunes of a different character both upon the Italian people and Europe. His fatal mistake was the declaration of war on France and Great Britain . . . Even when the issue of war became certain, Mussolini would have been welcomed by the Allies.'

After reading this, it comes as little surprise to learn what happened when American and British forces invaded Italy. Fascist officials and administrators were kept in office, but the partisans, working people who had fought against Mussolini at the risk of their lives, were thrown into prison and threatened with the firing squad.

In August 1941 Britain and America had issued the Atlantic Charter, which was a fairly vague statement of their war aims, but did promise that every people in the world should have the right to determine their own future. But by the time the end of the war came, Churchill made it quite clear that this didn't apply to the British Empire.

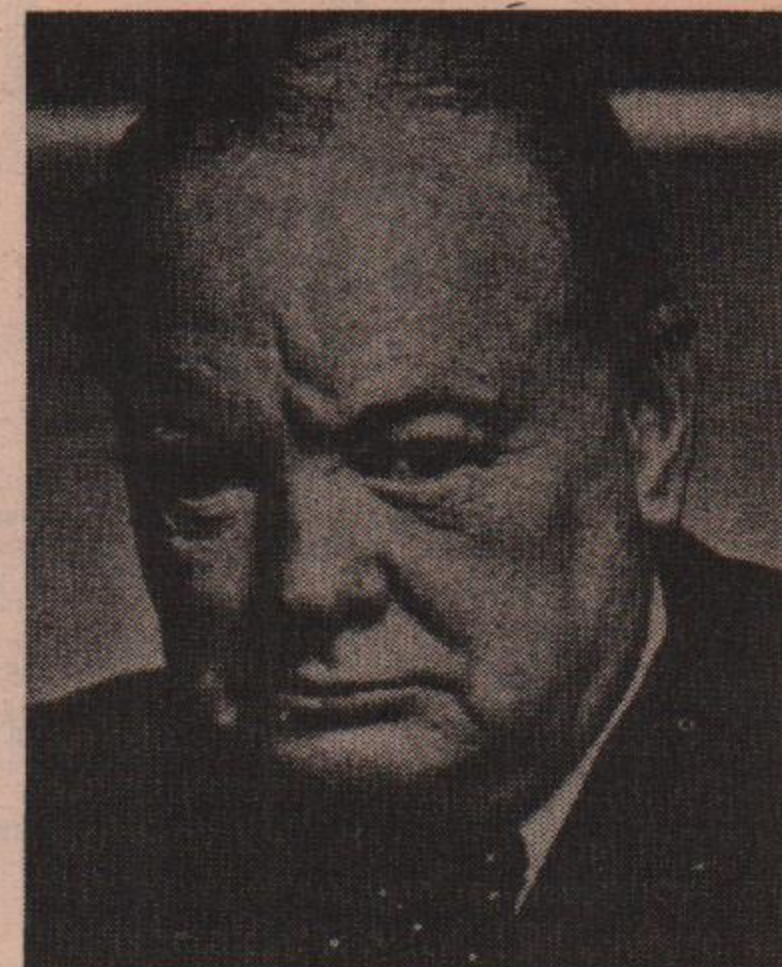
Undesirable

The attitude of the Americans to the war was perhaps best summed up by Harry Truman, the man who became president in 1945, when he declared in June 1941: 'If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible, although I don't want to see Hitler victorious under any circumstances.'

The end of the war left Europe in ruins. Those who were lucky enough to have escaped the bombs and bullets faced a slower death from starvation. The well-fed rulers who attended the various peace conferences treated this with the cynicism one would expect. As Kolko puts it, food became a 'conscious political weapon'.

As the American official Joseph Grew wrote in June 1945, the various plans for feeding the starving were inspired by the fact that when people have no food they tend to act in undesirable ways:

'I am deeply concerned over conditions in Western Europe and the possibility that serious disorders may develop during the coming months. If the people of that area, particularly those in France, have to face another



CHURCHILL: 'Mussolini would have been welcomed by the allies'



TRUMAN: 'Let them kill as many as possible'

winter without heat or without adequate food and clothing, I can foresee disturbances of such serious consequences as not only to involve conflict with our troops, but to gravely imperil our long-term interests.'

Kolko builds up the evidence until we are submerged in the sick fantasy of a bunch of utterly corrupt murderers. Indeed, after this, Catch-22 looks like an understatement. Perhaps the sickest story of all is of how atomic weapons were first used.

From late 1944 onwards the US had been massively bombing Japan, using an early version of napalm. In one raid 125,000 people were killed.

Destruction

The man who headed the US atomic programme was Henry Stimson. Writes Kolko: 'By June 1945 the mass destruction of civilians via strategic bombing did impress Stimson as something of a moral problem, but the thought no sooner arose than he forgot it, and in no appreciable manner did it shape American use of conventional or atomic bombs. 'I did not want to have the United States get the reputation of out-doing Hitler in atrocities,' he noted telling the President on 6 June.

There was another difficulty posed by mass conventional bombing, and that was its very success, a success that made the two modes of human destruction qualitatively identical in fact and in the minds of the American military. 'I was a little fearful,' Stimson told Truman, that before we could get ready the Air Force might have Japan so thoroughly bombed out that the new weapon would not have a fair background to show its strength.'

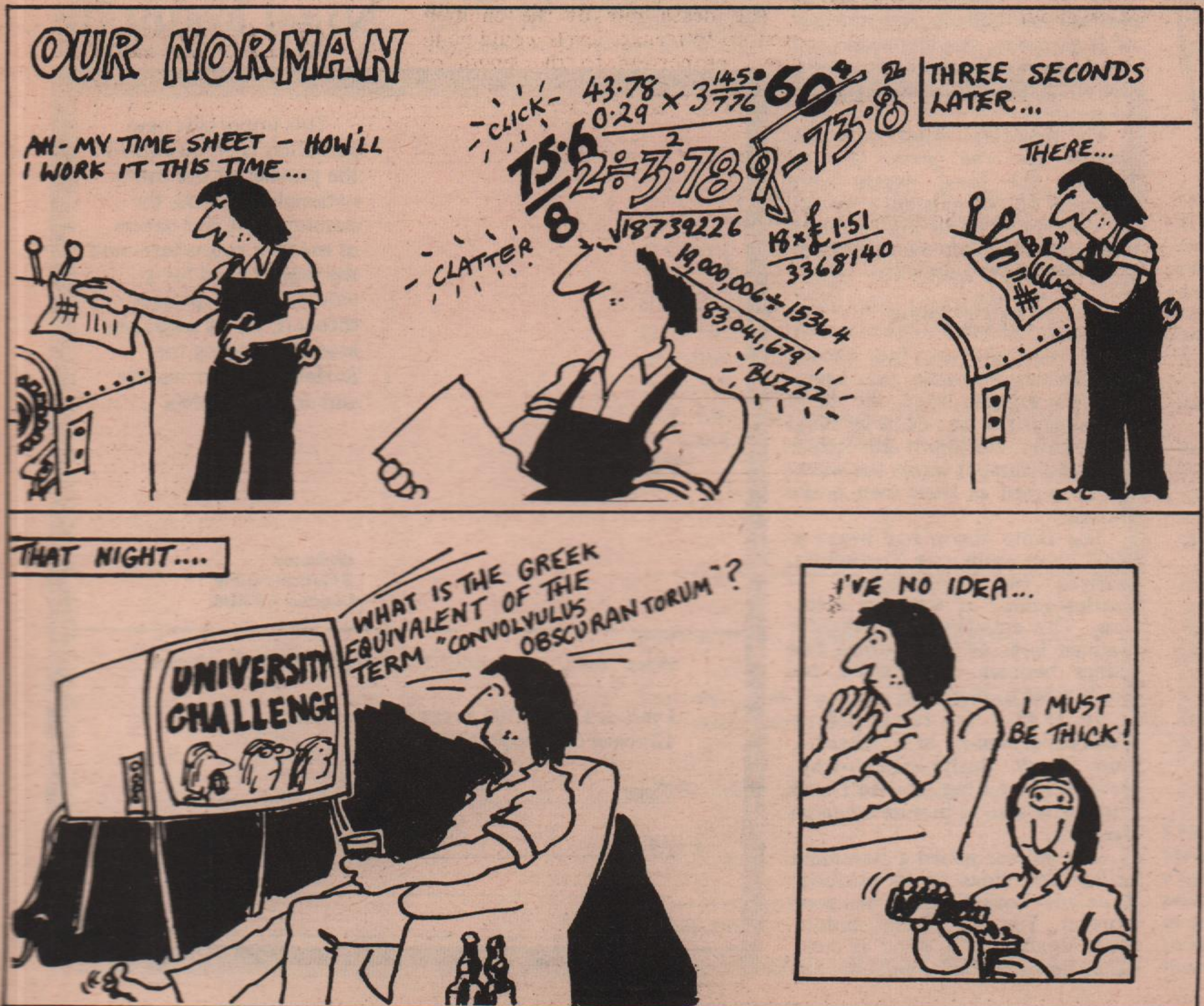
'To this the President "laughed and said he understood".'

This review has only scratched the surface of this book. Kolko also shows us Joseph Stalin, sharing completely in the behaviour and attitudes of the Western leaders. He explains why the Western Communist Parties played such a conservative role at this time.

The one gap is that Kolko never shows us the alternative to the great carve-up. As the war drew to an end, working people all over Europe began to take power into their own hands: local committees, factory councils, people's courts were set up. All too soon they were crushed by either the Russian or the Western armies.

Kolko gives us only a glimpse of the possibilities of workers' rule. There is another book to be written. But for the time being Kolko's book is one from which every socialist can learn.

IAN BIRCHALL



FRED WINTER is a park-keeper. He has lived and worked most of his life in Salford, a city which is the subject of *The Classic Slum*, a recently-published book by Robert Roberts*. He is a member of the General and Municipal Workers' Union and of the International Socialists. He talked to Pete Robinson about the book.

IT'S very good as far as it goes. It gives you the facts, but it doesn't give you the truth behind the facts. It doesn't explain why people behaved the way they did.

Take brawling on a Saturday night outside the pubs.

The working class in those days were practically reduced to an animal level.

At Ward and Goldstones, for instance, they used to sack 80 men every Friday night. Not because they had done anything wrong but just to keep the rest of them on their toes.

They used to make up the list first of anyone who was a few minutes late during the week—they went on automatically. Anyone who said or did anything that could be construed as 'insolence' went on the list. When they had used up all these people then they would choose any number—pick them out of a hat if they had to, and sack them.

It kept the rest on their toes. Outside the factory gate there would be a couple of hundred people waiting for their jobs.

So all week you'd have to watch your tongue. Frustrations build up in a man. He is being told what to do by a man he wouldn't even talk to in the streets. 'Yes sir, no sir, three bags full sir.' The frustrations build up and he is dying to pick up a sledgehammer and smash the bloke's face in.

So when the weekend comes and he has a pint or two and someone says a wrong word to him, he doesn't have to guard his tongue or watch himself. So you get this fighting in the streets.

It's such a relief, you know. The face you are smashing your fist into is not your work-mate's. It is the face of the man you have been dying to do it to all week.

Slave

You don't feel the blows you are getting in return. At the end of the fight, after brawling and struggling, it is a tremendous relief to know you have got it out of your system, a safety valve. No one wants to do it, but you could not carry on if you didn't.

I've read the local reports on the workhouse. It was such a dread to go into them because you couldn't get out again. You were a slave.

There were civic dignitaries and local businessmen who refused to have any work done unless it was done by the workhouse. Church people used to wait until a journeyman carpenter came into the workhouse, someone whose business had



gone flat. Then suddenly they would discover all this work that needed doing and get them out to do it for nothing.

The workhouse would be paid a nominal figure and the man would have to do the work he *should* have been doing before at the proper rate.

The *Classic Slum* does show the things that were so stupid. Like why should a man have to wear a white muffler on Sunday? No matter who went short they had to wear it. There is a strong reason behind it.

You get any working-class man of today, one of the old type, of my age. If you go to an International Socialists meeting, any meeting, nobody bothers how you turn up, but a man of my age will wear a clean white collar and his shoes will be polished. It's not that he thinks people will think any better of him for turning up like that but he makes this effort.

You would pay out good money that could have gone on food to buy a razor for a shave. You had gone that far that you were just hanging

on so that you wouldn't become the animal they wanted you to be.

I used to read stories of people out in the jungle, miles from civilisation, who dressed for dinner. I could understand why. It was to hang on. If you took that first step down you were lost, begging for food, with no human dignity at all once you let go.

What this book says about Salford is true about most places. I know, my wife comes from Salford and she lived through those days. How difficult it was to get men to go on strike and when they did they had to be really desperate because they starved. No question about it.

Pigeons

My wife's family had 50 pigeons and that was all the food they had through the strike. The babe in arms, about two or three months old, was weaned on pigeons' eggs. Soft-boiled, beaten up with a crust of bread dipped in. Make toast out of the stale bread which was left.

But the rest of the family lived

through the General Strike on the pigeons. There is not much on a pigeon by the time you have plucked and stripped it. You could make a broth out of it and you could get a bit of meat out of it. Then you would go up to the market and the kids would scabble about under the greengrocer's stall and pick out the odd specky orange or the few spuds which had fallen out of the bag and you would make a stew that way.

To get the fuel for it you would knock on the factory gates and ask permission to pick over their cinders that had come from the boilers.

The death rate of the children even up to teenage levels would be in direct proportion to the length or severity of the strike so you knew when you were coming on strike that you were condemning some of your family to death. And the only reason you did this was because your level of wages had fallen that low, or prices had risen and lowered your level of pay that you were going to lose those lives anyway.

So you got to that stage where you said one way or the other,

let's make it quick. Let's decide here and now if we are going to starve, let's starve and make sure we are going to get something out of it at the end of the day.

If I wrote a book called *The Classic Slum* about Salford I would not give just bare facts, because you do not understand people and what makes them tick. Why did the men go out boozing nearly every night? Very often they did not eat anything. Very often they went without food for three weeks—just kept going on beer. And you could do a day's work on it. And it was cheap.

Life-time

I would not say the book was written by a revolutionary. Robert Roberts accepted a lot and at the end of the day he moved away from it. It seems he went into some sort of prison service and tried to educate the people.

Well, that's compromising, coming to terms with the system. That's not revolution. If he had gained himself an education he should have brought that back to the workers.

He experienced those things as a child and he never saw these things through grown up eyes because by that time he had moved away from it all. Had he spent some of his older years there . . .

He would not have had such a bad time of it as a shopkeeper's son as he would if he had been the son of an ordinary working-class man.

The best chapter of all is at the end which describes a bloke working all those years, an entire life-time and at the end the employers do not give him a thing.

What the management does is stop a penny out of our wages and when this man retires they give him a cheque out of this penny a week and it might be about £15. But they present it and call him into the manager's office and they give him a glass of sherry, paid for out of this penny a week, and they present him with the cheque as though it comes from them.

As a straight historical book it is in a class of its own.

*Published by Penguin Books, 50p.

GOD'S LEADING SALESMAN

SINCE the arrival of the 15-year-old god, Guru Maharaj Ji, other gods have been taking a bit of a back seat. A couple of weeks ago one of the leading salesmen for Western God Mark I, Billy Graham, paid a visit to Wembley Stadium.

The organisers hoped the occasion would combine the roles of rally and teach-in. It was organised from Billy Graham's London office but was not, the office hastened to add, Mr Graham's idea. He was invited over to join 80 other clergymen in the task of enthusing the 20,000 who attended.

'It was an inter-denominational committee that invited him,' said a spokesman. 'It had Anglicans, Presbyterians, Plymouth Brethren, Evangelicals . . .'

The aim appeared to be to give a crash course in religious fervour so that the Christians could go out and

bang home the Graham message throughout the country. Saturday afternoon featured Johnny Cash as an added attraction to bring in erring country and western fans.

Cash is a curious but typically American phenomenon. He moved from dope, drink and loose living to respect for the flag, concerts for Nixon, and home spun Christianity.

REVOLTING

In his favour is that he did refuse to sing Nixon's special request, 'Welfare Cadillac', a vicious anti-welfare song.

His right-wing politics still have echoes of the old radicalism of earlier singers like Woodie Guthrie and Jimmie Rodgers. And he isn't a bad singer—although Wembley stadium is no place to prove the point.

Billy Graham is revolting. Speak-

ing of corruption in a world where he crawls to corruptors like Nixon and Lyndon Johnson, who is presumably now advising the Devil on napalm techniques.

Graham's preaching relies on crescendos and long silences. As usual its climax was an appeal to any of the guilt-stricken to 'declare for Christ'. He departed from routine in not urging that the sinners come forward, but merely to stand in their places. Aides were on hand to catch their souls before Old Nick grabbed them back.

'Just stand in your seats'—pause—'husband and wife . . . maybe you're a religious leader.' Not too many people got up.

'Maybe you're ashamed of Jesus . . . what a moment to say "yes" to Christ. God bless you, and you, and you. The summer is past and the harvest is not yet in, there is another

moment for you to be saved.'

The style was plastic fruity yogurt (real country taste) out of Reader's Digest. The message was 'Don't think, just believe.'

'This has been the most unique experience of my entire ministry.'

Mine too. It was depressing to look round at the faces. Older people in search of companionship, groups of teenagers, their faces glowing with repression, humping kit-bags, and looking forward to their three months of being told to get lost by our thriving British pagan society.

Outside touts, taking a break from David Bowie and Slade, hawked Billy Graham pics, newsvendors sold special issues of the London Evening Standard and News on Graham. Money grows where Graham goes . . .

Nigel Fountain

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Greenock
Paisley
Stirling

NORTH EAST
Bishop Auckland
Durham
Hartlepool
Newcastle upon Tyne
South Shields
Sunderland
Teesside

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

EAST
Baldon
Cambridge
Chelmsford
Colchester
Fakenham
Harlow
Ipswich
Luton
Lewisham
Norwich
Preston

NORTH WEST
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Burnley
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Middleton
Oldham
Preston
Rochdale
Salford
St Helens
Stoke-on-Trent
Stockport
Stretford
Wigan
Wrexham

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

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Aberystwyth
Bath
Bristol
Cambourne
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Llanelli
Mid-Devon
Neath
Plymouth
Swansea
Swansea Valley

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Barnet
Bexley
Camden
Chertsey
Colindale
Croydon
Ealing
Enfield
Fleet Street
Fulham and
Hammersmith
Hackney
Harlesden
Hemel Hempstead
High Wycombe
Hillingdon
Holtborn
Hounslow
Ilford
Islington
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Mid-Herts
North Herts
Newham
Paddington
Reading
Slough
Tottenham
Tower Hamlets
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Wood Green
Woolwich

THE UNIONS

Transport union switches policy on picket lines

THE Transport and General Workers Union is operating a new and unique system of judging trade union conduct in strikes. No longer will there be automatic recognition of strikers' picket lines—for any dispute which involves TGWU lorry drivers, and there are few that don't, is to be referred to the union's executive.

In practice, this means the decision lies with the union's senior officials who are in day-to-day control, since the full executive meets only irregularly. It is a devastating revision of trade union principles.

The present dispute at Chrysler is a prime example of the new policy. Transport drivers at the Ryton plant in Coventry were instructed to go through the picket lines from the very start of the electricians' strike, which is official. The instructions were later widened to include all TGWU members in the Chrysler combine.

The TGWU's new routine is a by-product of the bitter dispute last summer

when lorry drivers came up against dockers picketing in defence of the docks registration scheme. The leading members of the Commercial Road Transport section of the union in London took this bitterly and launched a feud against the dockers. The Road Transport section is a rapidly growing influence in the union and was recruiting workers in the unregistered container bases being picketed by the dockers.

Pander

At the TUC in Blackpool last week TGWU stewards from Chrysler's Linwood plant in Scotland spoke forcefully, in private, to TGWU general secretary Jack Jones over the union's unprincipled stand on the Chrysler electricians' strike. Jones gave the decision of the Commercial Road Transport section as the main reason for the union's behaviour.

The TGWU leaders are only too pleased to pander to the backward stand now being supported by the road

transport section. At the union's conference in July much rhetoric was devoted to saying the split between the dockers and the lorry drivers must never be allowed to happen again.

But the platform did not allow debate on the key resolutions touching on this question. The lorry drivers' stand is a perfect lever for the union's senior officials to minimise the union members' involvement in strike struggles and industrial disputes.

The chief peddler of the new line at Chrysler Ryton was TGWU executive member and Ryton convenor Jock Gibson. He insisted lorry drivers should go through the picket lines.

Gibson is a member of the Communist Party and was years ago a leading militant in Coventry. He recently summed up the desperate thinking behind the TGWU's new stand when speaking at a conference of the International Metalworkers Federation—insisting that the prime task facing the movement was to protect union funds.

HOLIDAY PLAN STARTS ROW

by Laurie Flynn

THE print union NATSOPA is in the middle of a row over a plan put forward by the union executive to buy a piece of sunny Spain—where free trade unions are banned—and build a holiday complex, taking advantage of the cheap labour provided by Spain's repressive fascist government.

For years members of the union have been proud that their union stood shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed workers of Spain. Three NATSOPA members are buried there after giving their lives in the Spanish Civil War, others fought and survived, and others at home organised support.

Richard Briginshaw, the present general secretary of NATSOPA, first became known through his work in the Printworkers' Anti-Fascist Movement. He was arrested, convicted and fined in the course of that struggle against fascism, winning the disfavour of the then leaders of NATSOPA and laying the foundations of his reputation as a left-winger.

Many members of NATSOPA, young and old, carry on the tradition of internationalism and solidarity with the oppressed workers of fascist Spain.

Like several other unions, NATSOPA runs its own travel agency—with the idea that it is better for the union to profit from its members' holidays than some commercial travel company. It came as a shock when the union started offering holidays in fair fascist Spain.

But that was only a taste of things to come.

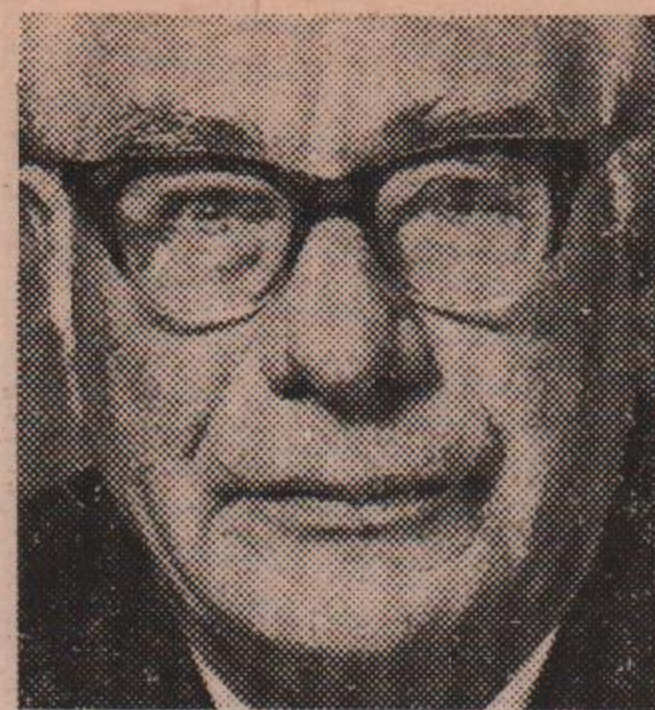
For some time staff at the union's head office in London had been banded together to get cheap holidays for themselves and benefit the union funds by having a lease on a couple of villas in the Canary Islands—which are part of Spain. When not in use by the office staff, the villas were let out and produced what can only be a handsome profit.

PROFITS

This greatly interested several NATSOPA officials who kept fingers on the property market. A plan to extend this scheme was produced. A confidential document outlining the executive's proposals to buy a piece of sunny Spain and build a speculative home complex was circulated to selected NATSOPA branches three months ago.

Not surprisingly this proposition came under heavy fire at several London branch committee meetings. Some forceful points were made:

How could making profits out of land deals in Spain square with the union's principled stand over Spain



Briginshaw: cheap labour

and fascism? It would seem these convincing arguments did not have much effect on the NATSOPA executive. General secretary Briginshaw has written a reply, intending to quieten the fears of his members and get the go-ahead for the union's new Spanish connection.

He wrote that he had contacted an underground trade union leader in Spain and asked what his feelings were about the proposed scheme. The reply was to the effect that 'We feel very sorry for you English printers. You don't get our sunshine, and it is hard for us to stop you getting it.'

But this letter has not done the trick. NATSOPA activists have been quick to point out that the trade union leader has not endorsed the scheme. Others suggest he was taking the mickey out of Briginshaw and his union's scheme to get a piece of the action in Spain at the expense of Spanish workers and a few dozen principles as well.

International Socialists Industrial Pamphlet 3p

THE 1973 ENGINEERING PAY CLAIM



A pamphlet vital to understanding the issues behind the engineers' pay claim

3p, plus 3p postage (orders over 10 copies post free) from IS Books, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

White coats and red faces

THE article on Halsteads (SW, 24 July) was well received here, but not by everybody. While I was feeding molten plastic into the nips (two enormous rolls) in equatorial conditions of 110 degrees Fahrenheit, the production manager for our section shyly approached me.

'All right then, where's that effing so-and-so paper?' he said, referring to Socialist Worker.

It so happened I was reading one. When I offered him one at the special price of 50p for white-coated workers he declined, and said all he wanted to do was borrow it.

For two hours I was deprived of my SW while the personnel manager, the manager for the plant, and another director were all seen studying with avid interest the developments in the working-class struggle.

Eventually the copy was returned, after the article was photocopied.—'we can use it for our advertisements'. The loan charge was ignored, as was the special subscription offer.

I enclose a copy of our union magazine 'New Horizon'—please refer to the crossword on page nine. No 1 across, 'Basic belief in Paris, London and Moscow?' (10 letters). The answer? CAPITALISM — PETER ROBINSON, Salford.

LETTERS



Socialist Worker wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper—and what you don't like. Your thoughts and comments on problems facing working people. Your experiences at work.

But please be brief. We receive so many letters now that we cannot publish them all. We could publish many more if writers restricted themselves to 250 words at the most.

Letters must arrive first post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals please to avoid confusion.

Holidays

WHAT is Dave Widgey trying to say in his article 'Getting away from it all?' (SW 8 September). One trusts he doesn't really think that 'boozy charabanc rides with sing-songs' in some mythical era were in some way superior to trips to Majorca, or for that matter modern boozy sing-songs.

Capitalists have been in the business of brewing beer for a good long time now. Of course it is perfectly true that capitalism gets at us even when we are trying to relax, but for several reasons workers do get a better chance to get away from it all than they used to.

In spite of the terrible Tories, our trade union activity has brought us shorter hours of work, an improvement in living standards, and generally workers go home rather less exhausted than they used to. We haven't always had paid holidays every year for most workers.

All socialists are engaged in trying to get more of these things, and defending what we've got, and we all know that there's no room for complacency. A better material standard of living, 'fridge, car, etc, may be produced by capitalists, but

they do actually make it easier for workers to enjoy their leisure.

Most important of all, the strict religious and sexual morality of early capitalism has been decaying for a long time. It is actually much easier for most of us to have more meaningful relationships with other people, including our family. It is this in particular that enables us to see what we're missing, and what socialism can offer.

So never mind your boozy charabanc ride 50 years ago, Dave, what we want in the first place is a lot more of what we've already got, and under socialism we'll work out a better way of using it all.—BILL FAKES, Cambridge.

Race Act

PLEASE add my signature, as secretary of the trades council, to your 'Union call on race Act' letter published in Socialist Worker 14 July 1973.—M PHILLIPS (Mrs), secretary, Greenwich Trades Council.

Sex and the left (continued)

I FOUND the letter in last week's SW by Clarke and Schirn very worrying. Their position, 'the politics of sexuality are simply an academic fancy', directly implies that there is no validity whatsoever in organisations of women specifically fighting sexual discrimination in all its manifestations.

Presumably, according to them, all that women require are equal pay and a few nurseries and there won't be anything left for women to shout about. Do comrades really believe that the only motivation workers can have to overthrow capitalism is low wages, high prices, bad working conditions and so on? When we talk about workers control we mean control not just of the workplace but control over all situations, which includes the relationships we form with each other.

Marx thought sexuality was important enough for him to propose to the First International that women's branches be formed—he believed in the self-emancipation of oppressed groups, remember?

By what strange action do Clarke and Schirn think that after the revolution women will cease to be sexual objects?—unless women themselves organise and demand that the revolution abolishes the relevance of one's genitals to economic, cultural, social and political life.

The revolutionary party seizing state power will carry with it all the prejudices of the old society if women, blacks, gays and other oppressed groups do not form their own organisations and ally themselves to the party and at the same time make demands upon the party which will ensure that the revolution is truly a 'festival of the oppressed' and not merely an economic transfer of power.

The politics of Clarke and Schirn are those of the lowest common denominator: the party must reflect the prejudices of the class or else it will become divorced from the class. What this will build is not the combat organisation that they refer to but a second Communist Party and that, comrades, is surely not what IS is all about.—SUSAN BRULEY, London SW16.

IRA: where is the solidarity?

ACCORDING to Sean Treacy, some leaders of the Irish Republican Movement (and he clearly means the Provisionals) do not see that a one-hour token strike in even a few factories, demanding an end to internment and the withdrawal of the troops, would be infinitely more damaging to the Tories than a rain of fire-bombs.

In fact, what the Provisionals do not see is a single factory which has struck for a single minute in support of the two demands raised by Sean Treacy.

Yet from the self-righteous tones of his letter you would be hard put to imagine that the responsibility for developing opinion in the labour movement against internment and for the withdrawal of the troops lies with the British left, and that which may well have decided the Provisionals in desperation to launch their 'misguided' bombing campaign in Britain.

While it is paramount for an Irish socialist to criticise the conduct of the anti-imperialist struggle, for a British socialist such criticisms must always be subordinate to the solidarity he must express with all those fighting against the army of his bitterest enemy, the British ruling class.

Contrary to what Sean Treacy believes, there has been no solidarity movement in Britain which could win the Provisionals away from their 'misguided' bombing (if they are indeed responsible for the bombs). Before anyone else directs the Republicans towards this better, more socialist alternative, he ought to recognise his obligation to make this solidarity movement something more substantial than a figment of Sean Treacy's imagination.—SUSAN WALKER, Birmingham.

Dockers' strike: Navy was ready

READING Mick Blackburn's letter 'RAF were ready to take over dockers jobs' (SW 11 August), you might be interested to consider the thinking behind this.

Duplicated leaflets were, at least, prepared (I don't know if they were distributed) in the Devonport Naval Base 'HMS Drake'. They read:

PUBLICITY

All Officers and Ratings are to be informed as follows:—

For the first few days you will be "news" and are likely to be pestered by pressmen and others. You must not allow yourself to be drawn into expressing an opinion of rights and wrongs of the strike of your employment. You are not being employed for the purpose of breaking the strike, but in order to maintain essential

services for the country ('The answer to inquiries is that the Ministry of Defence (Army) is co-ordinating all publicity arrangements and the inquirers should seek information from the Press Liaison Officer at the Ministry of Defence.'

This was written before September, 1970 and quite obviously refers to the dock strike.

It is interesting to note the use of the words 'for the first few days' indicating the establishment's counting on the City press to play the whole thing down after an initial jingoist anti-union coverage—with or without D notices.

All three arms of the 'special bodies of armed men' are now implicated. — PHILLIP RENDLE, Plymouth, Devon.

HOW TO LOSE TENANTS AND MAKE MONEY

THOUSANDS of working class homes in the East End of London are threatened by unscrupulous property developers. These people are backed by some of the most respectable names in the City, who stand to make a multi-million pound bonanza from the middle class invasion of the East End, as dockland is turned into a developers' paradise.

While the council has a waiting list of more than 6000 people needing new homes, flats stand empty in blocks recently bought by Swordheath Properties, a subsidiary of the City merchant bank Keyser Ullmann. The bank's chairman is Tory MP Edward du Cann—weekly wage for this job alone £293.

Cressy Buildings, in the Mile End district of East London, is a 19th century tenement block that until recently was owned by the East End Dwellings Company—who own a lot of private rented property, not only in the East End of London but also in other major cities throughout the country. In 1966 the company changed its name to Charlwood Alliance Holdings.

A major shareholder and lender to the company was Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance, one of the leading city insurance companies. In 1967 they lent Charlwood £1,600,000 for a take-over and appointed a member of the board to look after their 1,200,000 shares.

REDUCED

In 1972 Charlwood was taken over by a large property company, Town and City. At this time Charlwood owned at least 700 houses and 3000 flats, half of which were let at controlled rents. The chairman's statement in 1971 complained about 'this lingering control of rents', as it reduced the value of the property as an investment. However he felt that the company had the resources 'that enable us, under God, to take many formidable obstacles in our stride.' (One of the directors was a director of the Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship Trust).

God must have rallied round. Profits in 1972 were £540,000, compared to £418,500 in 1971. At the same time the company's properties were revalued — at £15,880,000 showing a £4,390,000 million increase on the last valuation.

It was on the basis of the new valuation that Town and City took the company over, with the co-operation of the Guardian Royal. They wasted no time at all in selling all the residential property for £12,150,000 in September 1972. This price, the directors said, was 'substantially in excess of the amount at which the property had been valued.'

Town and City, left with Charlwood's commercial property and over £12,000,000 in cash, could now get on with what, in the city, is a more popular pursuit—the job of building offices, leaving the buyers of Charlwood with the task of getting rid of the tenants and putting up rents, so that sufficient profits could be made to justify the high price paid. There could not be a more clear example of the inflationary nature of capitalism's lust for profit.

The buyers were Swordheath Properties. The company is, through an extremely tortuous route, 62 per cent owned by Keyser Ullmann, the merchant bank. The remainder



is owned by Peureulla Investments, in which Slater Walker had held an indirect interest in the past.

Swordheath is a most successful company which was formed in September 1970 with only £100 of share capital. It made a pre-tax profit of more than £700,000 in its first year of trading.

It managed this because Keyser Ullmann—who then owned 24 per cent—loaned the company more than £3 million at a rate that, at the time, was far from cheap. With some of this money Swordheath bought from the Cubitt family almost half Pimlico in Westminster.

Recently The Observer revealed that Swordheath had, through the application of the Housing Finance Act, been extremely busy emptying property so that it could be sold. One of its directors even admitted that the property was bought solely to sell it again. One of the City institutions that has helped is the Guardian Royal Exchange, who lent some money to buy houses in Lupus Street, part of Pimlico.

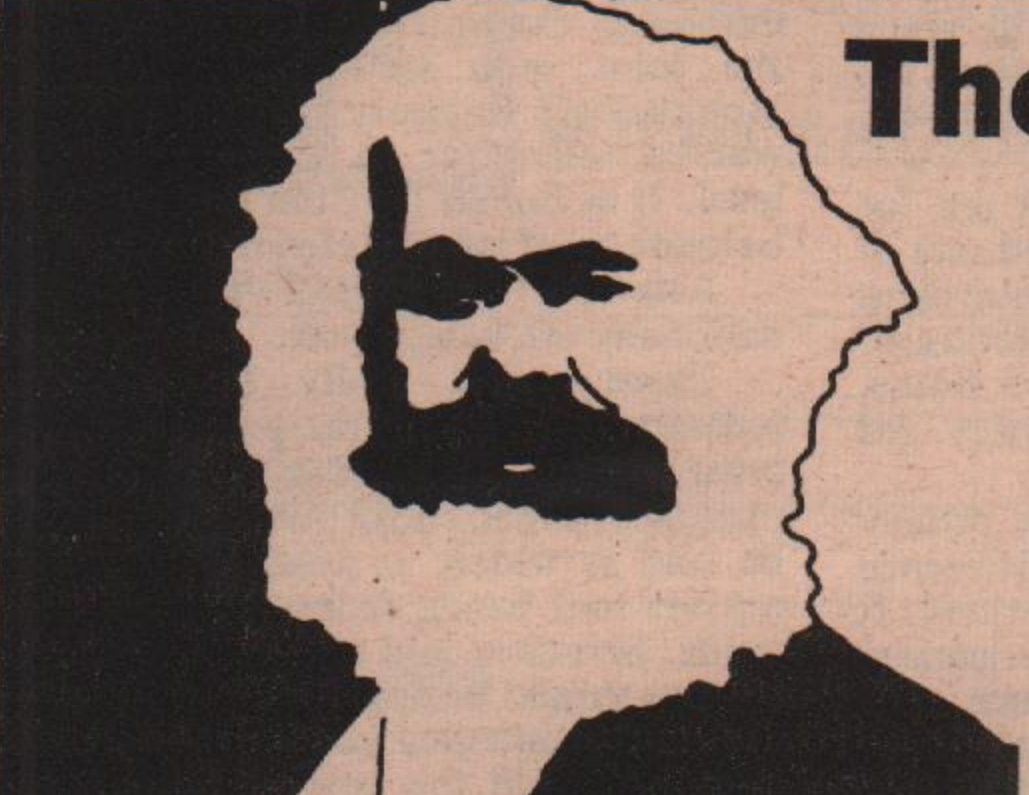
SPIVS

The exact extent of Swordheath's involvement in the East End is not known though any property previously owned by the East End Dwellings Company or Charlwood will probably be theirs. In some of the blocks—Cressy Buildings, Westbrook, Mulberry and Dunstan Houses—there are the familiar signs of the Pimlico operations: empty flats, slowness in carrying out repairs and talk of higher rents.

The prospect of large areas of working-class housing being smartened up for the richer City workers is now real enough for the East End. A few weeks ago Socialist Worker referred to the 'property spivs' who were responsible for this.

These spivs are some of the most respectable people in the City. Their operations are essential to the whole property market. They can only be defeated by the most massive and united struggle. If Edward du Cann and his property mobsters are to be stopped, there must be no delay.

T H Rogmorton



The Meaning Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

20p plus 3p postage
IS Books
6 Cottons Gardens,
London E2 8DN



CALL FOR ALL OUT ACTION FOR SHREWSBURY 24

ALL-OUT action in support of the 'Shrewsbury 24'—the North Wales building workers facing a conspiracy trial next month—was called for by the International Socialists' national committee at its meeting last weekend.

IS delegates to the special conference on the trial called by Liverpool Trades Council on 22 September will support demands for demonstrations and strike action on 3 October—the opening day of the trial—in solidarity with the building workers.

Industrial members of IS will be urged to press now within their unions and workplaces for solidarity action on 3 October.

Giving the report of the executive committee, Andreas Nagliati said that the conference on factory branches held the previous weekend had been successful and enthusiastic and had given considerable impetus for the setting up of further IS factory branches.

Analysing the Chrysler situation, Nagliati gave a run-down on the history of the strike and the intervention by Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon to instruct their members to work machines repaired by scab labour. He said there was considerable demoralisation at the Coventry Stoke plant following the last mass meeting where a vote to strike again in solidarity with the electricians was declared lost by the platform despite a clear vote to the contrary.

NEW HEART

Some militant stewards had resigned from their posts in disgust and many workers had left the factory. It was vitally important for militants to counter the demoralisation and maintain a strong union organisation in the plant.

The decision by the Linwood workers to strike over the scab labour issue should give new heart to militants in Coventry.

The action of Jones and Scanlon and their re-definition of what constitutes 'black' machines had prompted the IS



More than 100 crowd General Strike meeting

MERSEYSIDE:—More than 100 people crowded into an IS public meeting last week to hear Harry Wicks speak on the 1926 General Strike and its lessons for today.

Harry Wicks has been in the socialist movement for more than 50 years and was active in the Battersea Council of Action during the General Strike. In his talk, he stressed how the so-called left-wing trade union leaders of the time—Swales, Hicks and Purcell—had been as guilty as the right wing of betraying the strike, unconditionally surrendering to the Tory government and finally allowing the miners to be starved into submission.

He drew the conclusion for today: don't put blind faith in left-wing leaders like Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones. He insisted that revolutionary socialists should never hesitate to criticise and warn against betrayals or dithering by the left leaders.

executive to write a letter to the Communist party requesting a joint meeting to discuss what action could be taken in the labour movement on this issue. It was important that IS members should encourage rank and file Communist Party members to press their executive to support the IS initiative.

Turning to the forthcoming conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, Nagliati said the organisers had booked a small hall in London which would restrict the number of delegates.

The Communist Party members who dominate the committee were facing a number of problems. They had so far refused to criticise Jones and Scanlon over Chrysler and this disinclination to attack 'left' union officials would present them with new difficulties when Phase Three of the Tory incomes policy was announced.

Phase Three is likely to have a strong emphasis on productivity deals and the Communist Party has always had a soggy attitude towards such deals for fear of

upsetting union officials.

Because of the Liaison Committee's hostility to criticism and any attempts to have a full, frank and democratic discussion at its conferences, a large contingent of IS industrial workers at the conference might well force the platform to provoke the type of confrontation seen at the last conference. This, plus the urgent necessity of ensuring a bit turnout for the Socialist Worker industrial conference, had forced the executive to the conclusion that IS should not make a major effort to seek credentials for the conference although members of shop stewards committees approached to attend should certainly do so.

DISARRAY

Discussing the Blackpool TUC, the national committee felt there had been a clear move to the right, however hard papers like the Morning Star tried to disguise the fact. The only real challenge to incomes policy would come from the rank and file, although the possibility of Jones and Scanlon sanctioning some official action against the freeze could not be ruled out. Such action would be used by the union leaders as bargaining counters in their talks with the Tories.

The volatility of the situation is heightened by the confusion and disarray in ruling-class circles. Employers and government are not at all certain of what moves to take next.

And like the struggle over Phase Two, it could be the unexpected groups, such as hospital and gas workers, who will spearhead the fight, rather than the big battalions.

Ten new branches of IS were recognised by the committee.

Boost conference call

THE industrial committee of IS discussed on Saturday the urgent need for a mass sale of the just-printed pamphlet on the engineering industry. It is important that the IS case be read by many thousands of engineering workers.

The committee heard that Pluto Press is soon to publish a major book on health and safety hazards in industry. There will be a special reduced rate for bulk orders from shop stewards' committees, union branches and other sections of the labour movement. IS members would find the book political dynamite and should do their best to ensure a big sale.

Members reported considerable enthusiasm in the branches for the November Socialist Worker industrial conference but there should be no let-up in the efforts to

NATIONAL IS TEACHERS CONFERENCE

Saturday 15 September, 10.30am-6pm, Lecture Room 2, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham (opposite Midland Red bus station). Democratic Centralism—Work in the Fractions. Speaker: Andreas Nagliati. Perspectives for our Union work. Speaker: Fred Scott.

WIGAN IS SOCIAL

Saturday 15 September, 8pm onwards, Dog and Partridge Hotel, Wallgate, Folk-singing. All welcome.

IS HOSPITAL WORKERS SCHOOL

Saturday 29 September, 11am-5pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. Session 1: Hospital branches and fraction organisation. Speaker: Andreas Nagliati. Session 2: The ancillary workers' pay claim. All IS health workers to attend. Further details from 01-274 2405.

DERBY IS public meeting

THE AUTUMN FIGHT AGAINST THE TORIES. Speaker: Wally Preston. Wednesday 19 September, Trent Social Club, Charnwood Street.

IS BOOKS: Part-time help urgently needed at new bookshop (265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, two minutes from Finsbury Park tube station) from 17 September onwards. Any comrades interested please contact Tamara Kalom at 01-739 1878.

TYPIST needed by SW Litho Printers. Interesting work but must be reasonably accurate.

PACKER needed by IS to work in warehouse helping to distribute printed material. Driving license would be useful. For above three jobs, apply Jim Nichol, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. Phone 01-739 1870.

IS MEMBER wants to share flat with other members in North London. Anyone with spare room please write to Box MQ, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2, or phone 739 2639.

AGGREGATE MEETING for ALL London IS student members: Monday 17 September, 7pm, at 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

ELECTRICIANS: Socialist Worker special for the electrical industries—first issue now out. Orders to 'Electricians Special', 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

COMRADES coming to Colchester in September/October please contact Mike Voss, 61 New Park Street, Colchester. Phone Colchester 49621. Possibility of finding accommodation.

IS COMRADE, up for Sussex University, urgently needs accommodation in Brighton. Please ring 01-385 9066.

BACK COPIES of Labour Research monthly and pamphlets needed for IS industrial department library. Please send to Industrial Dept, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS POWER: This pamphlet is now being reprinted as the first printing is sold out. Branches and individuals who have orders outstanding please note there will be some delay, but dispatch will be prompt as soon as copies are available. IS BOOKS.

IS COMRADE starting work in North London seeks accommodation in or around Camden area, or further afield. Sharing cheap flat with other comrades would be ideal. Phone Tim Cousins at 01-722 0141.

FLAT OFFERED to one or preferably two comrades for four weeks from 7 October. Must be prepared to work in new estate branch while residents are on holiday. Write Jenny and Andy, 12 Hazel Walk, Partington, Urmston, Manchester.

IS COMRADE requires room in Manchester from 16 September. Please contact F Conway, 270 Stoney Stanton Road, Coventry.

MALE COMRADE seeks large/double room in house/flat in NW London area. Phone 739 2639 day, 450 2976 evening.

IS BOOKSHOP is moving to new premises during the next two weeks, so there will be some delay in fulfilling orders from branches and individuals.

IS COUPLE urgently need room in flat or house South West London. Ring Marjorie at Maidenhead 34270.

DOUBLE ROOM in IS flat in Battersea to let for last two weeks in September £8.50 double, £5 single. Phone Marjorie at 01-930 1888.

IS AUTOMOTIVE FRACTION: Essential meeting for all IS carworkers. Sunday 16 September, 11am to 4.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall (Lecture Room 3), Birmingham. Session 1: The Carworker, introduced by Gerry Jones (Chrysler, Stoke). Session 2: Phase Three and the Motor Industry, introduced by Roger Cox (CAV, Acton). For further information, phone IS industrial department at 01-739 6273.

CHELMSFORD IS public meeting: Monday 17 September, 8pm. How to organise for effective struggle. Why we need a revolutionary party, and how to build one. Cricketers Arms, Moulsham Street.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: The Need for a Rank and File Alliance of Workers. What Role the Welsh TUC? Speaker: Pete Freeman (TGWU). Monday 17 September, 8pm, Blue Anchor pub, St Mary Street, Cardiff.

LEICESTER IS Industrial Group meeting: Building the Rank and File Organisation. Speaker: John Broadbent (editorial board, GEC Rank and File paper and former convenor, Hotpoint, Peterborough). Saturday 22 September, 12 noon, Freeman's Arms, Aylestone Road, Leicester.

COLCHESTER IS public meeting: TUC backs down—the Need for Rank and File Alliance on Phase Three. Speaker: Roger Cox (AUEW and member of IS national committee). Thursday 27 September, 7.30 pm, Oddfellows Hall, Williams Walk, Colchester.

IS NALGO national fraction meeting: Saturday 22 September, 10.30am, at 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2. Agenda includes the fight against incomes policy, NALGO Action Group national conference (20/21 October, London), Socialist Worker Conference in November, National Rank and File Conference in February, problems of the regions, election of officials.

IS BUILDERS national fraction meeting: Saturday 15 September, 12 noon, Lowther Hotel, Kings Staith (off Cliff Street), York. All IS builders must attend.

LONDON IS Irish Forum: Marxism, Terrorism and the Bombings. Speaker: Chris Harman, Friday 28 September, 7.30pm, The Metropolitan, 95 Farringdon Road, London EC1 (Farringdon tube).

NORTH HERTS IS and Stevenage Communist Party public debate: Is Revolution on the Agenda? Speakers: Jim Higgins (IS) and Maurice Crighton (Communist Party). Tuesday 25 September, 8pm, Bedwell Community Centre, Stevenage.

CAMDEN IS public meeting: The Labour Party. Speaker: Paul Foot. Tuesday 18 September, 8pm, The Enterprise, Haverstock Hill (opposite Chalk Farm tube).

COVENTRY AND DISTRICT IS Raffle: Winning number (7 September) 12 (pink), section no EU0107.

TYNESIDE DISTRICT IS Aggregate: Inaugural meeting to discuss district structure, experience elsewhere, role of factory branches in district and trade union work. Election of district committee. Speakers: Jim Higgins and Andreas Nagliati (IS industrial organiser). IS MEMBERS ONLY—all Tyneside IS members to attend. Saturday 22 September, 10am-4.30pm, New YMCA, Ellison Place, Newcastle (opposite polytechnic college).

TYNESIDE DISTRICT IS Social: Saturday 22 September, 7.30pm onwards. Bridge Hotel, Newcastle. Songs by Alex Glasgow—music—bar. Admission 30p. Everyone welcome.

IS ATTI London fraction meeting: Sunday 16 September, 7.30pm, 133 Highbury New Park, London N5.

IS ATTI national fraction meeting: Saturday 29 September, 11am-5pm. Meeting place to be announced. All IS ATTI members must attend.

CAPPER PASS IS, Hull public meeting WHY THE SYSTEM STINKS. Speaker: Paul Foot. Monday 24 September, 8pm, Hull Stevedores and Dockers Club, Posterngate, Hull. All welcome.

LEWISHAM IS public meeting THE NEED FOR RANK AND FILE ORGANISATION. Speaker: Paul Foot. Thursday 27 September, 7.30pm, Deptford Town Hall.

WOLVERHAMPTON IS public meeting WAGES AND PRICES—THE GREAT CON-TRICK. Speakers: Paul Foot and local trade unionists. Thursday 20 September, 8pm, AUEW offices, Horsley Fields, Wolverhampton.

EDINBURGH IS public meeting WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE WELFARE STATE? Speaker: Jim Kincaid, author of Poverty and Equality in Britain, recently published by Penguin Books. Wednesday 19 September, 7.30pm, Trade Union Centre, 12/14 Picardy Place.

IS WOMEN'S DAY SCHOOL Saturday 6 October, 10am-onwards, North London Poly common room, Holloway Road, London N7. Women's oppression in Capitalist Society. The Importance of Women in the Revolutionary Party. For creche and accommodation contact Liz Burke, 90 Mountview Road, London N4. Phone 01-348 3881. IS MEMBERS ONLY. Social to be arranged.

LEICESTER AND WIGSTON IS Day School Saturday 15 September. WILL CAPITALISM COLLAPSE? 10am-12.30pm: The post-war boom. Speaker: John Ure. 1.30pm-4pm: Prospects today. Speaker: John Palmer, St James Small Hall, London Road, Leicester.

ENGINEERS: TIME NOW TO BEAT THE FREEZE

THE 1973 ENGINEERING PAY CLAIM, International Socialists Industrial Pamphlet, 3p.

'1973 has so far been a bad year for working people. Prices have rocketed, profits have soared and wages have pitifully dragged behind both of them.' These are the opening sentences of this pamphlet, the first of a series on industrial events that the International Socialists intend to publish in the next few months.

But the pamphlet does not accept the grim reality of the past few months. On the contrary, its whole purpose is to argue forcibly that a real struggle over the engineering pay claim could smash the freeze.

The main points of the claim are for an increase in the minimum skilled rate of £25 to £35 a week, with equivalent increases for other grades, a reduction of the working week from 40 to 35 hours, four weeks holiday and equal pay for women.

The pamphlet argues that the money increase would make a concrete difference to about half of engineering workers. It will not affect instead the best-organised (and therefore best-paid) half since they already earn above the £35 mark. The hours and holiday demands become therefore the parts of the claim which can potentially unify all engineering workers.

They should be pushed to the fore and no compromise accepted.

In arguing for a national strike it analyses the experience of last year's defeat and places the blame squarely on the shoulders of ineffective leadership.

The pamphlet includes a programme of action for victory, and ends with an appendix which takes up the arguments of both unions and employers and argues instead for across the board claims.

It is heartening to find that the programme of action argues for actions already being taken in some areas before its publication. In Leeds a National Claim Campaign Committee has been set up by the joint shop stewards committee at Monkbridge. Support for the committee will be called for at district and branch level. It is hoped that the committee will be made up of stewards from all over Leeds.

Attempts to spread the campaign nationally are being made.

There could really be no higher recommendation for the pamphlet. It is a must for all engineering workers. It is a mass agitational, cheap publication. It must be sold as widely as possible to contacts, outside and inside federated firms. Trade union branches and shop stewards committees should be approached.

The engineering pay claim could give the bosses and the government a bloody nose. This pamphlet can help.

ANDREAS NAGLIATI

Stewards join boss against strikers

SHEFFIELD:—Shop stewards of the General and Municipal Workers Union have thrown their weight behind management in the attempt to smash the strike by Engineering Union workers at Footprints Tools.

The stewards have told their members to work the forge and stamps in the factory, jobs usually done by the AUEW strikers. Already they had ordered their members to cross the picket lines.

The 100 AUEW members have

been on strike for 13 weeks, since one of their stewards was sacked for calling an 'unofficial' meeting at work.

The day the stewards agreed to GMWU members doing the strikers' jobs, they wrote to the strikers saying they were doing this 'because of outside political and industrial influences' and because an AUEW representative had spoken at an International Socialist meeting accusing the GMWU members at Footprints of 'breaking trade union principles'.

The letter was signed by the GMWU convenor and stewards 'on behalf of all our GMWU members'.

Trade unionists from all over Sheffield have signed a protest at the behaviour of the GMWU and in support of the strikers, which has been handed to the GMWU official.

Donations and messages of support to Arthur Hodgson, Footprints Strike Committee, c/o The Royal Oak, Hollis Croft, Sheffield 1.

Safety dispute after man dies

by Greg Douglas

ROTHERHAM:—The British Steel Corporation is again at the centre of a dispute over safety facilities for construction workers—this time at Parkgate Aldwarke Works.

A month ago a 28-year-old steel erector, Len Lepps, a married man with two children, was killed after falling 40ft from a temporary platform with no hand-rails, toe boards or proper access. He had to lie where he fell for 20 minutes before the BSC site ambulance could reach him.

As is the custom, the men immediately left the job after securing all cranes and jobs on which they were working. On their return to work the next day, the men all attended a mass meeting of all contractors and demanded from BSC a better ambulance service and a first aid centre with a qualified attendant on or near the site before they would return to work.

BSC have the same attitude to safety on the site as they originally adopted on the Anchor site, near Scunthorpe. They were prepared to allow the men's elected safety stewards to meet BSC safety advisors and put forward their recommendations, but they would not allow the safety stewards to attend the main contractors' safety meetings where recommendations are supposed to be discussed with a view to putting them into action.

These meetings are only talking shops, where they all sit round in a token show of concern, with the safety advisors playing no significant part. The most exacting decision made is the date for the next meeting.

If the minutes of these meetings were available, they would show, like those on the Anchor site, that the number of apologies from the agents and engineers is a sign of the importance they attach to the question of safety.

If as much money and importance were given by BSC to contractors' safety as they spend on their private police force to man the security gates, fatal accidents would be a rarity rather than a common occurrence.

Slap in face for strikers

SOUTHALL:—The 22 men on strike at AEC, British Leyland's bus and truck plant, received a slap in the face from the joint shop stewards negotiating committee last week.

The men had hoped an overtime ban would be imposed throughout the factory to support their stand in refusing to allow management to move five 'excessive men' without their consent. But the method chosen to canvass support for the ban ensured its failure. A vote was taken section by section, the votes were then added up and found to be short of a majority.

Shop steward Peter Cassettari told the strikers: 'The negotiating committee felt they could use this method because it gave them a chance to avoid an overtime ban. There should have been a full mass meeting, or at least those sections that voted for an overtime ban should have been given the go-ahead.'

The strike is now in its fifth week and the men are feeling increasingly bitter. The main reason for lack of support is that the background to the stoppage has not been properly explained. The strike committee has now made a direct appeal to the shop floor by issuing a leaflet explaining the strike.

200 BRICKIES EXPOSE EMPTY FREEZE BLUFF

COUNTY DURHAM:—200 maintenance bricklayers and their mates at the British Steel Corporation's Consett works returned to work victorious last week after a seven-week strike.

The strike was over a claim for parity with other maintenance workers who had won a 35p an hour bonus for working during the annual shutdown of the mills.

The brickies accepted a settlement of 22p an hour plus 8p to 9p an

by Dave Peers

hour 'hot settling' money to give an average of 31p an hour for a period equivalent to the shutdown fortnight. This will be paid to all bricklayers and mates, not just those engaged on shutdown work, and is a considerable advance on their original claim.

The brickies' victory will be a considerable encouragement to other maintenance sections pursuing claims. It also revealed an embarrassing

credibility gap for British Steel's management. Only four days before the settlement an open letter by Eric Amos, general manager of BSC Consett, appeared in the local press in which he said the company could offer no payment or any compromise settlement to the bricklayers because of the freeze.

Members of the International Socialists in the Consett works issued

this reply as a leaflet:

'Dear Mr Amos,

In your open letter published in the press (which will have cost BSC more than the brickies' claim would) you make great play of the legislation which you say prevents you from paying the bricklayers and mates the shut down bonus.

You take pains to present the Corporation as being the suffering innocent party whose hands are tied. But you carefully avoid stating BSC's attitude to the claim, and it is just not good enough to use the Pay Board to divert the public's attention away from your own opposition. Come clean, Mr Amos. If you and BSC management wish to say "No" to the brickies, then stand on your own feet and say so. Leave the question of whether or not the Pay Board will approve the deal until after the claim is settled between you and the bricklayers.

We ask, Mr Amos, if you are prepared to authorise extra payments to those who are carrying out the strikers' duties at present? If so, then how do you intend to avoid the prices and incomes legislation which appears to be such an obstacle to you in the case of the bricklayers and their mates?

We also ask, Mr Amos, how you could morally justify such preferential treatment? You urge the brickies to abandon their strike. Why should they listen to you? There is a damn sight more principle and sense of justice being displayed by the strikers than there is in the sorry spectacle of management stubbornly upholding the original daft decision by someone to say NO. Is this what you would call 'firm management'?

No, Mr Amos, it is not for you to advise the lads to pack in. You should be explaining to the appropriate people that when employers—whether willingly or not—become instruments for carrying out unjust and repressive government policies, then they must expect damage in one form or another in return.

Yours faithfully,
Consett International Socialists'

Copies of the leaflet were well received by the pickets, who distributed them to the lorry drivers they turned away from the gates.

The real issue for management in this dispute was not the Pay Board, but the question of labour discipline. The decision to refuse parity to the brickies was only the latest of a series of 'get tough' attitudes which BSC now shows towards Consett workers.

The brickies were selected as an example to other BSC workers to prove that industrial action doesn't pay. Instead the brickies have set an example of determination and solidarity which will inspire every trade unionist in the works.



JOURNALISTS at Visual Aids publications in Hampstead, North London, have been on strike for six weeks in a battle over union recognition and union rates of pay. The strike is official and members of the Magazine and Book branch of the journalists' union are supporting their colleagues on the picket line.

The firm's main publication is FA News, official journal of the Football Association. Last week the strikers picketed the FA's head office in a bid to get them to put pressure on Visual Aids to settle with the union. Printers have blacked FA News

and the September issue has not appeared. Our picture shows passers-by reading the pickets' placards and talking to sacked Father of the Chapel Geoff Bell (fourth from left).

The strikers are on half pay from the union but are urgently in need of funds to continue the dispute. Donations to: Gordon Parker, secretary, Magazine and Book branch, National Union of Journalists, Acorn House, 314 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report).

CLASSIFIED

Copy for the Classified section 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.

DEFEND THE RIGHT TO PICKET: Speakers Dave Adhead (official delegate of the Birmingham Five Defence Committee and a UCATT shop steward), Steve Lynch (GMWU official) and Harry Cregan (SOGAT shop steward). ALL WELCOME. Thursday 20 September, 7.30pm, The Liberal Hall, Colchester. Organised by Colchester Shrewsbury 24 Defence Committee.

PHOENIX CLUB: The first series of meetings is: The Two Nations Theory—Thursday 13 September; Ireland and the EEC—27 September; Orangeism—11 October; The British Left and Ireland—8 November; Revolutionary Perspectives for Ireland—22 November, Thursdays, 7.45pm, at The General Picton, Caledonian Road, London N1.

THE CITY UNIVERSITY Adult Education Courses: Politics, Poetry and Science in Islington and Hackney (Thursdays 6.30-8pm, starting 4 October); Marxism and Modern Britain (Tuesdays 6.30-8pm, starting 6 November); The Background to Social Policy (Thursdays 6.30-8pm, starting 4 October). For details write to Adult Education Courses, Room A343, The City University, St John Street, London EC1.

WOMEN AND SOCIALISM Day School

Film: 'Women in Industry', and speakers, Sunday 16 September, 2-6pm, Basildon Arts Centre Photographic Studio. Creche available if necessary.

HISTORY WORKSHOP IN LONDON

Saturday 20 October—Sunday 21 October at the Old Theatre, London School of Economics.

FAMILY WORK AND HOME
Catherine Hall 'History of the housewife'; Anna Davin 'Shop girls and clerks in 19th century London'; Aubrey Crowe 'Black Country Chainmakers'; Gillian Sutherland 'Rise of the Schoolmistress'; Delia Davin 'Women and Home in the Chinese Revolution'; Tim Mason 'The Cult of Motherhood in Nazi Germany'; Videotapes of 'Fall in and Follow me' and discussion on the Children's Strikes of 1911. Open session on 'Marxism, Feminism and Social History'. Tickets £1 from Sarah and Sid Wills, 49 Elder Avenue, Crouch End, London N8 (old age pensioners and unsupported mothers 25p). Socialist Worker readers welcome.

STREET RESEARCH BULLETIN is to aid militants in researching their struggle. Issue no 1 on Housing in your town and researching British companies; No 2 on researching an individual; No 3 on local authorities and the legal system. Research is basic to your struggle, 15p each post free from 86 Raiton Road, London SE14 0LD.

JAMES CONNOLLY—unpublished letter. The Socialist Party aims at building a world community without frontiers based on common ownership—with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. The October Socialist Standard features James Connolly. Free copy from Dept SW, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

LARGE YORKSHIRE ATTIC bed/sit at low rent from October in exchange for being in the house most weekdays from 4-6pm with two small girls aged five and seven. Contact Carey, 6 Granville Terrace, Bingley.

LEFT BOOKSTORES: Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA—the book Cosgrave banned from Dublin—is being wholesaled through Red Books, 100 pages, 50p retail. Inquiries to Dept F5, 24 Boundary Road, London NW8. Phone 01-624 4504.

BACK IN PRINT: Lenin's What is to be done? 20p (including p and p) from Red Books, 24 Boundary Road, London NW8.

BANNED IN IRELAND . . . available from Red Books: Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA, 100 pages. Retail 50p. Special offer, mail order: 50p post free. From Red Books, 24 Boundary Road, London NW8. Trade: write for terms or phone 01-624 4504.



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name

Address

Trade Union

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

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

SHARPEVILLE

MARK 2

IN THE SHARPEVILLE massacre 13 years ago, 67 unarmed African demonstrators were brutally murdered by the South African police.

Since then the South African government and its many friends in high places in Britain and elsewhere have gone to great lengths to lay the ghost of Sharpeville to rest. They have worked overtime to carve a new liberal image to cover up the continuation of the same brutal regime of racism and exploitation.

Businessman after businessman, politician after politician has said that more investment in South Africa, the unfettered development of private enterprise would lead to the withering away of the apartheid system.

On Tuesday this week, 50 miles from Johannesburg, at the Western Deep Levels Mine at Carletonville, such statements were shown for what they are—foul lies designed to assist in the continued and uninterrupted extraction of profits from South Africa.

'RAMPAGE'

On Tuesday this week at least 11 striking African miners at Western Deep Levels were brutally murdered by the South African police. Others were wounded.

And as soon as the murders were committed the lie machine was put into operation once again.

The police issued statements that they had no choice but to open fire. They were acting in self-defence.

The strikers were on 'the rampage'. They were interfering with the rights of private property, breaking into the mine's liquor store.

The mineowners, Anglo American, the huge multi-national combine with subsidiaries and close connections in Britain and reputed to be the most 'progressive' of all South African employers, also got to work.

The machine operators from among the mine's 8000 employees had gone on strike for higher wages. But, so the murderers from Anglo American claim, the strikers request was refused 'because after interviews management were unable to clarify the miners' grievance.'

They will certainly be unable to clarify the grievances of at least 11 of them now. They have murdered them.

SIEGE CITY FOR TRIAL

from Eamonn McCann in Winchester

THE trial of ten people charged with planting bombs in Central London last March opened here on Monday in an atmosphere of barely-suppressed hysteria.

Front page stories in the national press described Winchester as 'a fortress' and 'a city under siege'. Tales of roof-top snipers and armed guards helped to build up the tension. By the time the defendants stood in a line across the dock to hear the charges read they were already regarded with some awe.

The case for the prosecution was opened by Attorney General Sir Peter Rawlinson, who outlined the evidence which would be brought.

Dealing with the warning given before the bombs went off, he

11 black miners murdered

In any case their grievances are only too clear: the starvation wages paid to black workers to dig the fabulous profits of Anglo's gold mines, the denial of the fundamental freedom to organise in independent trade unions, the slave labour system, the numbers killed and maimed at work.

At Carletonville this week Anglo American murdered at least 11 black workers with the assistance of the police. They do not always need such assistance.

Last year at Wankie Colliery in Rhodesia, Anglo murdered 400 miners by their deliberate negligence in the pursuit of profit. In Britain their associated company, Cape Asbestos, has done exactly the same in its asbestos plants in East London and at Hebden Bridge in Yorkshire.

Leaders of the British TUC are due to visit South Africa shortly on a 'fact-finding mission'. They would do better to visit Hebden Bridge.

For it is in such places that a movement can be built which could eradicate the menace of Anglo American and act in solidarity with the brutally oppressed black workers of South Africa.

BACK 24

Liverpool Trades Council is organising an important conference on Saturday 22 September to discuss the implications of the trial of the Shrewsbury 24. It will be held at Central Hall, Renshaw Street, Liverpool 1. Delegation fee is 20p and credentials can be obtained from F Fraser 33 Hatton Gardens, Liverpool L3 2AA.

invited the jury 'to speculate' (his phrase) that the only reason such a warning call was made was that the bombers had failed to make good their escape, and the IRA realised this and did not want 'the gang' to face murder charges.

The press gallery was packed on the first day to give the trial a sensational send-off. It is likely that as the weeks pass press interest will diminish—as happened during the Angry Brigade trial.

All the more necessary, then, that socialists keep their attention on Winchester Crown Court during the next two months, making it clear that between the nine Belfast people in the dock and the be-wigged Tory in the prosecutor's bench we are by no means neutral—whether they did it or not.



SOME of the 400 electricity supply office workers who travelled from all over the country to London on Tuesday to demonstrate outside the Electricity Council offices. The demonstrators signed a 6ft by 4ft postcard which will circulate the 50,000 office workers involved in the pay demand. Cyril Gibson, chairman of Bristol Electricity branch of NALGO, which organised the protest, said the industry's present wage scale 'fails to provide a living wage for young people hoping to get married.' PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

Big business crushes Chile regime

CHILE'S three-year experiment with the 'parliamentary road to socialism' is over. The armed forces have staged a coup against the Popular Unity government and, as we go to press, there are reports that the head of that government, Salvador Allende, is dead.

The whole working-class movement of the country is under attack. One of the first acts of the new military regime was to seize the offices of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

There can be little doubt that behind the curtain of silence imposed by the military, there will be attempts at a vicious witchhunt against socialists and trade union activists.

Those carrying out the bloodshed and repression in Chile's cities are middle-class army officers. The benefit, however, will accrue to their masters—the owners of the companies nationalised by Allende's government, including the giant ITT.

The apologists for these interests are already at work in this country. They have greeted the coup with delight on radio and television and in the press.

They are claiming that it is justified because workers and peasants had been breaking the 'constitution' by seizing the land of immensely wealthy landowners, occupying factories to prevent their owners closing them down, supporting 300 rank and file sailors who were jailed for disobeying the orders of their reactionary officers.

But we must also learn the lessons of the Chilean experience. Despite their continual talk about 'parliamentary democracy', big business and its spokesmen will do away with this democracy the moment workers threaten any of its fundamental interests. And it will always find backing from the privileged minority who run the armed forces, the police, the civil service, and the judiciary.

Pretended

The tragedy of Chile is that some of the most powerful voices in the working-class movement tried to deny this most elementary fact until the last possible moment. They pretended that somehow army generals could forget the interests of the wealthy classes from which they sprang and obey a left-wing government.

Allende even included four generals in his cabinet. The general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party was insisting, only eight weeks ago, that 'we continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed forces.'

Meanwhile, the head of the navy was already preparing for the coup by jailing those rank and file sailors sympathetic to the left.

When members of the revolutionary organisation, the MIR, and the

left-wing of the socialist party said that workers had to build workers' councils and to prepare for armed self-defence, they were denounced as 'irresponsible' by both Allende and the leaders of the Communist Party.

The history of the last few days, however, has provided once and for all the criminal irresponsibility of those who tried to lull the workers into a false sense of complacency about the role of the armed forces.

The Chilean working class is today paying a bitter price for the mistaken policies of such leaders. Workers in other countries must learn the lesson of Chile, if the same price is not to be exacted elsewhere in the future.

CONFERENCE OF TENANTS AGAINST THE RENT ACT

Sunday 23 September, 2pm-6pm
The Renold Theatre, Whitworth Street, Manchester

Sponsored by tenants' associations in Liverpool, Manchester, Dudley, London, Sheffield, Kirkby, Birmingham, Oldham, Darlington, Harlow, Rotherham and trade union branches, trades councils and shop stewards committees.

Credentials for tenants' associations and trade union organisations from Conference Organising Committee, 61 Tynney Croft, Harlow, Essex.