

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY JANUARY 19, 1973 ● No. 975 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

BEHIND PHASE TWO OF STATE PAY PLAN IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF DE GAULLE

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE TORIES have embarked on the road to Bonapartist dictatorship in the style established by General de Gaulle in France in 1958. This is the definite message from Edward Heath's presidential-style Press conference which unveiled the three-year state control over wages.



From Press conference to dine with ...

Even the most right-wing newspapers drew comparisons with Gaullism when describing the event.

This does not at all mean that the government over which Heath presides is in a position to establish such a dictatorship. What the Tories have done, and are doing, is to create the legal framework for another Tory government to be re-elected to complete the task.

It is one thing to introduce legislation which abolishes the right to free wage bargaining. It is another thing to carry it out in practice.

And before the Tories can make this corporatist legislation 'work', they know that they must fight the working class and severely defeat it.

Despised

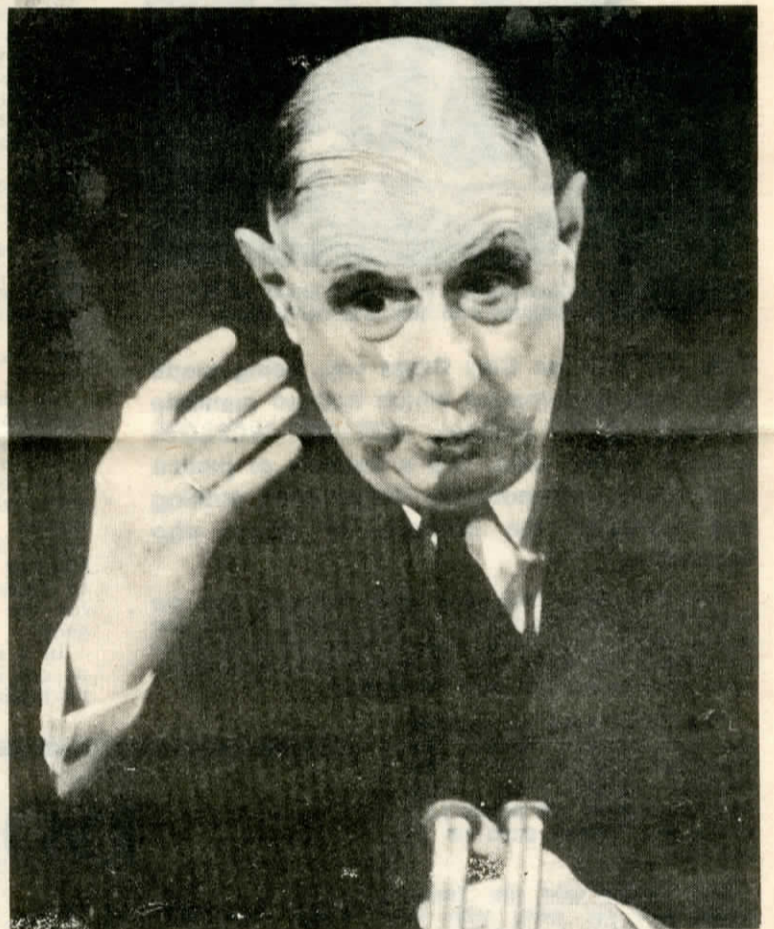
Heath and his government are roundly despised throughout the length and breadth of the labour and trade union movement by trade unionists, housewives, council tenants and the unemployed.

It is no accident that after announcing his wholesale attack on the rights and standard of living of the working class, Heath went off for a 21-day tour of Devon. After climbing into a naval flying jacket he was taken by helicopter to the 9,000-ton cruiser, HMS 'Tiger', at Plymouth, to dine with service chiefs. Again shades of de Gaulle.

While he consorts with the monopolies and the military on the one hand, he rests the other arm of his Bonapartist rule on the bankrupt leaders of the Labour Party and the TUC. His only allies in the workers' movement are the bureaucrats like Wilson and Feather (see p. 12).

They form part of the conspiracy which has brought this Phase One and Phase Two legislation forward. And they will do nothing to prevent him getting it into the statute books.

It is immediately vital that both the TUC and the Labour



... army chiefs in true Gaullist style

Party conferences are recalled. The purpose of these recalled conferences must not be another exhibition of windbagging and posturing by the bureaucrats.

They must be to decide on the urgent question of the leadership of the working class movement.

Wilson, Feather and the fake lefts have demonstrated that they are unfit to lead the working class in these perilous days. On the agenda, therefore, must be the removal of these leaders on the basis of a struggle for socialist policies.

These policies must include

- The abolition and repeal of all anti-trade union laws.
- The resumption of free wage negotiations between trade unions and employers.

- Withdrawal from the Common Market.

- The nationalization under workers' control of all the basic monopolies.

Mobilize

But these policies can only be fought out when Labour Party members and trade unionists recognize that this struggle is inseparable from the mobilization of the working class to force the Tory government to resign and to return a Labour government pledged to implement socialist policies.

In such a situation the conditions would be created for the complete exposure of the role of reformism and pave the way for the building of the mass revolutionary party.

Carworkers answer back with strike

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

FIRST to hit back at the new Tory pay laws were 500 Ford workers at the Dagenham body plant who staged a half-day protest strike yesterday.

The men in the underbody and sub-assembly plant said they would go on indefinite strike on March 1 if no agreement was reached by then with the company on their £10 pay claim.

A mass meeting in the lunch-hour demanded the recall of the TUC to prepare a campaign against the laws. There were some voices in favour of a General Strike.

Civil servants' leaders meeting in London condemned the White Paper as 'totally unacceptable' and plan to go ahead with selec-

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The unanimous decision of the 23-man executive council of the 60,000-strong Society of Civil Servants was greeted by cheers from 100 members lobbying the meeting.

A joint meeting is planned for today with the executive of the 200,000-strong Civil and Public Services Association to lay plans for co-ordinated action against the government. CPSA general secretary Bill Kendall has already demanded the recall of the TUC.

Thousands of gasworkers in Scotland and Hull joined men in London in launching an overtime ban and work-to-rule following one-day strikes on Wednesday. In Dewsbury, Yorkshire, 72 fitters, transport men and distribution workers staged a 24-hour stoppage.

Guerrillas upset Smith

RHODESIAN premier Ian Smith said last night that African tribesmen in north-eastern Rhodesia were giving food, shelter and assistance to African nationalist guerrillas.

Smith's statement is the racist government's biggest admission of failure since the anti-guerrilla campaign began. He warned that 'some pretty tough

action' would be introduced tomorrow to deal with people involved in such subversion.

He said that the guerrillas had been operating the north-east for months, 'quietly and methodically undermining the local population'. Smith claimed the guerrillas had used 'witch-doctors of doubtful character' to 'mislead' tribesmen into supporting them.

workers press

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Fighting the Tory rent Act

Workers must defend rent rebels

BY PHILIP WADE OUR HOUSING CORRESPONDENT

EVERY CLAY CROSS Labour councillor is today threatened with bankruptcy and disqualification from office for the 'crime' of fighting the Tories' despised 'fair rents' Act.

Councillors faced with disqualification



Council leader Arthur Wellon (left) with seven of his ten council colleagues who now face bankruptcy.

THE ATTACK on Clay Cross was being made by a Tory government which had no mandate for any of its policies, ARTHUR WELLON, council leader, said. 'It's a travesty of justice and totally undemocratic. We've done nothing but represent the interests of those who elected us.

'This government has never cared that what they are doing is against the wishes of the people. It has just forced through everything. While workers are to be fined for striking, and we're told prices are to be kept down, rents must be put up,' said Cllr Wellon.

'The Tories have no mandate for the Common Market, the Industrial Relations Act or the Housing Finance Act. Their mandate was to cut prices at a stroke and they've gone up 30 per cent.'

Cllr Wellon said the Tories would not get away with it. 'Class awareness is beginning to emerge. Workers are beginning to see how this government manipulates.

'In the next few weeks and months I envisage a strengthening, a polarizing of forces behind Clay Cross. And all over the country there is going to be a lot of trouble because the Tory laws are no good unless they are accepted by the majority.'

But the crucial question, he added, was one of leadership. The national executive of the Labour Party had 'kept quiet' on their fight.

Of the next period, Cllr Wellon had this to say: 'A lot depends on what guidance is given by the union leaders and the TUC.

'The way I see it the rank and file must force the union and Labour Party leaders to give a lead. They will not do it voluntarily.

'Miners, gas workers, car workers and millions of others are not going to sit back and accept it from the Tories.

'At Clay Cross we shall call on support from everyone. We want practical help in the form of the weapon to be legislated against—Industrial action.

'We're all being done legally. But the people have had enough and are beginning to rise up against the Tories,' he told Workers Press.

The 11 councillors in this small Derbyshire town — there are no Tory members — have been ordered by the district auditor to pay over £6,985 between them within 14 days.

By law the surcharge means the 11 are removed from office and cannot stand again for five years. Only a successful appeal can prevent this.

Arthur Wellon, leader of the council, told Workers Press yesterday:

'I shall be recommending we do not appeal. It has been seen we can't get any justice from this system.'

It was district auditor Charles Lacey who brought the struggle with the Tory government to a head when he sent letters out to each councillor on Wednesday evening.

On instructions from the Tories he had carried out a special investigation of the council's housing accounts.

His job had been to calculate the money missing because of Clay Cross' refusal to implement the Housing Finance Act and to order those responsible for the loss to make it good.

In a short letter he left no one in any doubt as to his findings.



Determined tenants will have to step up their fight to defend housing.

The loss 'has been incurred by the negligence and misconduct of yourself and the other members of the council', he said.

Of course none of the 11 councillors—who have unanimously and consistently opposed the Tory plans for destroying municipal housing—has the money required.

In that case the auditor will apply to the courts for orders against their property—if they have any—and for attachment of earnings.

They would, in effect, be in permanent debt to the Tory government for fighting its policies on behalf of the working class.

Disqualification takes place six weeks from yesterday if no appeal is lodged. And because of local government reorganization, the Tories are not obliged to hold fresh elections.

In such a situation, Derbyshire county council, which is run by Tories and

'Independents', could move in as a caretaker authority until Clay Cross is merged with neighbouring authorities in 1974.

Such a savage attack on the basic rights of Clay Cross workers and councillors must be taken up by the entire working class.

Clay Cross must not be left to fight alone, abandoned by the treacherous Wilson leadership in the Labour Party.

The fight can only be won if the Tories are forced to resign and a Labour government elected, pledged to carry out socialist policies and the repeal of the 'fair rents' Act and all Tory legislation.

There can be no compromise in this battle.

Derbyshire miners must demand of their leadership immediate all-out strike action in support of Clay Cross.

And the call must go out for the mobilization of the entire trade union movement to bring down this Tory government.

Man-hunt for ETA kidnappers

SPANISH police are man-hunting four Basque nationalists (ETA) who kidnapped Pamplona industrialist Felipe Huarte.

The son of a wealthy Navarre industrialist, Huarte is a consultant to his family's building company and a director of several engineering companies.

The ETA has demanded a ransom.

They also want Huarte to reinstate 100 workers and give a £20-a-month pay rise and a month's paid annual leave.

Radio Nacional, the main radio channel, lamented the plight of the industrialist's family and mentioned the ETA demand for money.

It also reported a statement from the fascist union in Pamplona condemning the kidnapping.

This latest kidnapping coincides with the trial of the kidnappers of the industrialist Zabala.

The Public Prosecutor is calling for sentences of 25 and 20 years for these ETA militants.

The ETA's acts of individual terrorism, however brave, can only lead more youth into the fascist jails.

The Zabala kidnapping led to at least 60 arrests.

Similar dangers are involved in the 'Molotov cocktail' attacks on the Madrid showrooms of Chrysler and General Motors.

UNITED STATES bombers flew their heaviest raids across South Vietnam for three months supporting South Vietnamese troops during an upsurge in heavy fighting below the demilitarized zone.

The US command said yesterday that fighter-bombers from Thailand, and carriers in the South China Sea made 335 bombing sorties across South Vietnam's four military regions during the past 24 hours.

Border is a key issue

THE NATIONAL Liberation Front of South Vietnam yesterday said its goal was still the reunification of the country, but its immediate object was 'national concord' in the south.

The statement was transmitted by the North Vietnam News Agency for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The Agency described the statement as 'important'.

SAIGON government sources said yesterday that a ceasefire agreement will be signed within the next fortnight. The exact date of signing would be determined by progress in Paris to

wrap up formalities connected with the agreement. President Nixon's envoy General Alexander Haig left Saigon yesterday morning after briefing meetings with President Thieu.

It could indicate that the PRG has accepted the continued partition of Vietnam on a temporary basis, as established in the 1954 Geneva accords.

This would be a concession to the United States and Nguyen Van Thieu's puppet dictatorship. The division of Vietnam has apparently been a major issue in the secret Paris negotiations.

President Nixon's representative, Dr Henry Kissinger, said in a news conference on December 16: 'We cannot accept the proposition that North Vietnam has a right of constant intervention in the south.'

The North Vietnamese, however, have insisted that Vietnam is one country and the Vietnamese one people. This has been a

prominent theme of Hanoi Radio broadcasts over the last few days.

South Vietnam's Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam said in Saigon on Wednesday that in the Paris talks Hanoi has refused to make any concession on withdrawing its troops from the south or re-establishing the demilitarized border zone.

In addition, Lam said, the North Vietnamese had demanded that the Provisional Revolutionary Government be given equal status with the Saigon government in any agreement. Lam said the South Vietnamese would never agree to this.

The PRG statement said reunification was a 'sacred goal', fought for by people in both halves of the country. But it added the most essential requirement at the moment was to rally all patriotic forces against the US and the puppet government.

'The council of ministers also holds that to reach the above goal, the policy of "national concord" is the most suitable to the realities of the present situation in South Vietnam.

It added that South Vietnamese who had 'strayed from the right path', but who wanted to redeem the past, would be allowed to return to the people's ranks.

American military advisers with the South Vietnamese army have been ordered by their command to pull out from ground combat areas if attacked.

Orders had been issued for 'political and humanitarian reasons' in anticipation of the fighting for territory which would follow a ceasefire declaration.

Durban is centre of strike wave

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

AFRICAN workers demanding higher wages are on strike in four different factories in Durban, South Africa. Earlier this week 16 strikers were arrested for picketing a ship-building company.

The company's 400 unskilled ship's painters and cleaners are demanding an extra 90 cents a day to bring their wages up to 3.50 rand (about £1.75). One of the employers called in the police to disperse the strikers on the

grounds that they were 'becoming a nuisance'.

Police told them either to return to work or leave the area. One of the strike-bound companies is examining the possibility of hiring convict labour from the Department of Prisons to break the strike.

The ship-building company recently awarded wage increases of 30 cents a day. But the strikers are still earning only 15.60 rand

for a six-day week and are well below the official poverty level.

Another strike by 1,500 workers at the Coronation Brick Factory won a 2.70 rand increase, bringing their wage to 11.50 rand (about £5.75) a week.

They had originally demanded a weekly wage of 30 rand, but finally accepted the company's offer when the management threatened to send them back to Zululand.

● See centre pages for an account of the Durban dockers' strike.

IAN YEATS sums up Heath's 'presidential' Press conference

Mailed fist behind Phase Two

'FAIR' was the keynote of Tory leader Edward Heath's Pompidou-style world Press conference at the ex-ducal mansion of Lancaster House on Wednesday. He explained to journalists largely from European countries, the Commonwealth and America that the government's approach to pay and prices had been a 'fair' one aimed at being 'fair' to as many people as possible.

But beneath the bland recitation of the Elysian Fields opened up by Common Market entry lay a mixture of inducements and threats.

Together with the eight other EEC countries, the UK had a prospect of 5-per-cent growth said Heath, and already since last March unemployment had dropped by 150,000. The only thing that marred the nation's future prospects in a high-productivity, high-wage economy was the spectre of inflation.

And, said Heath, referring, perhaps significantly, to the 'special powers' the government was taking: 'The whole nation realizes it is essential to deal with the problem.' He regretted that after the tripartite talks at Downing Street between the TUC, the CBI and the government the trade unions had been unable to participate in a voluntary policy of wages and price restraint.

This, he said, was a 'disappointment to the country as a whole'. But the gravity of the economic crisis facing the nation had led the government to the inescapable conclusion that it was its duty to take sole responsibility for restraining pay and prices.

As a first step the 90-day standstill had been introduced.

Said Heath: 'The whole nation has co-operated in the operation of that standstill and I want to pay tribute to it.'

Later, in reply to a question, he added that the pay standstill had been 'observed by the trade unions to the greatest extent'.

Sinister undertones to Heath's 'fairness'

Heath laid heavy emphasis on his willingness to talk to the TUC at any time.

He said the machinery for operating the pay plan had been so constructed that the moment the TUC changed its mind, it could be operated jointly.

The Downing Street talks, he said, had been 'very valuable' and the government had 'embodied as much of their [the TUC's] advice as possible' in their pay plan.

The unspoken but blatant implication was that the government might be a good deal 'fairer' if only the TUC would co-operate to the full.

There were certainly

signs that they had not totally turned their backs on the idea.

Heath disclosed that the General Council had urged him to end the standstill—not for all time—but so that Phase Two could begin without delay.

Without doubt the TUC anticipates this might generate the illusion that within certain 'fair' limits, wage bargaining was going on pretty much as before.

It could hardly be accidental that the issues on which the government chose to be specifically 'fair' were the very ones on which the TUC had campaigned most vociferously.

Priority was to be given to getting pay rises for groups of workers on low incomes.

Pensioners are to be helped.

The 2p increase in the price of school meals, due on April 1, would be cancelled to help lower-paid families.

And the rent Act would be modified to benefit poorer tenants by raising the needs allowance used to calculate rent rebates by £3.50.

Heath clearly hopes that the combined effect of this package will be to rally 'the nation' behind the government and at the same time make it easier for the TUC to help them out.

But whatever the nation or the TUC does, Heath was equally clear that the future of 'the whole country' depended exclusively on the success of the new policies which the government could not allow themselves to be deflected from implementing.

At the beginning of his speech Heath said with decision: 'We are not going to throw away the benefits we have gained from this standstill.'

And at the end of the Press conference he said:

'We see the new legislation as a permanent feature of the economy and we are determined to show the world that we can deal with inflation.'

A major reason for doing so, he explained, was that 'if we are to take advantage of the opportunities offered by going into the Common Market, then we have got to deal with competitiveness and these measures help our competitiveness.'

Both the TUC and the CBI wanted a return to free wage bargaining he said. 'But it is not possible.'

If it could be shown that free bargaining would not generate inflation, the government would listen. But it had not been shown.

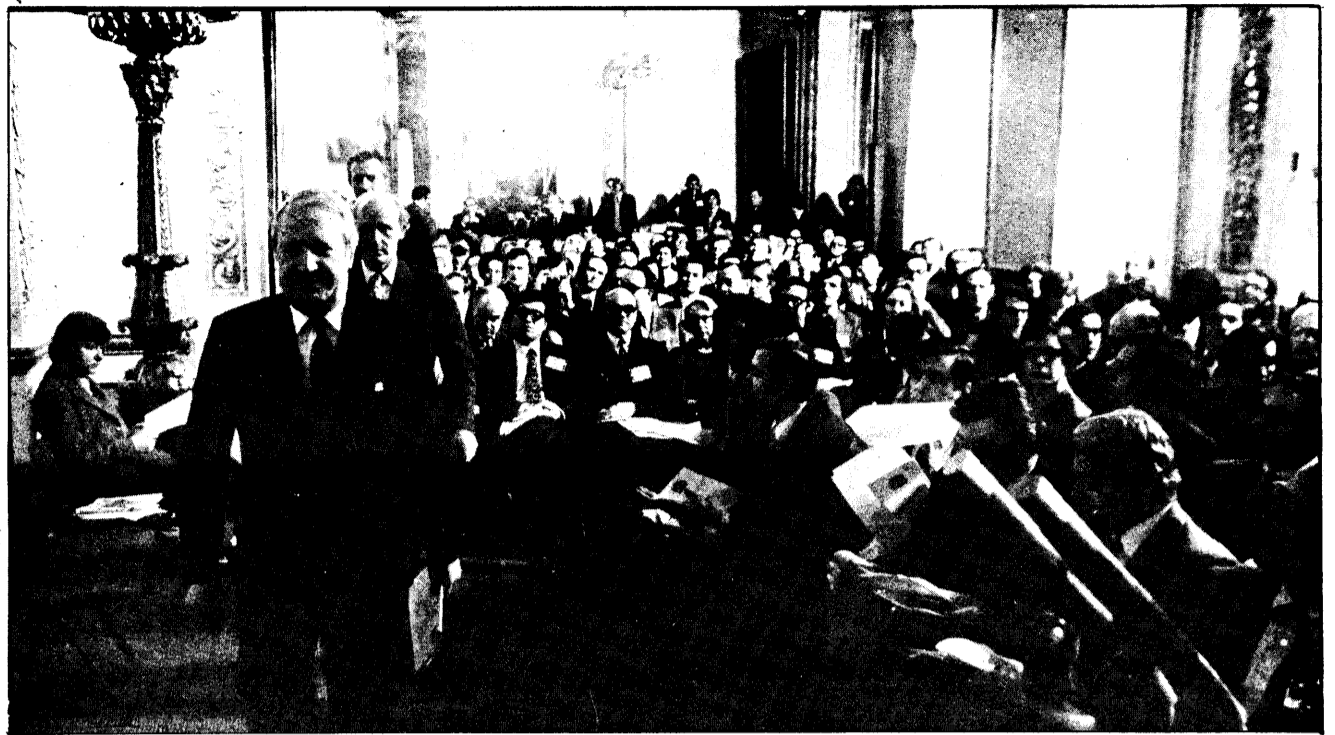
He said: 'We had considerable success until the spring of last year. But then two major settlements threatened the economy of the country'—(miners and railwaymen).

Clearly the government intends no further such threats and car workers, miners and railwaymen will be the first to feel the edge of the government's new legal clubs.

But Heath is not staking everything merely on battering individual groups of workers into line with the pay plan.

Asked if he thought that acting together the trade unions could torpedo the whole policy, Heath said pointedly they would wait and see—until the autumn.

In other words if the clubs fail, 'the nation' will almost certainly be called upon to give its verdict on the 'fairness' of the government's policies in a General Election.



The Prime Minister walks to the dais at Lancaster House—an ex-ducal mansion—for his presidential-style Press conference. Journalists remained seated and silent.

Students' grants revolt—warning

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

THE TORY government was warned last night that unless it does something soon to help students having to live on inadequate grants 'a major confrontation is inevitable'. The warning came from Professor L. C. B. Gower, vice-Chancellor of Southampton University, in his annual address to the University Court.

Students at Southampton University and at about 30 other colleges in the West Hampshire area voted earlier this week to stage a one-day strike next Thursday in support of supplementary grants in line with the cost of living increases.

And on January 29 students at Portsmouth Polytechnic will strike and demonstrate.

Professor Gower said students had a genuine grouse about their grants. Whatever the government might pretend, the facts were clear—the level of maintenance grants on which over 90 per cent of UK students were dependent had not kept pace with rising costs.

Rent strikes by students were already taking place in a number of universities and others were threatened, he said.

Inadequate grants will be made more inadequate by increased

costs the grant was never designed to cover.

And he added: 'Unless something is done about this, and done soon, a major confrontation is inevitable.' One consolation, he pointed out, was that it was not an internally divisive issue, but one in which staff, students and administrators were all victims of national policy.

The policy was unlikely to be reversed as a result of strikes or boycotts at individual universities.

'These will merely strengthen the hands of those who want to take a tough line with students and will inevitably force the universities concerned to recoup their losses by charging still more,' he said.

Gower added that so far the government had shown no sign of willingness to increase the level of grants or modify radically the policy of loan finance. All they had done was to urge that more students should be home-based.

Thomson strikes oil

NEWSPAPER baron Lord Thomson has struck it rich—in North Sea oil.

More than £1.5m was added to the stock market value of the Thomson Organization after news of an oil strike in the North Sea off Wick Island.

The discovery has been made by a consortium headed by Occidental Petroleum Corporation and includes Thomson Scottish Associates with a 20-per-cent holding.

Thomson Scottish, which is basically the Thomson family, has an agreement to pass on the major part of its stake to the Thomson Organization if the company wants it at a later date.

Powell tops poll

FOR THE fifth successive year Enoch Powell has been elected Conservative politician of the year by the Monday Club of Yorkshire.

Tory premier Edward Heath failed to attract a single vote. Cabinet Minister Geoffrey Rippon, a member of the club, also received a nil vote.

Rippon fell foul of his right-wing friends when he administered the Ugandan Asian policy.

Powell obtained 84 per cent of the votes from the club's 300 Yorkshire members.

JOHN PROFUMO, a senior minister in the Macmillan government and friend of Miss Christine Keeler, has sold off part of his holding in the Provident Life Association of London.

Profumo has notified the association that he has disposed of

30,000 'A' ordinary shares—valued at around £50,000. This leaves him with a personal holding of 164,808 'A' ordinary shares—worth about £272,000. Major Philip Profumo, his brother, is a director of the Provident.

Socialist Labour League Yorkshire Rally

**FORCE THE TORY
GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN!
BUILD THE
REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY!**

SUNDAY JANUARY 28, 7.30 p.m.
Great Northern Hotel,
Wellington Street (near Leeds station),
LEEDS

**FILM: THREE YEARS
OF WORKERS PRESS**

Speakers:

G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)
PAUL WHETSTONE (Young Socialists)

In personal capacity:

GEORGE LUBY (U.P.W.)
ROBBIE ROBERTS (N.U.M.)



Left: Gaitskell in the early 1960's at the time of Wilson's challenge to his leadership of the Labour Party.

GAITSKELL

By Jack Gale. Part two: Saved by the 'left'.

A powerful factor in stopping Hugh Gaitskell destroying the Labour Party's Clause 4 (nationalization) at the 1959 party conference was the change in relations between the unions and the right wing on the party's National Executive Committee.

Throughout the 1950s, Gaitskell—who died ten years ago yesterday—had strong right-wing trade backing.

The 'left' Frank Cousins had taken over as general secretary of the giant Transport and General Workers' Union and he clashed with Gaitskell both on Clause 4 and—like a growing number of other union leaders—on the H-bomb.

At the 1960 Party conference Cousins bluntly declared: 'You can have nationalization without socialism, but you can't have socialism without nationalization.'

In the end, Gaitskell had to settle for a compromise. In July 1960, the NEC resolved not to proceed with any amendment or addition to Clause 4, but also accepted a policy statement that no additions to the nationalization programme were contemplated.

The other major issue on

which Gaitskell came into conflict with the Labour Party ranks was the H-bomb.

He consistently and thoroughly supported the nuclear policy of United States imperialism. He was undoubtedly helped in this by Aneurin Bevan who, at the 1957 Labour Party conference, opposed unilateral nuclear disarmament saying that a British Foreign Secretary could not be sent 'naked into the Conference Chamber'.

From this point, Bevan was making his road back to Gaitskell. Yet opposition grew to the right wing as never before. In 1959 Gaitskell supported the transfer of American nuclear warheads from France to Britain, despite a motion opposing this put down by 80 Labour back-benchers.

The same year he spoke up publicly for British H-bomb tests. Despite Bevan's defection, the movement against all this was growing, as was shown by the massive Easter marches of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This reached its peak in 1960 when the Labour Party conference passed a unilateralist motion submitted by the T&GWU by 3,303,000 votes to 2,896,000.

It went on to reject the NEC's H-bomb statement by 3,339,000 votes to 3,042,000. A motion to leave NATO was

also passed.

This could have been a decisive defeat for the right. Thousands of people, especially youth, were on the march against the bomb. Powerful trade unions like the T&GWU were committed to unilateralism.

It was at this conference that Gaitskell and George Brown openly declared that conference decisions would be ignored, and in particular that such decisions were not binding on the Parliamentary Labour Party. In his notorious 'fight, fight and fight again' speech, Gaitskell served notice that all his efforts would be devoted to overturning the democratic decision of the conference.

This provoked a violent reaction. Wherever he went, Gaitskell was shouted down by members and supporters of his own party. In Liverpool he was almost mobbed when he declared his support for the American Polaris nuclear submarine base at Holy Loch in Scotland.

In 1961 the first annual conference of the Young Socialists voted 210-114 for the implementation of the unilateralist resolution and the removal of Gaitskell as leader.

The Parliamentary Labour Party failed to reflect this in any way. Gaitskell was re-

ected by 166 votes against 81 for Harold Wilson. (Wilson was a so-called 'compromise' candidate—with characteristic opportunism he had called for the nationalization of the arms industry.)

The right wing launched a counter-attack. The Campaign for Democratic Socialism was launched with the express purpose of overturning the conference vote. One of the leaders of this right-wing fifth column was Dick Taverne, now standing against the Labour Party on a pro-Common Market platform at Lincoln.

But the right wing could never have succeeded in reversing the position, as they did at the 1961 conference, had it not been for the complete capitulation of the 'Tribune'-ite 'lefts'. Despite Bevan's defection, these MPs—Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo, etc—were looked upon by many people as the alternative to the right wing. For years they had been in a minority.

Now they not only had the party ranks and many thousands outside it behind them, they also had a conference decision and the support of powerful unions.

They promptly proceeded to announce, in Michael Foot's words, that 'the debate will continue'. The debate, in the eyes of thousands of oppo-

ents of nuclear war, was over. The decision had been made. It was now the time to take up the challenge thrown down by Gaitskell and force the party leadership to carry out that decision.

The 'Tribune'-ites refused to organize a single campaign or rally to enforce the conference decision. Appeal after appeal from their followers for meetings in the key Labour areas to demand enforcement of official policy went unanswered by Foot, Mikardo and company. By their talk of 'continuing debate', they played into Gaitskell's hands and by their inaction they left the field open to him.

Gaitskell survived as leader after 1960 solely because of the failure of the reformist 'left' to fight.

One other aspect of Gaitskell's career needs mention. The 'New Statesman', in an article commemorating his death, praises him for his stand against Eden over the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956.

But Gaitskell's initial reaction to this crisis—sparked off by Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal—was to support Eden all the way!

When Eden made his initial announcement in the Commons, Gaitskell replied: 'On this side of the House we deeply deplore this high-handed and totally unjustifiable action by the Egyptian government.'

Complimenting Eden, the Labour leader went on: 'We are all grateful to him for the statement he has made about the attitude of Her Majesty's government to Colonel Nasser's action.'

He later changed his position. But this was not because he supported the Egyptians' right to take over the canal, nor because he was moved by the flood of opposition to Tory imperialism throughout the labour movement.

Gaitskell changed because he wanted to keep in line with American imperialism which, for its own ends, opposed the Tory government's action.

Gaitskell lived and died a faithful servant of imperialism—in Lenin's phrase 'a Labour lieutenant of capitalism'.

But he remained Labour Party leader until the end of his days only because the 'lefts' would not fight him.

Trotsky's analysis of an earlier generation of 'lefts' and rights in the British labour movement—made when Gaitskell was just beginning his political life—applies equally forcibly to the conflict between Gaitskell and the 'lefts' over 30 years later.

In 'Problems of the British Revolution' Trotsky wrote:

'The leading position in the Labour Party is occupied by the rights . . . gentlemen who will stop at nothing in the defence of the foundations of bourgeois society.'

'The wooliness of the British "lefts", together with their theoretical formlessness and their political indecision, not to say cowardice, makes the clique of MacDonald, Webb and Snowdon masters of the situation.'

And Trotsky pointed out that the path of the revolutionary party 'lies not only through an irreconcilable struggle against capital's special agency in the shape of MacDonald-Thomas clique, but also through the systematic unmasking of the "left" muddleheads by means of whom alone MacDonald and Thomas can maintain their positions.'

It is in such a fight against both 'the successors of MacDonald and Gaitskell and the present generation of "left muddleheads" that the revolutionary party will be formed and built in 1973.

ALEXANDROS PANAGOULIS: THE COLONELS WANT TO MURDER ME!

On August 13, 1968, Alexandros Panagoulis was arrested in Greece. Three months later a military court sentenced him to death on two counts and committed him to prison for 18 years. One death sentence was for being a deserter. Panagoulis, then a 27-year-old student, was doing his military service at the time of the colonels' coup on April 21, 1967. He refused to serve those reactionary officers. The second death sentence was for 'trying to overthrow the legal regime'. Panagoulis maintained that the colonels' regime was illegal. Two years' imprisonment were for contempt of court. He told the members of the military court that he did not recognize their right to judge him. One year was for possessing explosives and the remaining 15 years were for his alleged attempt to kill the military dictator George Papadopoulos. After suffering years of the most brutal torture, Alexandros Panagoulis managed to smuggle a letter out of prison. This is the statement:

I am writing with the hope that my letter will reach every human being who feels his duty to be indignant about crime and to fight for its abolition. With the hope that the support of the world opinion for the struggle of our people for freedom, democracy, justice and progress will become more substantial.

I am writing with the confidence that the progressive powers of all the world will help the many prisoners of the junta and with their assistance prevent our physical destruction.

I am writing lastly so that from the isolation of a prison of the junta the anathema of someone who suffers reaches all the world and hits all those who help the completion of the crime that is perpetrated against our people. At the same time I want our gratitude to reach all those who stand by us at this terrible moment.

For two years now I am in absolute isolation. I have been subjected to terrible tortures. In summary I report:

Whipping with wire and wire rope all over my body. Beating with clubs on the soles of my feet with the result that my right heel was fractured. Beating with iron bars on the chest and on the ribs with the result that two or three ribs were

broken. Burns with cigarettes on my hand and genitals.

They put a long metal needle (wire) inside my urethra and heated the extended part of the needle or wire with a cigarette lighter.

With their hands they closed my mouth and nostrils (ways of breathing) till almost to the point of asphyxiation. Kickings. Punching with the fist. Pulling the hair. Beating of my head against the wall and floor. Preventing me from sleeping. (The protagonists were Major Theofyoyannakos, Police Officers Mailios and Babalis.)

Brutal and torturing ways to force feed me by Dr Panagopoulos. I was permanently handcuffed. I was refused every possibility of defending myself by their refusal to allow me to see the brief of the prosecution prior to my trial and their refusal to allow me to see my lawyer except once on the eve of the trial and this in the presence of officers of the junta.

Threats and pressure by Theofyoyannakos during the trial. Withholding the charges I made and submitted to the Military Tribunal against Major Theofyoyannakos and Hadzizisis for forging (which is proved) my supposed defence plea produced in the brief of the prosecution document which is not valid and has not got my signature.

These all before the trial. After the 'trial' transfer from KESA (Centre of Training of the Military Police) in gangster-style November 20, 1968 to the arsenal (Nafstathmos) and from there in a naval boat under the signal R.25 (P.25) to a cell at the back of the prisons of Aegina (Island of Aegina).

They notified me that I would be executed the next morning and asked me if I wanted to ask for pardon. I refused. At dawn a detachment came outside my cell and I could hear orders being given—after a while the detachment left. I was notified that they would execute me the following day because 'today is the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and executions cannot take place'. I refused again their suggestion that I should make confession and ask for pardon. In the morning of November 22 I was told again that the execution would take place on the morning of the 23rd.

In the afternoon I was transferred to Nafstathmos with the naval boat P.21 and from there to the special questioning department of ESA. A sergeant (surely under orders) told me



Alexandros Panagoulis—managed to smuggle out a letter describing the torture of the Greek jails.

that the newspapers had announced that I had been executed adding that now 'they are going to question you as they like'.

At dawn on November 23 they put me in a car telling me 'Now all this gimmickry is over and we are definitely going for the execution'. And we went to the prison of Boyati. They threw me into a cell without a bed. The walls were damp and green with mould. Still permanently handcuffed.

I started a hunger-strike, or rather I continued it because from the day after the trial I was not taking any food. The hunger strike lasted until December 21 when they allowed my mother to visit me and promised to improve my prison conditions. However, I remained handcuffed and on the floor until the end of March.

My wrists had ulcerated and pus was running from them. My cell smelled so badly that the guards couldn't stand outside the door. Inside the cell there was a hole which I had to use for all bodily functions.

From March 20 it was impossible for me to bear the handcuffs (because of the wounds), but all they did was to remove them for two to three hours in the morning daily. From May 8 after I had been on hunger strike since Easter they put a bed in my cell and a table. And they accompanied me for 15-20 minutes in the prison yard when they had closed the other prisoners into their cells.

On June 5 I escaped—I was betrayed by Patitsas and Perdikaris and I was arrested on June 9. I stayed handcuffed in a cell in the security of Neo Ioania. I refused to make any testimony.

I went on hunger strike. I was transferred to KESA, on July 13 they removed the

handcuffs. They locked me in a cell. On July 20 I went again on a hunger strike.

On July 24 I was transferred to Boyati in strict isolation. I continued the hunger strike until September 5 (47 days). Then they promised that they would allow me to get out in the yard when I could walk and that I would get food from home and newspapers.

I started taking food. On September 10 I started again a hunger strike because, except for the newspapers, there was no other improvement. On September 24 they gave me food that my mother had sent and I started eating again. On October 18 I was arrested while trying to escape.

Handcuffs, chains at my feet, removal of the bed, no newspapers, no cigarettes, no food from home—I started a hunger strike. I was absolutely exhausted from November 13 and they started subjecting me to different tortures, psychological pressures, etc.

The sort of tortures I reported to the Representatives of the International Red Cross who visited me on January 16. I have no room and I need to write many things to give you a clear picture. My hunger strike ended on December 21 (44 days) when in a coma they put me on a bed they brought into the cell. And they removed the handcuffs, and they gave me newspapers. It took many days for me to recover. On January 16 the International Red Cross visited me.

On January 19 I was transferred to KESA strict isolation and was tortured. On February 9 I was transferred again to Boyati to a special cage-cell of cement measuring 3 metres by 1½ metres (conditions known to the Red Cross). They went on tormenting me. I am writing in summary so it is difficult to give a full picture of the conditions I face. Now

I am coming to the most tragic, for me, and more telling event for the criminal mentality of the junta.

On April 9, 1970, they attempted to murder me and after this failed they tried to present it as an attempted suicide. I told in as clear a way as I could all that had to do with the attempted murder to the Representatives of the International Red Cross on June 1. I asked to see the Public Prosecutor at the hospital where I was transferred in the evening of April 11 as well as at the prison where I was transferred while still ill. This was refused. They also refused to allow me to get in touch with my lawyer.

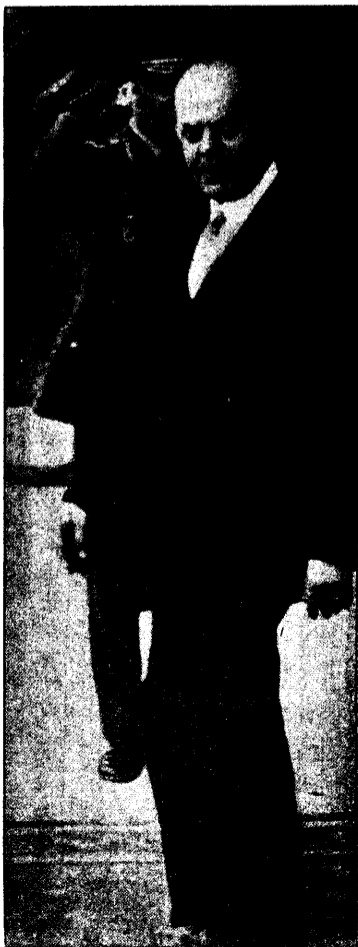
To protect myself from similar acts of the fascist junta who have not for a moment left their murdering intent, I make this accusation publicly. With the hope that this letter of mine will be a testimony with the power and the ability to protect also the life of other prisoners who are in strict isolation.

I certify on my word of honour and on oath the truth of my denunciation. I would not have done this publicly if I didn't know that as perfectly as the junta had prepared my murder they did make one mistake.

When there will be justice in our country again I will bring all the evidence and testimonies which prove this criminal act. From the personnel of the prisons only one or two people are involved in this. From April 22 until May 21 (30 days) I did not take food. They brought in the Military Dr Panagopoulos who repeated his tortures on May 20. On the 21st I was told they would allow me to see my mother and I accepted food.

Let the world's morals and sense of justice protect us.

Signed: A. Panagoulis



Greek Colonel, Papadopoulos.



PROFESSIONAL POVERTY

The Tories' West End wage-cut—their order slashing back wages in London's theatreland to their pitiful level before last November—is not just brutal. It's sadistic.

For a survey just completed by the actors' union, Equity, shows that despite the enormous rise in the cost of living members' average earnings hardly increased over six years. And even without the government putting the boot in the vast majority of actors and actresses face a constant struggle against pauperism and the dole queue.

So when Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan sat down on January 1 to sign his

order, it was no bureaucratic formality under the Counter-Inflation (Temporary Provisions) Act. He was using the knife, turning it in the wound and rubbing in salt as well.

The order told the Society of West End Theatre Managers not to pay a £5 rise due to go out in wage-packets at the end of that week.

It also instructed them to withdraw a £7 rise which they had been paying since November 13—before the pay-control Bill went onto the Statute Book. This instruction has reduced the minimum wage of West End actors to £18 a week for shows and £12 for rehearsals.

The only thing standing between Maurice Macmillan and an immediate demonstration of the

actors' anger has been the servile attitude of one section of the Equity leadership to the Tories and the hesitations and doubts of another section.

Falling back on 'law and order' arguments, the right wing on the union's executive voted solidly against proposals for immediate industrial action, the recall of the TUC and a campaign by the whole of the trade union movement to remove the Tories from office.

Others abstained. Yet the proposals, it is believed, still won the support of a sizeable minority on the executive.

The only firm decision taken, however, was to call a meeting of the West End membership.

This meeting is to take

place in just over a week's time, on January 28. So far the Equity top brass have no policy to place before it.

If the 'law and order' brigade on the executive can afford their prejudices, the union's own survey of employment and earnings proves that their members cannot.

The survey—based on returns for the year 1971 from 5,000 actors and actresses—shows that of Equity members:

- Six out of ten earn less than £1,000 a year.
- Four out of ten go on the dole at least once in 12 months.
- Seven out of ten are out of work at any one time.

Many actors argue that this statement of the unemployment position is in fact an underestimate. Over 90 per cent are without work at any one time, they claim.

Poorest paid in 1971 were extras and those in walk-on parts. These made just over £200 from their work in the profession. Higher in the poverty scale were chorus dancers, actors, stage managers and chorus singers at between £600 and £1,000.

But even the higher-paid groups earned far less than

the average wage in British industry and services as a whole.

Variety artistes, for example, earned £1,040 on average, ballet dancers £1,143 and singers £1,406.

Only about 700 of Equity's 20,000 members earned £5,000 or more a year, it is estimated. Most actors at the peak of their careers, between 41 and 50, still had to make do with £1,140 a year on average.

The survey found that only about 4 per cent of the membership did no work at all in 1971, but the amounts of work found were pitifully small.

For men in weekly work, the average number of weeks worked was only 25. Women employed on a weekly basis worked an even smaller proportion of the year—only 22.5 weeks.

For those employed by the day—on television, radio, films, concerts and in clubs—the average number of days worked was 31 for men and only 17 for women.

In the West End, where 18 per cent of Equity's members were to be found that year, the median average* number of weeks worked was only 16.9.

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MEMBERS OF
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NO CHEERS FOR THE TORIES AT 'APPLAUSE'

Two-and-a-half years of Tory rule have gone a long way to breaking up the backstage mystique, the 'show must go on' mentality and the personal loyalty to managements which have held actors back in the past.

Backstage at one of London's newest musicals, 'Applause' at Her Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket, the change of mood is noticeable. When Universal started auditioning outsiders for a TV-film version last week without informing the union, the management almost had a walk-out on their hands.

Stanley McGeah, the Equity deputy at the theatre, welcomes the change.

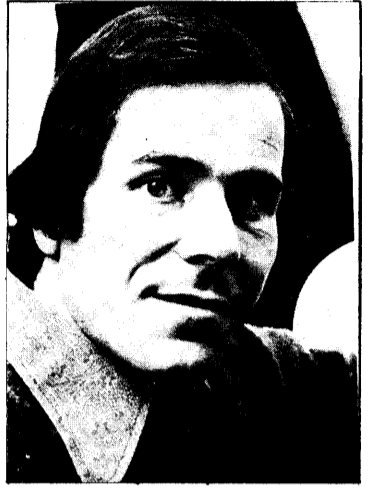
'There's a lot more militancy around now', he says. 'Although the leadership's always letting the members down, more and more people are prepared to stand up for themselves and speak out. That's not easy in a profession like this, where pretty well everything you say even in closed meetings gets back to the managements, but people's confidence is growing.

'It's surprising the impact the willingness of just a few people to speak out has had.'

The son of a Belfast shipyard worker—'at one stage it was touch and go for me between the yards and acting'—Stanley saw first hand at an early age the brutal mechanics of divide and rule.

But on entering the theatre he exchanged poverty and unemployment, underpinned by imperialist partition and deliberately - fostered sectarian strife, for poverty and unemployment underpinned by money-hungry managements, rotten union leadership and the ever-present threat of victimization.

Both Stanley McGeah and his actress wife have experienced long periods of unemployment. They can both tell



Stanley McGeah, the Equity deputy at Her Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket, where the musical 'Applause' is showing.

the bitter story behind the cold statistics of the Equity survey.

At the moment, Stanley is among the lucky minority of actors in work and earning something approaching a living wage.

But when he started in the business 12 years ago it was £11 for slogging round the clock when in work, poorly-paid labouring jobs or the dole when out of it. And as Stanley himself says:

'Even for those of us who are working now there's a real hard centre in the actors' old phrase "You're only as good as your next job".'

It was into this situation, with prices and rents rocketing for actors the same as everyone else, that Macmillan and Tory premier Heath threw their January 1 'don't pay' order to the employers.

And this isn't the only aspect of the Tory attack. Stanley McGeah and the other actors at Her Majesty's have just discovered that the 10 or 15 per cent of their salaries that go out in agents' fees are to be subjected to Value-Added Tax—another 1 or 1½ per cent.'

Meanwhile 'Applause' continues to gross an estimated £17,500 a week for the employers...



1972: Actors from 'Hair' lobby a meeting to demand their full claim.

right wing at a recent executive meeting assumes the proportions of an insult to the entire membership of Equity.

This was in response to a tentative offer from the employers to pay the wages stopped by the government into the union's benevolent fund. Some members of the executive seriously wanted to give this proposal house room. People who could not get by on their Tory-shrunk pay could go to the fund as hardship cases, they said.

The union has now accepted a £1,000 hand-out from the employers to its benevolent fund.

But the hard facts of life for the majority of union members indicate that such Marie Antoinette policies are in for a decisive pounding on January 28.

* The median average of a set of numbers arranged in order of size is the middle number. Equity used this measure because the more usual mean average (total divided by number of respondents) would tend to give a distorted picture.

membership in repertory theatres, the position was even worse. The average number of weeks worked by those who had a job at all was 12.4.

Television, which employed half the union's membership during the year, provided each of them with only 17 days' work on average.

The survey found that median annual earnings excluding repeat fees, royalties and other residual payments were £835.

The top earning age is 41-50—the age at which the greatest percentage are working in the mechanical media and clubs. But despite their higher earnings over a quarter of this group earned less than £500. And in the 31-40 year bracket, where median earnings were £986, a third earned less than £500.

In the 21 to 25 age bracket over half earned less than £750.

Professional broadcasters were the highest paid group, with median earnings of £1,730.

They were followed by opera singers at £1,406, theatre directors at £1,352, concert and session singers at £1,219, ballet dancers at £1,143 and variety artists at £1,040.

The lowest paid group were extras and walk-ons with median annual earnings of £212.

For the rest, actors earned £785; stage management £930; chorus dancers £611; and chorus singers £980.

Distribution was in direct proportion to professional income. Temporary work was done by 49 per cent of those earning less than £250; 23 per cent of those earning £1,501-£1,750; 8 per cent of those earning £3,001-£4,000; 3 per cent of those earning £5,001-£7,500 and none earning over £10,000.

The number of people doing temporary work decreased in direct proportion to age. Around half of those aged up to 25 did some temporary work; a third of those aged 31-40 and a fifth of those aged 41-50.

Seven per cent of those aged 66 or over did some temporary work.

Very few people earned very much from temporary work—nearly two thirds earned less than £250 and the median was £210. The earnings were indiscriminately low for all ages, the survey found.

In the light of these findings, one suggestion made by the

BACKSTAGE UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1971

'Weekly' category WEEKS WORKED	MEN (per cent)	WOMEN (per cent)	ALL MEMBERS (per cent)
None	3	5.5	4
None in weekly category	27.5	30.5	29
1-5	6.5	7.5	6
6-10	8	7.5	8
11-20	13.5	13.5	13
21-30	13.5	14	13
31-40	11	10	10
41-52	17	11.5	17
TOTAL	100	100	100

'Daily' category DAYS WORKED	MEN (per cent)	WOMEN (per cent)	ALL MEMBERS (per cent)
None	3	5.5	4
None in weekly category	23.5	27.5	25
1-5	11.5	15	13
6-10	7.5	9	8.5
11-15	5	7	6
16-20	5	5	5
21-30	7.5	7.5	7.5
31-40	5.5	5	5
41-50	3.5	3.5	3.5
51-100	12.5	8	10.5
101-200	9	5	7.5
201+	6.5	2	4.5
TOTAL	100	100	100

WHY THE UDA CALLED OFF THE KILLINGS

Little mention—if any—has been made in the Tory Press in Britain about the strange interlude recently in the assassination by Protestant extremists of Roman Catholic workers in Northern Ireland.

In the 14 days leading up to and including January 2, 14 innocent people were butchered. By all appearances, they were victims of a random Catholic-killing campaign.

The campaign had been gathering momentum up until that date. Then strange events began to take place.

In the period from January 2 to 13 there was not one instance of an Ulster Catholic being murdered for the offence of belonging to the 'rebellious minority'.

What happened in the meantime to cause such a sudden reversal of reality? Claud Gordon, journalist on the Dublin 'Sunday Press' has put it all down to a crucial meeting on that 'significant date, January 2'.

'The British overlord in the six counties, William Whitelaw, had a conference at Stormont with the leaders of the Orange Order. And, by all accounts, he complained to them very bitterly. He told them he didn't like all this butchering that was going on,' Gordon wrote last week.

'Why not? Was it doing him any harm? Was it basically immoral? Well, no, not quite. He simply explained patiently to his listeners—according to all official Stormont accounts—that if the killings continued it would only "lead to demands" for troops to be diverted from their task of "leaning" on the Catholic population.'

Gordon's article went on: 'And that wouldn't suit British policy at all. And it wouldn't suit the Orange leaders either, if the troops were obliged to "lean" equally heavily on other areas. To avoid the necessity of opening a second front, it was kindly explained to them that the killings would have to cease.'

'Moralistic lectures about wickedness of murder were noticeably absent.' More effective than all the 'sermons from clergymen and all the orations from "moderate" politicians were lessons in political strategy relating to overall British intentions'. The killings came to a halt.

Every 'political simpleton and hypocrite' welcomed the statement a few days later from the Ulster Defence Association, publicly proclaiming a halt to the murdering and warning the assassins to cease their nefarious work.

But, as Gordon pointed out, only a few drew out the implications of the change. The UDA had, by all appearances, been given the authority to switch the murder campaign on and off—something they have since shown they have the ability to do.

'The only practical influence which the UDA could exert would be an influence based on a knowledge of who the murderers are,' Gordon added.

This open collaboration between the British occupation forces and extreme right-wing elements in Northern Ireland was further cemented when various swoops took place on IRA suspects who were rounded up as matter of convenience.

'It showed that if the loyalists refrained from "diverting" the troops, the troops could be trusted to pursue, harass and round up suitable members of the "rebellious minority",' concluded Gordon.



BOND-SLAVE REVIVAL IN THE RAG-TRADE

The case of the Filipino mill girls of Rochdale gave workers a lurid glimpse of conditions in the rag-trade.

All 103 of them were recruited in their homeland by the Oriental Domestic Agency, an organization run by Douglas Burn in London's exclusive Regent's Park area.

Lured, they said, by promises of earning up to £40, they were given UK work permits with remarkable ease and handed over to the Alderglen Manufacturing Company of Rochdale.

Many of them were forced to live in conditions of squalor in the gloomy Rochdale back streets. Some lived nine to a room in company houses — conditions which appalled the town's health and safety officer Henry Reapper who described them as a fire hazard.

The expectation on pay proved groundless. The girls found that their minimum earnings were £13—only £1 above the statutory minimum fixed by the rag-trade wages council (girls who came before the 103 in fact worked on the £12 minimum).

To earn the wages apparently promised long hours of over-

time were necessary. But worst of all Alderglen had revived something similar to the bond-slave system by which cheap labour was attracted and kept in Britain's colonies over 100 years ago.

Apart from deductions for their rent and air fare to Britain, the girls found they were required to pay £1 to a fund. If they broke their contract and left the firm before two years, not a penny of this money was paid back. In addition £200 was deducted from the fund.

Management admitted this deterrent was used to stop the girls from fleeing Rochdale.

When the news broke, Alderglen quickly attempted to improve the workers' status. The fund was scrapped and an offer of a free flight home extended to the girls. Subsequently eight have decided to leave. Meanwhile the search is on in Rochdale for better accommodation for the rest.

Alderglen is typical of the many small firms in this industry which employ 295,000 women and 79,000 men. Wages, according to a DEP survey, are £26.20 for men and £14 for women. Output fluctuates violently on a seasonal basis, leading to immediate short time and sackings.

Because of this, and because of the general air of depression that hangs over the textiles and clothing trade in Lancashire towns like Rochdale, employers find it difficult to recruit local labour. Therefore they spread their net abroad.

The immigrant workers are less aware of their rights and certainly less able to defend them. A survey in April last year uncovered a factory on the south employing 120 women—mainly Punjabis from India and east Africa.

All the women and girls were involved on brasserie making on one of three different types of machine. Much of the work came on contract from well-known chain stores. Of the 25 women interviewed, the highest paid earned £18 a week take-home pay; the lowest was £5 and the average was a fantastic £9.70. The firm, in fact, paid below the statutory minimum.

Profits in the industry can be substantial. Alderglen paid its eight shareholders a large 30-per-cent dividend—£22,000 in the year ending March 1972. Another £40,000 profit was transferred to the reserves.

The smaller firms in the industry are often controlled by a tightly-knit group. In the case of Alderglen's board of six, three—the chairman, the managing director and another



Mr Stanley Rubin, chairman of Alderglen. Above: some of the girls who opted to go back home. director—share the name of Rubin.

The highest-paid director received £9,500, four others received between £2,500 and £5,000 and the chairman, Stanley Rubin, £2,750.

Two new directors, Sidney Brighton and Gillian Yorke, have an income from 1,000 A ordinary shares on top of their salaries.

Another director, P. S. Rubin, has the biggest holding on the board of 11,500 ordinary shares and 3,250 A ordinary shares.

He and a Phyllis Weil, of Stourcliffe Close, London, (15,000 ordinary and 5,500 A ordinary shares) are the biggest single shareholders. Another Rubin, Queenie Rubin, also of London, owns 8,500 ordinary and 3,250 A ordinary shares.

These holdings make up the bulk of the 51,600 ordinary and 22,000 A ordinary shares held by the eight members of the company.

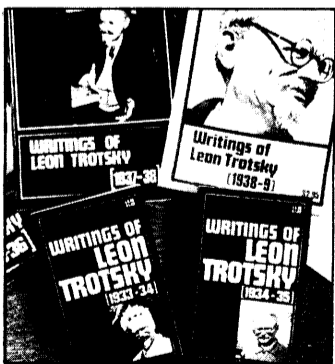
The firm's reports show a total wage bill for the year of £396,149 on 579 employees—an average wage of about £13.50 a week for the 12 months to March last year.

This pattern of small companies and high profits, shared between a few individuals, often related, is repeated throughout the rag-trade. (H. S. Rubin, for example, has directorships in 19 other firms, mainly clothing, one of which, John Haasan of Basford Ltd, is in liquidation.)

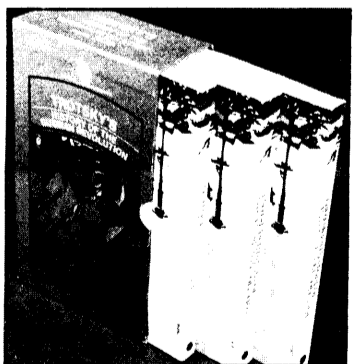
The industry's conditions and the separation of immigrant workers from white workers are the breeding ground for racialism. In the recent Rochdale by-election a growth of racialism was only too apparent.

There must be a struggle begun in the clothing and textile unions to conduct a ruthless campaign to unite both coloured and white workers behind a fight for nationalization — the only answer to closures, short-time and depression in towns like Rochdale.

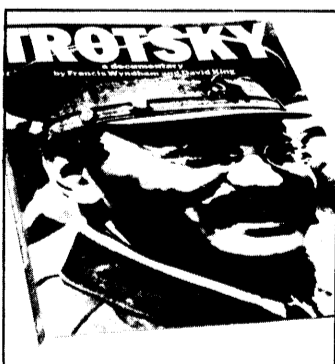
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WORKERS NOTEBOOK

EXPENSIVE

Meet Bobby Acland, mine host at the Black Raven pub in Bishopsgate in the City of London. He's no ordinary publican. Not the sort who has a quiet light and bitter under the counter.

Acland is going into the 1973 edition of the Guinness Book of Records as the champion champagne drinker.

He gets through three bottles of champers a day most days of the year. At more than £3 a bottle that's very expensive drinking.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

The man behind the warm relations between US imperialism and the bureaucrats in Moscow is held to be Henry Kissinger.

As President Nixon's personal adviser on national security he did all the footwork leading up to the summit.

His wily diplomacy has been applauded by the bourgeois media.

Now, it seems, another member of the Kissinger family is about to receive the fruits of this turn in US foreign policy.

Henry Kissinger's brother, Walter B. Kissinger (48), is head of one of two companies in the final bidding for a multi-million dollar contract to build 500 petrol stations in Moscow.

Walter Kissinger is chairman and chief executive of the Allen Group, a glamour stock of the 1960s which has diversified interests.

The Allen Group's wholly-owned West German subsidiary, A. Rohe Company, is handling the bargaining, according to Kissinger.

'I resent some people's suggestion that I am involved and that my brother has something to do with it.' Talks have been in progress a year and a decision is expected in mid-1973.

The cost of building 500 petrol stations in the US would be about \$125m; the negotiating figure with the Soviet Union is not being disclosed.

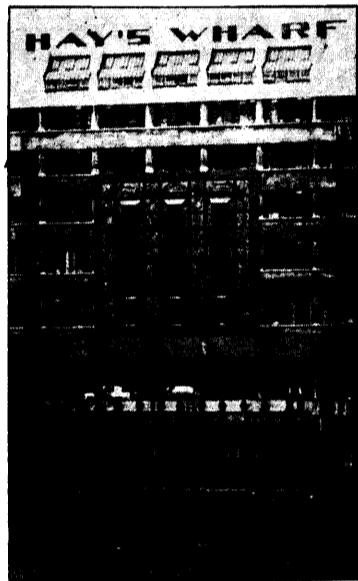
Through its Rohe subsidiary

the Allen Group is already active in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The Allen Group expects about \$150m in revenue from 1972, including \$24m from the Rohe operations.

COMFORT

There'll be weeping throughout London dockland with the news that Mr G. E. Tonge, CBE, JP, is to retire.

He has resigned as a director of Hay's Wharf and from the chairmanship of the Council of the London Wharfingers' Association.



'Big Bill, Tonge, or the 'Archbishop' as he was popularly known, is to retire from active life in the docks industry.

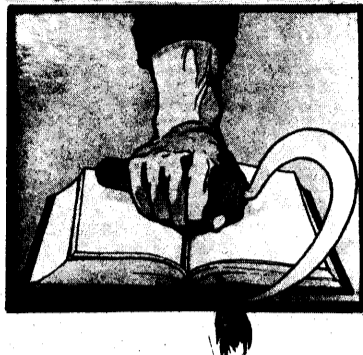
He is expected to spend his retirement in considerable comfort. After Hay's Wharf was run down the company moved into transport and container depots. The property was sold off for a handsome profit.

DJ SHOT DEAD

The disc jockey at the Alabama radio station was broadcasting to his listeners. Suddenly an argument broke out between the announcer and one of his colleagues. In mid-announcement the colleague pulled out a gun and shot the DJ dead.

THE REVOLUTION THAT FAILED

BOOK REVIEW



'FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION: Germany 1918-19'. By Sebastian Haffner. Translated by Georg Rapp. Andre Deutsch. £2.50. Illustrated. Published yesterday.

PART TWO

Ebert's Social Democratic government, more particularly Ebert himself, worked closely with the Army High Command in 1918-1919 to wrest power away from the workers' and soldiers' councils and to 'clear Berlin of Spartacists' (i.e. the supporters of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht).

The full extent of the secret understanding between Ebert and General Groener for the army was only known many years afterwards. In fact the chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) gave every encouragement to military reaction which the workers' and soldiers' councils wanted to smash.

Already on December 6, 1918, a Spartacist demonstration had been fired on and six people were killed. On Christmas Eve a still bloodier clash took place, this time between the People's Naval Division and troops called in by Ebert. Workers, with women and children, poured into the streets and ensured the victory of the sailors.

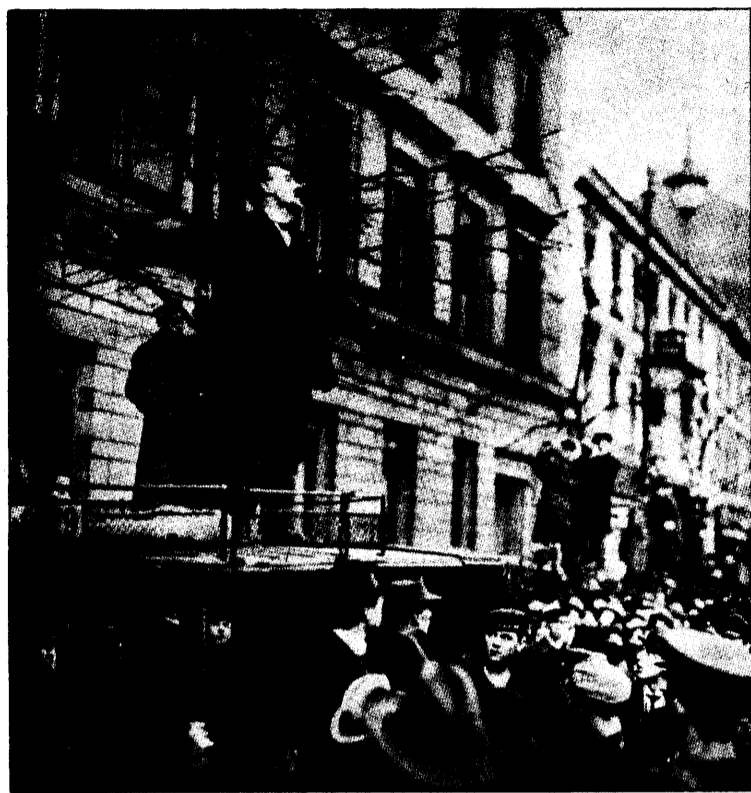
Again there was no leadership to take advantage of this success: it was followed within days by a decisive defeat. Haffner writes:

'The fate of the German Revolution was decided in Berlin during the week of January 5 to 12, 1919. History remembers it as Spartacus Week—but wrongly. What happened that week was not a communist rising against the Social Democratic government. It was an attempt by the Berlin workers to regain what they had won on November 9 and 10 and had meanwhile half lost, and to regain it by the same means as before.'

Despite the existence now of the German Communist Party (KPD), founded at the end of December, leadership was once again lacking. The 'spontaneous mass explosion' ended in defeat. No one gave orders for a decisive onslaught on government buildings.

'The KPD had neither foreseen nor desired the January rising, they had neither planned nor guided it. They were in fact horrified by the unplanned, leaderless, mass stampede', writes Haffner.

Once again a spontaneous uprising of the masses proved unable to prevail against the counter-revolutionary cunning of Ebert and his military backers. Noske, another Social Democratic leader, brought in the army freebooters, the extreme right-wing embryo fascists, the 'Freikorps' to repress the workers. 'Someone has got



January 5, 1919: Karl Liebknecht speaks to workers of Berlin.

to be the bloodhound', he said. The name stuck.

Under the direction of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske a bloody civil war was unleashed against the workers throughout Germany from January to March, 1919. It was heralded by the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by Guards officers under SDP instigation.

The potential leaders of the German Revolution were quickly put away. Their murder, says Haffner:

'... was historically the most potent event in the drama of the German Revolution.'

It effectually beheaded the leadership which might have been able to turn the tide. As recently as 1962 a Press hand-out from Bonn tacitly justified the murders which were described as 'executions by shooting under martial law'. Thousands more were murdered in the following months.

Ebert and Noske let loose 400,000 armed men against the working class to save the new bourgeois republic and capitalism in Germany. Haffner tends to make them out more unsuspecting and confused than they really were. The ruthlessness of the repression was so obvious, and the reactionary nature of the Freikorps and army chiefs so open, that they must have been fully aware of what they were doing.

Was Ebert a victim of 'a strange trait of blinkered incomprehension', as Haffner claims? It does not seem likely. Ebert had supported the war, co-operated with the army and wanted the victory of Imperial Germany.

Only in Munich, where there was a determined revolutionary leadership which knew what it wanted, did the working class enjoy a brief success. Here two outstanding leaders appeared. The first was Kurt Eisner, who Haffner says, was *'... the only man in Germany who had enough shrewd insight to grasp what the German Revolution was aiming at and ably to assist its birth.'*

But Eisner was shot down by an assassin in February 1919. There followed a period of immense turbulence in the course of which another remarkable figure emerged, Eugen Levine. Tragically he took control of the revolution when it was already doomed. The man Haffner regards as

'quite unlike Liebknecht or Rosa Luxemburg, was perhaps made of the stuff to become a German Lenin or Trotsky' could only fight a rearguard action. He was taken prisoner, tried and shot. He died shouting 'Long Live World Revolution'.

Despite some shortcomings, Haffner's book gives a vivid glimpse of the character of the German Revolution, but it provides no documentation, no references and its treatment of many aspects is summary in the extreme. It sets out to demolish three 'legends' that there was really no revolution at all, that it was a Bolshevik revolution imported from Russia and that German defeat in 1918 was brought about by 'a stab in the back'.

Haffner's position is that the *'... revolution is no disgrace. Coming after four years of starvation and exhaustion it was something to be proud of. The disgrace was its betrayal (and the German working class) ... never recovered from the blow.'*

The conclusion remains ambiguous. The revolution could only have been safeguarded if it could have broken the power of the bourgeois state and established the dictatorship of the revolution. For this a revolutionary party was necessary. The lessons of the events of 1918-1919 must begin there. Haffner appears to believe that there could have been some other kind of revolution—it is not made clear which.

In any case he is pessimistic about the future. He claims: *'The German workers' revolutionary tradition is extinguished.'*

That is not so, either in the west or the east. It can and must be re-kindled, however low it may seem to burn at the present time. When the powerful and well-organized German working class rediscovers its revolutionary and Marxist traditions, it will quickly settle accounts with the monopoly capitalists in the west and the bureaucracy in the east.

In this historic task of re-birth, the understanding of the lessons of the failed revolution of 1918-1919 will have an indispensable part to play. Haffner's book, for all its author's pessimism, can make a contribution and it should be widely read in this country, as it has already been in Germany.

BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Where is Britain Going? Paperback 37p

Problems of the British Revolution Paperback 35p

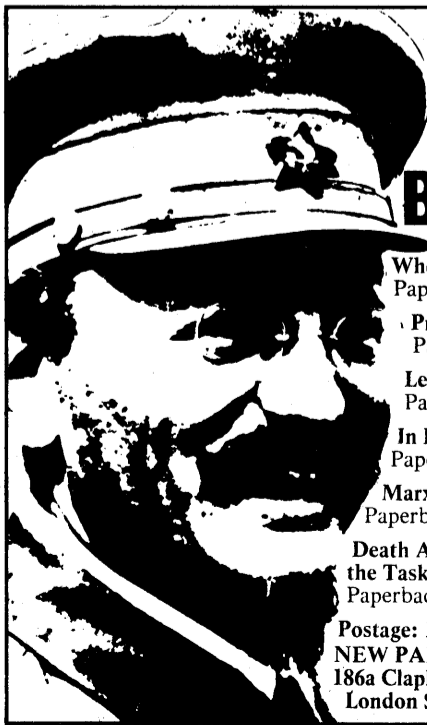
Lessons of October Paperback 60p

In Defence of the October Revolution Paperback 15p

Marxism and the Trade Unions Paperback 25p

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International Paperback 10p

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TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

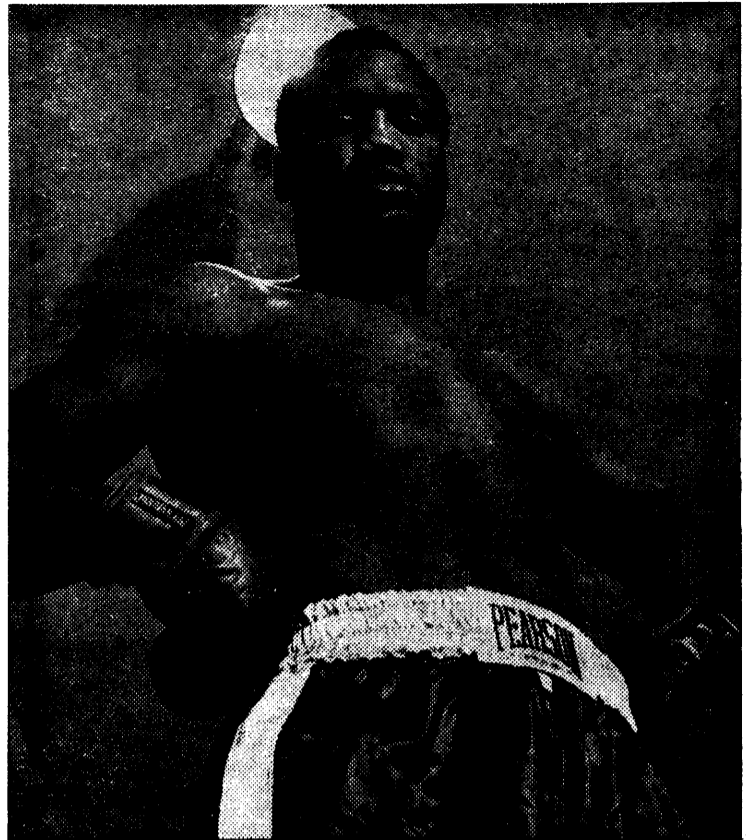
9.38-11.48 Schools. 12.25 Y garej. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Teddy Edward. 1.45 Television doctor. 2.06 Schools. 2.25 Children talking. 2.35 Parkinson. 3.35 Tomorrow's world. 4.00 Clangers. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Help. 5.15 Record breakers. 5.40 Magic roundabout. 5.45 News. Weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.50 DROOPY.
7.00 THE VIRGINIAN: MEN FROM SHILOH. The Animal.
8.15 MORECAMBE AND WISE SHOW. Guests Lulu, Rostal and Schaefer.
9.00 NEWS. Weather. **9.25 CANNON.** Country Blues.
10.15 IN THIS CORNER: JOE FRAZIER. A portrait of the Heavy-weight Champion of the World.
11.00 THE DIMBLEBY TALK-IN. 11.45 NEWS.
11.50 FILM: 'IN THE GOOD OLD SUMMERTIME'. Judy Garland. A shop assistant carries on a romantic correspondence with an anonymous pen-friend. 1.30 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.05 Inigo Pipkin. 12.25 Happy house. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Time was . . . 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Junkin. 3.25 Marcus Welby MD. 4.20 Elephant boy. 4.50 Maggie. 5.20 Nanny and the professor. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS.
7.00 THE PROTECTORS. Talkdown. **7.30 IT'S ALL IN LIFE.**
8.00 UPSTAIRS, DOWNSTAIRS. A Family Gathering.
9.00 HAWAII FIVE-O. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 POLICE FIVE.
10.40 FILM: 'REACH FOR GLORY'. Harry Andrews, Kay Walsh, Michael Anderson Jr. Life for a Jewish boy in England during World War II. **12.10 DEAR LORD. . .**
12.15 JASON KING. To Russia with . . . Panache.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Film: 'A Clear and Present Danger'. 4.23 Puffin. 4.25 Flintstones. 4.50 London. 5.20 Junkin. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 London. 7.30 FBI. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 Tommy Steele. 10.00 London. 10.35 Film: 'Don't Talk to Strange Men'. 11.45 News, weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 10.32 News. 11.45 Faith for life.
SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Galloping gourmet. 3.25 Saint. 4.20 Weekend. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.35 It's all in life. 7.05 Sale of the century. 7.35 Film: 'Foreign Exchange'. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: 'The Bobo'. 12.20 News. 12.30 Weather.
HARLECH: 9.30 London. 1.00 A place of her own. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Chuckle-berry. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 Film: 'Sailor of the King'. 9.00 Tommy Steele. 10.00 London. 10.30 It's all in life. 11.00 Press call. 11.30 Never mention murder. 12.30 Weather.
HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25-4.50 Stesion cantamil. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Sports arena. 11.00 Dragon and the lion. 11.45 UFO. 12.45 Weather.
HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.
ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 About Women. 3.00 London. 3.30 Dick Van Dyke. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Tommy Steele. 8.30 All in life. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.00 Film: 'Kiss of Evil'.
ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Today. 12.05 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.20 Forest rangers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 UFO. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 Tommy Steele. 10.00 London. 10.30 Spectrum. 11.00 Name of the game.
ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.32 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women only. 3.55 Yoga. 4.23 News. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 UFO. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 Tommy Steele. 10.00 London. 10.30 North country. 10.55 Film: 'Straitjacket'.
YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Nanny and the professor. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 London. 8.00 Tommy Steele. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 North country. 10.55 Film: 'Straitjacket'.
GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Felix the cat. 12.05 London. 3.25 Shirley's world. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.15 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00



Joe Frazier, world heavyweight champion, meets George Foreman in a title fight next Monday in Jamaica. Tonight at 10.15 on BBC 1 Harry Carpenter looks into his background.

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Girls from the recent Barbours' rainwear strike in the north.

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BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.
7.05 HAMMER IT HOME. Working with laminates.
7.30 NEWS. Weather. **7.35 COME FISHING.**
8.00 MONEY AT WORK. Beyond the Freeze.
9.00 SIX FACES OF ROYALTY. Charles I—The Making of a Martyr.
9.15 FILM: 'DEAD LANDSCAPE'. Second film by Hungarian director Istvan Gaal.
10.45 FILM NIGHT. Miklos Rosza, Hollywood composer. **11.15 NEWS.** Weather.

News. 6.30 It's all in life. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.10 Film: 'Red Skies of Montana'. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Kick off. 10.55 Film: 'Man in the Attic'.
TYNE TEES: 9.25 Prologue. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Yoga. 3.00 London. 3.25 Dangerman. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Me and the chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 It's all in life. 8.00 Tommy Steele. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 North country. 10.55 Film: 'Murder in Reverse'. 12.35 News. 12.40 Lectern.
SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 3.30 It takes a thief. 4.25 Nanny and the professor. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Film: 'Man in the Saddle'. 8.00 Tommy Steele. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Friday night. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Hawaii five-o. 12.00 Love American style.
GRAMPIAN: 10.58 Schools. 12.05 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.50 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Good afternoon. 3.55 Shirley's world. 4.25 And mother makes three. 4.50 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Ride Back'. 8.25 Police news. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Points North. 11.00 Job look. 11.05 Film: 'The Man Who Could Cheat Death'. 12.30 Meditation.

All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

- BARKING:** Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, corner of Fanshawe Ave./Lagbridge Road.
- HARROW:** Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Harrow and Wealdstone.
- CLAPHAM:** Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.
- WANDSWORTH:** Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Tooting Broadway, SW17.
- KINGSTON:** Thursday February 1, 8 p.m. 'Liverpool Arms', (corner of Cambridge Road/London Road).
- CAMBRIDGE:** Thursday February 1, 8 p.m. 'The Rose and Crown', corner of Newmarket Road and East Road.
- Fight Rising Prices**
Force the Tories to Resign
Support the Engineers
- CONISBOROUGH:** Monday January 22, 7.30 p.m. 'The Castle Inn'. 'How can workers fight the Tory offensive?'
- ACTON:** Tuesday January 23, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Street, W3.
- SOUTHALL:** Tuesday January 23, 8 p.m. The Library, Osterley Park Road.
- EAST LONDON:** Tuesday January 23, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Market Square, Crisp Street Market, E.14.
- LEICESTER:** Wednesday January 24, 8 p.m. Queen's Hotel, Rutland Street.
- MIDDLETON:** Thursday January 25, 7.30 p.m. 'The Cardinal's Hat', Wood Street, Middleton. 'Stop Rising Prices. Force the Tories Out.'
- WILLESDEN:** Thursday January 25, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW10.
- LEEDS:** Thursday, January 25, 8 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'The state pay plan'.
- MIDDLESBROUGH:** Sunday January 28, 7.30 p.m. Settlement Community Centre, Newport Road.
- ROCHESTER:** Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. 'The Greyhound', Rochester Avenue.

An appeal on behalf of the Fine Tubes strikers of Plymouth

THE Plymouth Fine Tubes strikers have just completed two years and seven months on strike.
 These men have waged a bitter struggle for the most basic right a worker can possess—the right to belong to a trade union.
 Strike committee members have travelled over 100,000 miles to sustain their fight.
 These latest months have been the hardest of all for the men, their wives and 53

children. Common Market entry, with rapidly rising prices, has imposed a severe financial burden. The 37 strikers face the challenging months ahead with a depleted strike fund—this is in a period when meat has now become a luxury for all but the highest paid. January is always a difficult month to raise money to further their fight.
 Yet they are determined to fight on. This is a struggle the working class cannot afford to

lose. That is why the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press wishes to make a special appeal to all trade unionists to take collections in their factories and branches for the Fine Tubes men in order that their heroic and determined action can be carried forward. All money should be sent to:
Fine Tubes Treasurer
c/o 65 Bretonside
Plymouth, Devon.

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Fill in the form below and send to **NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186a CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON SW4 7UG.**

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The language of Bonapartism

MR ROSS McWHIRTER yesterday took a further step in his legal battle to get a final ban on the ITV documentary about American pop-artist **Andy Warhol**.

Solicitors for the right-wing journalist and broadcaster delivered documents to officials at the Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson's office in London.

He will study evidence given at Tuesday's Appeal Court hearing before deciding whether to take action to make the Independent Broadcasting Authority ban the Warhol programme.

McWhirter was hoping yesterday to arrange a meeting with the Attorney-General's office for early next week to discuss the matter.

The IBA, despite its early

Jack Gale comments on Ross McWhirter's legal moves



protests, has so far made no plans for a special Board meeting, which would be necessary to sanction any legal move against the ban.

Neither Mr McWhirter nor the judges who banned the Warhol film had actually seen it.

There can be no doubt that the statement of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians that the ban created a 'frightening precedent' is absolutely justified.

It opens the door to right-wing censorship and is a part

of the wholesale attack from the right on basic democratic rights.

A significant aspect of the case is not only that one man could use the law to stop a programme being transmitted to millions of people, but the speed with which he could do it.

Usually the law moves slowly—defendants in the recent Angry Brigade trial were held in jail for up to 16 months awaiting trial.

What emerges is that, though normal cases may take years to get to court, the High Court and Court of Appeal Judges have wide powers to dispense 'instant justice'. Several judges are available each day to give immediate attention to 'urgent' applications.

If this can be done to ban a television programme, it can be done to ban other activities as well. It is in fact the

Bonapartist method so dear to the hearts of the Tory Cabinet.

Increasingly, right-wing forces are resorting to private actions to infringe on democratic rights.

Not long ago, the right-wing lawyer Francis Bennion—now a parliamentary counsel—could take out a private prosecution against anti-apartheid campaigner Peter Hain.

The climate is being created for a whole series of 'private' actions against artists, writers, demonstrators—and the unions. This goes hand in glove with the legal attack on the right to strike contained in the government's pay control White Paper.

This makes it all the more urgent to build up massive support for the Socialist Labour League's national campaign in defence of basic democratic rights, which will culminate in an Empire Pool, Wembley, rally, on Sunday March 11.

Heatons pressing unions for compensation

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

TALKS WILL start next Tuesday between Liverpool dock shop stewards and Heatons Transport of St Helens to try to resolve the nine-month-old dispute.

Robert Heaton, Junior, managing director of the family company, said he was meeting dockers and an official of the Road Haulage Association. There is still a partial blacking of Heatons' lorries which carry containers packed by the company and unloaded by them.

Heaton said yesterday that the position was currently 'dead-locked'. He added: 'As far as the dispute is concerned, no ground has been given by either side.'



ROBERT HEATON . . . Junior

He also revealed that the company was going ahead with its claim for compensation from the union.

The compensation is for financial losses which the company sustained during the full-scale blacking which ended in October.

Heaton said losses for partial blacking would be added to the bill.

He would not, however, divulge the amount, although it runs into thousands of pounds.

It was the Heaton, Craddock and Panalpina case before the National Industrial Relations Court which resulted in the £55,000 fines on the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Another two companies, Howitt Transport and Howitt Brothers of Bootle, Lancs, are also pressing claims for compensation.

Mr Joseph Howitt, joint managing director, said the matter was with the company's lawyers.

Renault contract would restrict strikes Stalinists greet speed-up deal

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE COMMUNIST leaders of the CGT unions have hailed the new Renault labour contract as a victory for its 'common programme'. In fact the contract is intended to benefit the employers through speed up and restricting the right to strike.

Men will be able to retire at 62 and women at 60. A lower retiring age has now become general in the advanced sectors of French industry.

Older workers are put on pensions of from 40 to 75 per cent of their previous earnings. Their place is taken by younger workers able to stand the increasing pace of the assembly line, often at lower rates of pay. The additional cost of employers is more than

Around the world

made up by higher productivity and bigger profits.

Workers generally have to have been with the firm for 20 to 25 years to qualify for a pension. The scheme helps to ensure a docile labour force.

Renault proposes annual wage increases linked to the cost-of-living index to give a 2-per-cent increase in purchasing power. This will not meet the loss in real wages already brought about by inflation.

It gives the employers a vir-

tual guarantee against strikes and strengthens the hands of the trade union bosses, particularly the Stalinists who dominate Renault, against militants.

Renault employs 95,000 workers and generally sets the pace for large-scale private industry, especially in vehicles and engineering. The Stalinists are using the proposed agreement to hold back the working class and to maintain an image of class-collaboration on the eve of the election.

Yugoslavs defy wage-cuts

APPLICATION of the wage-cutting law passed by the Yugoslav government in order to liquidate debts accumulated by many factories and businesses is leading to considerable turmoil.

The law imposes 10-per-cent wage-cuts on workers in all factories which are in debt. In addition the salaries of managerial

and office workers have supposedly been frozen.

However, there is widespread evasion, as in Slovenia, where nearly 800 factories withdrew too much money to pay their wage-bills last month. The accountancy service complained that 248 factories had taken out enough money to pay twice their normal wage bill.

In Croatia, office workers were

paid a bonus amounting to an extra month's wage in defiance of the law and there were complaints from student organizations, some of whose members have had their grants stopped completely as an economy measure.

According to the Croat student organization, nearly 2,000 students and schoolchildren, mostly from the poorer areas of the region, have had their grants stopped for this reason. In Split, 600 students have not received any grants this term.

Some firms, however, are still not satisfied with the arrangements for debt repayment. In Zadar, the power station is cutting off electricity supplies to all its debtors who do not pay up after 90 days.

The company is owed over 13 million dinars (about £4m) by a total of 537 debtors. They include the town planning institute which owes over a million dinars. The nearby municipal assembly at Pag owes the firm money from 1962.

The Tito government's efforts to resolve the economic situation by cutting wages are already leading to discontent and anger among the working class. To eliminate the vast accumulated debts in the economy still further attacks on living standards will be required.

Japan's fears about EEC

THE PROTECTIONIST policies of the Common Market are giving the Japanese great concern. This was clear from a speech by Bunroku Yoshino, Tokyo's envoy to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, to the Trade Policy Research Centre in London.

Voicing the anxiety of his country's export industries, he called on Britain to make the

Common Market more outward looking. He said Japan wanted substantial reduction in tariffs and other trade barriers.

Japan's long-term objective, he said, is to eliminate all tariffs and trade discrimination. In other words, a situation which will enable Japanese exports to penetrate freely into the markets of the other capitalist countries and win a big advantage in the trade war.

Explosives trial for Arab

MOHAMMED Abdul Karim Fuheid (24), a Palestinian, had further charges laid against him when he appeared at Uxbridge magistrates' court yesterday.

The new charge, put by Detective Chief Inspector George Mould, was that Fuheid, on December 24 at Heathrow Airport, possessed or had control of electric detonators, 3lb 3 oz of plastic high explosive and two electric timing devices.

The charges were laid under the Explosive Substances Act of 1883.

At previous appearances Fuheid was charged with possessing arms.

At the end of the 15-minute hearing he was sent for trial at the Old Bailey.

The chairman, Mr W. J. Lipscombe, made the committal order after being told there was no application for bail.

SLL LECTURES

TODMORDEN

Monday January 22

'Stalinism'

Monday February 5

'Trotskyism'

THE WEAVERS' INSTITUTE, Burnley Road, 7.30 p.m.

HULL

Wednesday January 17

Stalinism and Trotskyism

Wednesday January 24

Marxist theory and the revolutionary party

WHITE HART HOTEL
Alfred Gelder Street
(near Drypool Bridge)
8 p.m.

DONCASTER

Sunday January 21

What future for the labour movement.

Sunday February 4

The crisis and the socialist answer.

Sunday February 11

The revolutionary party in Britain.

Lectures given by Cliff Slaughter.

SPREAD EAGLE HOTEL
Westlithgate
7.30 p.m.

CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

NEWS DESK

01-720 2000

CAV's sister site to reopen

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

SIT-IN STRIKERS at CAV Fazakerley in Liverpool, yesterday agreed to allow the reopening of the Lucas Industrial Equipment factory on the same site.

A mass meeting accepted the strike leaders' recommendation to recommence services to LIE, stopped ten weeks ago to give the strikers complete control of the site.

This decision, which must at least temporarily weaken the CAV workers' fight against closure, has been forced on them by union officials, the refusal of leading LIE stewards to defend the sit-in and the dragging of feet by stewards in Ford's, Standard's, Lucas Aerospace and the docks on appeals for blacking action.

The CAV occupation committee decided its recommendation on Tuesday by 15 votes to eight. Its acceptance yesterday means that Lucas transport will no longer be blocked by the sit-in strikers, and that services given to LIE during the first four weeks of the occupation will be re-started.

When these services were withdrawn by the occupation committee ten weeks ago, Lucas promptly laid off all 280 production workers and 100 LIE staff.

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

JANUARY FUND FIGURE NOW £630.12 — 13 DAYS TO RAISE THE TARGET

IT IS proving a tough struggle this month to complete our £1,750 target by January 31. Time is now running short and we have not a moment to lose.

The Tory government is hitting out against the working class as never before. Heath's latest proposals mean a permanent plan to legally keep down wages, allow prices to rocket high and to enforce laws to destroy the unions.

All sections of the labour movement must be mobilized to fight back and defeat the Tory government. Workers Press is vital now to politically prepare such a movement for the struggle to make this government resign.

Our Fund is therefore more than decisive. Raise all you can to keep our paper right in the front of this fight. Collect extra amounts. Show your determination to fight back against these Tory attacks. Post every donation immediately to:

Workers Press
January Appeal Fund
186a Clapham High Street
London, SW4 7UG

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JOB'S: Tory figures fiddle is caught out

UNEMPLOYMENT has increased by more than 42,000 over the last month, the government admitted yesterday. And despite the Tories' new method of fiddling the figures, they showed that the increase was reflected in every area of the country.

The announcement of the increase came less than 24 hours after premier Heath's declaration that joblessness is in fact falling.

So to back up his boss's wrong forecast, Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan yesterday produced a 'continuing sharp downward trend in

the seasonally-adjusted figures'. This, Macmillan claimed, was 'the real guide to what is happening in the economy'.

But the official January total of unemployed in Britain and Northern Ireland remained stubbornly at 823,774—showing an increase of 42,144 over the December figure.

This means that 3.5 per cent of the working population is now unemployed according to the count conducted by Macmillan's own Department.

The regions worst hit are

Northern Ireland, Scotland and the north-west. But the government's figures for all the regions are up on those for December. These now are:

South-east 151,502—2 per cent.
East Anglia 16,750—2.6 per cent.

South-west 45,366—3.4 per cent.

West Midlands 68,101—3 per cent.

East Midlands 38,588—2.8 per cent.

Yorkshire and Humberside 75,379—3.8 per cent.

North-west 132,508—4.6 per cent.

North 79,106—6 per cent.

Wales 47,884—4.9 per cent.

Scotland 129,832—6.1 per cent.

Northern Ireland 38,758—7.5 per cent.

It was in November that the Department of Employment changed its presentation of the unemployment figures.

They no longer give the percentage male rate for the regions, but a combined male and female rate. This is artificially lower because many women tend not to register.

The extent of the figures fiddle, even under the previous system, was demonstrated by the 1971 Census, which showed 1.3 million out of work at a time when the D of E was admitting to only a million.

Wilson and Feather support state pay law

Labour Party leader Harold Wilson (left) with TUC general secretary Victor Feather in jovial mood outside Congress House.

THE LABOUR leaders will not fight Heath's corporatist-style wage control legislation. Instead, they will assist him to get it through parliament and then support the Tories against workers who fight it.



This was made clear by Harold Wilson on Wednesday night. Hardly had the government's latest anti-working class legislation been announced, than the head of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition was hot-foot to the television studios to declare his support for it.

Speaking on 'Midweek' Wilson declared that Heath was entitled to get the White Paper through the Commons 'provided he granted reasonable time for debate.'

'We are prepared to ensure that the government gets its Bill through in reasonable time', he said.

Labour did not want to see a lot of time spent fighting the legislation, he continued, but he hoped that the government would allow 'reasoned amendment'.

Both on television and on BBC Radio, Wilson stressed that the working class should obey the Bill when it became law. 'Certainly we would not lend our support to any who seeks by illegal, or any other means, to destroy it.'

As far as this man is concerned, any form of opposition to the Tory measures is ruled out.

Placing himself openly on the side of the Tory government against the working class, he is perpetrating a worse betrayal than that of Ramsay MacDonald.

The Shadow Cabinet hastened to line up behind its leader. In a statement from which none of the 'lefts' such as Michael Foot dissented, this body boasted that the Tory White Paper contained some measures pressed on the government by the Labour Party.

This was in line with the statement of Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, who said the Bill was 'good in parts'!

In what amounts to an offer of coalition politics, the Shadow Cabinet declared that it was 'prepared to back any proposals which it can recognize as fair and workable.'

Making the mildest possible criticisms (the Bill was 'not fair' and would not 'produce the results desired'), Labour's leading parliamentary body hastened to agree that the law—'however unfair in material particulars'—should be honoured.

Again, the 'lefts', the greatest constitutionalists of all, were at one with the right wing that on no account should the workers fight the Bill.

THE Labourites and union chiefs—including the 'lefts'—bear direct responsibility for the attacks now being waged on working-class men and women by the Tory government. They opened the door to power for that government.

Their own consistent attempts to solve the crisis of capitalism at the expense of the workers from 1964-1970 not only pushed unemployment up to more

than 600,000, but disillusioned thousands of Labour voters and gave electoral victory to the Tory Party.

And the Labour government's prices and incomes policy paved the way for Heath's state control of wages, just as 'In Place of Strife' paved the way for the Industrial Relations Act.

They know full well that the stage is set for the biggest class battles ever seen in Britain. Like their predecessors

of 1926 and 1931, they rush into the arms of the Tories before the fight begins.

The construction of Councils of Action to fight the Tory offensive is now of immediate urgency.

These Councils unite every aspect of working-class struggle against the Tories. In particular, they will campaign for a united battle by the trade unions to destroy the Tory state pay laws.

The working class has not been defeated. This is not 1931, when the workers had not yet recovered from the betrayal of the General Strike.

The Socialist Labour League will spare no effort to ensure that 1973 will be the year when the revolutionary party is launched and built in Britain. That is the way to defeat the Tories and their allies in the Labour camp.

Steel: Shotton out, Scunthorpe in

OVER 13,500 workers will stage a one-day strike today against the shut down of the Shotton steelworks, Flintshire.

The closure will mean the loss of 6,500 jobs and the strike marks the opening salvos of the works' action committee's campaign to prevent it.

It coincided with the one-day protest in Liverpool by engineering workers against the £50,000 fine imposed by the National Industrial Relations Court in the Goad case.

More than 1,500 Shotton workers will travel to Liverpool to join the demonstration.

Management at the doomed steelworks will also join the one-day strike and a spokesman for the 350-strong branch of the Steel Industry Management Asso-

ciation said yesterday they wanted to show solidarity with the action committee in proving that the BSC decision was a wrong one.

They will not be taking part in the march against the Industrial Relations Act.

NEARLY 3,000 men on strike on Scunthorpe's Anchor steelworks voted unanimously at a mass meeting yesterday to return to work at 8 a.m. today.

The decision followed talks with Watson Norie Ltd on Wednesday night at which the firm agreed to reinstate 38 men they sacked on December 21.

Earlier two of the men complained to the IJB disputes committee in Sheffield and won their case for reinstatement.

Watson Norie is a member of

the IJB and the offer to reinstate all the dismissed men stems from the committee's ruling.

A member of the strike committee said after the mass meeting yesterday that the company's decision was a complete victory for rank and file action on the site.

A BIG student demonstration took place in Rome yesterday against the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) Congress being held in the city.

The students marched through the city to the university singing the Internationale and Bandiera Rossa and chanting anti-fascist slogans.

Neo-fascist leader Giorgio Almirante is facing criticism from a section of the movement which wants a more energetic

policy to follow up the successes in last year's election.

The MSI Congress is being held in a suburban complex built by Mussolini to house a World Fair which was to have been held in 1942. Police have mounted a strong guard to prevent demonstrators approaching the congress hall.

Rome trade unions called on their members to strike for 30 minutes to protest against the holding of the congress.