

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Middle East: the real butchers

THE BRITISH PRESS has had a hypocritical field-day over the events at the Olympic Games.

Last week in Munich Palestinian guerrillas seized some of the Israeli Olympic team as hostages, killing two who resisted arrest. They were hoping to obtain a bargaining counter to release some of the hundreds of Palestinians rotting in Israeli prisons.

When German police fired on the helicopter carrying the guerrillas and their prisoners, another nine hostages and five Arabs were killed.

The press spoke of a 'tragic massacre'. With a single voice, it portrayed the Palestinian guerrillas as brutal murderers, without human feelings or concern for the lives of others. Typical was the Daily Mirror, which had a picture of the three surviving guerrillas on its front page with the caption 'the butchers'.

Three days later the Israeli airforce launched a bombing attack against villages and refugee camps in the neighbouring countries of Syria and Lebanon. Villagers quietly cultivating their meagre crops, refugees huddled together in the tents and tin huts of their dust-swept refugee camps—men, women and children—were burned and blown to death or maimed and crippled. More than 70 people died, compared to 12 Israelis in Munich.

ALLIANCE

There were no press headlines about a 'tragic massacre'. No one spoke of the Israeli government as brutal murderers, although it had not aimed to hold hostages as a bargaining counter, but to kill in cold blood. The Daily Mirror did not carry pictures of Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, referring to them as 'butchers'.

The reasons for the double standards accepted by the press are not hard to find. Over the years the various Western governments have built up a valuable alliance with the government of Israel.

They have provided Israel with arms and aid. In return, the Israeli government has been only too willing to make military threats to Arab governments that attack western big business interests. In 1956, for example, it joined with Britain and France to attack Egypt.

In order to boost this alliance, the Western press has ignored certain facts about the Middle East situation, in particular the plight of more than a million Palestinians who used to live in the land now occupied by Israeli colonists.

Now they are herded together into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, with no hope for the future, kept alive on a miserable pittance of 2½p a day from the United Nations.

CRUSHED

For a period after 1967 they thought they saw a way out for themselves in an armed struggle to replace Israel with a secular state where Jews, Moslems and Christians could live and work together. But this hope was drowned in blood when Jordan's King Hussein launched a civil war that crushed the Palestinian resistance movement with some 20,000 deaths.

It is hardly surprising that those brought up in the refugee camps now see no alternative but a campaign of hijackings, kidnappings and bomb explosions, desperately pitting their individual courage against the armed might of Israel and the reactionary rulers of the Arab states.

Socialists do not believe that the sort of methods employed by the Palestinians in Munich can possibly lead to a return of the refugees to their homeland. Only socialist revolution in the Middle East can do that.

The tactic of kidnapping and hijacking inevitably leads to the death of innocent people, without weakening the rulers responsible for oppression and exploitation.

But in resorting to these methods the Palestinian guerrillas are only imitating on a small scale a few of the less vicious methods used against them in the past. It ill-becomes a millionaire press that has supported the barbaric behaviour of the Israeli and Jordanian governments to protest when they respond in kind.

Chris Harman

LOW PAY: THE FIGURES FIDDLE...

Socialist Worker Political Correspondent

IN SOUTHEND, Essex, this week a group of young women went to the Youth Employment office to protest against government involvement in supplying local employers with cheap labour.

The Youth Employment office tells young unmarried women who are pregnant that they will get no social security payments unless they take certain jobs. In desperation they go to Jacques of Southend where they toil 42 hours a week trimming the legs on women's underwear. They have to provide their own scissors. They earn £7.50 a week before deductions.

Being pregnant, they can obtain no other work. And £7.50 is enough to ensure that they cannot feed, house or clothe themselves properly in the most difficult period of their lives.

It is a scandal. There are millions like it. But you can be sure that they were not on the agenda at the resumed 'tripartite' talks between the TUC, the Tories and the representatives of big business on Thursday, in spite of all the talk in the press about union-government concern over low pay.

And the Southend women, along with farm workers and public employees, are not the only people who are low paid.

Official government figures broadcast on the BBC2 Money at Work programme last Friday told another tale. The programme took the current national average wage (£31 a week) and demonstrated that only 6.5 per cent of the entire working population of this country actually earns it.

The programme showed how this dishonest and misleading figure is made up. The national average wage includes the pre-tax earnings of doctors, lawyers and senior civil servants.

Money at Work went on to tell a little of the real state of Britain's two nations. The programme showed that 40 per cent of the working population is chronically low paid, unemployed, on National Assistance or virtually destitute.

EXPENSIVE

The next 33 per cent is classed as 'not much better off'. This section includes the vast majority of skilled and office workers who are in work.

The Tories know this. So does the Confederation of British Industry. And the TUC certainly ought to know it.

True, they have claimed that one of the aims of their talks is to deal with the problem of low pay. But the workers they count as 'lower paid' are those earning less than £20 a week before deductions. And a paper before Thursday's meeting from the National Economic Development Office warns that 'the lower paid cannot have their wages increased too quickly' because 'it would be very expensive'.

In other words, after all the fine speeches, those earning less than £20 a week, struggling somehow to bring up families, will still be left on less than £20 a week.

Although company profits have risen by 17.7 per cent so far this year, big business is worried that it will not be able to maintain them at this level without forcing up prices excessively and driving itself out of world markets. So it is attempting to persuade the trade union leaders to accept wage restraint.

STRENGTH

But it knows it cannot do so without a few token gestures to placate some sections of workers. It believes that talks about 'helping the lower paid' will make it easier to force better paid workers to forgo wage increases.

No one should be fooled by this. If a comparatively well-paid worker goes without a pay rise, the money he does not get goes straight to the employer as higher profits.

In recent months, miners and dockers have shown we have the strength to beat the Tories' wages policy. The movement that freed the five dockers from Pentonville could surely do something about the women in Southend and millions of others.

The leaders of the trade unions know this, or should know it. But by instinct and conviction they are choosing another path, of undercover horse-trading that will give the government time to recover its poise and make life a little easier for the profiteers who own industry.



Wigan on the march

Wigan building workers seen marching through the town centre on Saturday. They are on strike for £30 for a 35 hour week—the demand that has closed sites throughout the country in the last 12 weeks. FULL REPORTS: BACK PAGE.

Counter-demo to racists' march

This Saturday—16 September—the extreme right wing Tory Monday Club, the National Front and other fascist groups, are staging a demonstration against the Ugandan Asians.

Socialist and trade union organisations have called a counter-demonstration. International Socialist branches in London and the Home Counties must give this maximum support with banners and placards.

Assemble 12.30 p.m. Charing Cross Embankment
FIGHT RACISM—NO CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION

WORLD NEWS

BRIEFING

THE PRESS treatment of last week's killings at the Munich Olympics contrasts sharply with what happened four years ago when the games were held in Mexico.

Ten thousand people had gathered for a peaceful demonstration in one of Mexico City's main squares, protesting against the various repressive measures taken against university students.

Large numbers of heavily armed troops arrived, and although speakers urged that there should be no provocation, the troops opened fire. At least 60 people—probably more—were killed, hundreds wounded, and thousands of arrests followed.

The New York Times reported that: '... eyewitness accounts of soldiers indiscriminately firing into the crowd, and the circumstances surrounding the clash, suggest to some observers a deliberate government effort to terrorise the students into quiescence at least for the period of the Olympic games.'

Internationally-known figures, such as Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, called for the games to be cancelled. Italian hurdler Eddy Ortoz said: 'If students are being killed so that the games can be held, then I say the Olympics are not worth one human life.'

But there was a virtual press black-out on such comments.

Meanwhile that well-known lover of law and order Avery Brundage made clear his full support for the Mexican government: 'As guests of Mexico,' he said, 'we have full confidence that the Mexican people... will join the participants and spectators in celebrating the games, a veritable oasis in a troubled world.'

CHINA'S opposition to the entry of Bangladesh to the United Nations has caused some confusion among the Bangladesh left, which is still under the influence of Maoist ideas.

One of the country's main left-wing journals, *Holiday*, has published a sharp criticism of China's behaviour. It deplores the fact that China's foreign policy has not changed since its support for Pakistan last year, despite the removal of Lin Piao, and ends by contrasting the clumsiness of Chinese foreign policy with the striking success of its internal policy in the construction of socialism.

Hak Katha, which represents the point of view of Maulana Bhashani, the 90-year-old left-wing peasant leader, tries to make excuses for China. It explains that China is not really hostile to Bangladesh, but is worried that Bangladesh is under Indian and Russian influence.

In particular, it says, the decision not to sell jute to China was taken under Indian pressure, and this helped to make China turn its back on Bangladesh.

On 3 September the biggest opposition demonstration so far took place in Bangladesh, when about 20,000 people attended a meeting addressed by Maulana Bhashani. He sharply attacked the government for living in ivory towers while thousands were dying of hunger.

Prices of food and textiles have risen three or four times since June. The maximum monthly income of a peasant is now just enough to buy one 68lb sack of rice.

MORE ROCKS in the path of left unity in France. Since the signing of an electoral agreement between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, all concerned have been at pains to stress their respect for the Constitution and their love of civil liberties, and to make it clear that the Communist Party is quite independent of Moscow.

As a result, the French Communist Party has criticised—rather half-heartedly—the recent trials in Czechoslovakia, and the Socialist leader Mitterrand has in turn tried to demonstrate his independence from the Communists by going further and making rather sharp criticisms of the Czech trials and the treatment of Jews in Russia.

This was a bit much for the Russians, who feared this might give the wrong idea to people in the East. So the Russian Ambassador sent a sharp letter to Mitterrand, who responded by cancelling his planned visit to Russia.

The Party now walks the tightrope by repeating its criticisms of the Czech trials—but also condemning 'anti-Sovietism'. Mitterrand has decided not to embarrass his allies further, and will not reply to the Ambassador's letter.

Nixon rats on the 'Great American Dream'

AS the US presidential election campaign heats up, Nixon's propaganda machine is putting across its image of what a great place America is under the Republicans.

Mrs Nixon is being projected as the friend of the under-privileged—'From the deprived to the infirm, Pat symbolises the nation's concern.'

The following article—taken from the American socialist monthly *The*

Spark—gives a glimpse of the reality behind the image of the 'greatest nation in the world'.

RECENTLY people in Detroit awoke to read in their morning paper that there were more rats than people in the city.

This population explosion came about mainly because of the garbage and rubbish heaps lying in alleys and backyards all over the city. These provide a great place for rats, mice,

cockroaches and so on to live and get plenty to eat. And in the summer the smell really makes the city even more horrible to live in.

The city government have been claiming they don't have enough money to keep the city clean. They've been laying off sanitation workers and finding ways of making garbage men work harder than ever.

For instance, sanitation workers were told they should no longer pick

up anything not in standard garbage cans. This way workers could avoid bending to pick up scattered rubbish. But the crews were also given larger territories to cover, so they ended up doing at least the same amount of work, and probably more.

Now the garbage and rubbish still left on the ground doesn't get picked up at all. And since many people can't afford to buy enough cans, and most landlords are too stingy to do it, the garbage and trash piles up. No wonder the rats are having a ball.

In many places, the only vacant areas where children can play have been taken over by rats and garbage. The situation is most critical in black neighbourhoods, where the city doesn't bother to pick up the garbage more than every two weeks.

But what does the city do? Instead of trying to improve the situation, they blame everything on the garbage workers.

Burden

They claim the workers won't work enough overtime or that the union is causing the problem. Or they claim that they don't have enough trucks and can't afford to buy new ones. But the city COULD easily solve the problem by hiring more crews, buying new trucks or putting on more shifts.

Why don't they solve the problem this way? Because they don't have the money. But WHY don't the cities have the money? They could—if they would tax the people who DO have the money.

Industries, banks, insurance companies, real estate owners—all these businesses pay little in taxes. Instead the burden falls on individuals paying income tax and home owners paying property tax—and they're being squeezed half to death already!

What kind of system is it that exists to make a decent living environment for rats, but not for people?



Behind the American Dream: A drunk makes his bed amid the squalor of Chicago's Skid Row

DOCKERS GET LEGAL LESSON

THE farcical efforts of the Danish General Workers' Union to help British dockers during their recent strike highlight what happens when unions agree to work within anti-trade union laws.

After a request from the International Transport Federation, DASF, the Danish transport union which includes harbour workers, warned of solidarity strike action against ships re-routed from Britain for unloading.

But they gave 14 days' notice, and right away the Employers Association took the matter to the labour court, claiming that a similar case in 1930 had been declared illegal.

The union pointed to another from 1932 which had been declared legal. Meanwhile ships re-routed from Britain were being unloaded.

The dockers' union protested at the slowness of the DASF, while dockers in Aarhus walked off when told to work a 'black' ship. Dockers working on re-routed ships said that they did it under protest, and observers said that the work took twice as long as usual.

There were four more strikes on re-routed ships but the union intervened each time to end them.

Then the DASF decided to start sympathy strike action on the night after the Docks Delegate Conference was due to examine the new proposals from the Jones-Aldington Committee. As soon as the news of its acceptance came over the radio, the sympathy action was called off.

WORTHLESS

So after all this huffing and puffing there was no real solidarity at all.

All this emphasises the need for real international links between workers on a rank-and-file level, because the solidarity of the union bureaucrats is worthless. If striking British dockers had sent a man to go around the ports and appeal for solidarity, this would have done the

from Rasmus Rasmussen, in Denmark

sympathy away from British dockers by using cartoons from the Daily Telegraph and other newspapers showing dockers beating up policemen and carrying axes. But there was not much chance of this affecting dockers in Aarhus anyway because a few years ago a conservative newspaper accused them all of being robbers, and they went on strike until an apology was issued.

At the same time as the British strike there was a big robbery from the docks. Although dockers are not involved, the newspapers do not make this clear in their stories.

The reason that Danish capitalists were so worried about the British dock strike was expressed in their stock exchange newspaper, *Boersen*. They were afraid that if British workers were seen to be battling

against anti-trade union laws and even winning, then their example might be followed by workers here.

The same newspaper remarked after the miners' strike that apart from its economic consequences, the conflict had wider consequences, namely the effects that the miners' successful strategy would have in future conflicts everywhere.

In other words the miners have shown workers the world over how to win, and now the dockers have shown how to combat anti-trade union laws.

Brazil's crazy circus spins on

THE GENERALS who rule Brazil held massive commemorations on 7 September for the 150th anniversary of the country's independence.

The generals took power in 1964 when they overthrew President Goulart's government. The ruling class had lost its grip over the country, and Goulart's Labour Party had been racing leftwards, under pressure from workers.

The economy was in a mess, inflation was over 100 per cent per year, and foreign debts were piling up.

Brazil seemed to be on the verge of social revolution and the army was the capitalists' last chance.

The generals' solution was simple and effective. Trade unions and peasant leagues were ruthlessly smashed and socialists slapped into jail.

Most workers continued as before, passive and apathetic.

So the generals were able to introduce a vicious wage-freeze. In the first phase,

inflation eroded wages by as much as one third. Next came a slump and large-scale unemployment. Workers in the towns were made to pay for 'stability', while in the countryside there was misery.

Inflation slowed down at the expense of wages and profits started to zoom. Foreign investment started to pour in.

But as business picked up, workers started to fight back; the number and militancy of strikes increased and student demonstrations swelled into mass protests.

But Brazilian revolutionaries then made a serious mistake. Enthusiasm for the Cuban Revolution led to the belief that socialism could be achieved by small 'armed vanguards' leading peasants and workers, rather than by workers seizing state power. They overestimated the degree of isolation of the generals and embarked on an armed struggle, all by themselves.

The army provoked them ever deeper into a purely military confrontation, cutting them off from any support and then smashed them in an extremely bitter

campaign.

At the same time workers' militancy in strikes, occupations and demonstrations began to fade for lack of co-ordination and political leadership.

Brazil's 'political and economic stability' has made it possible to attract most of the foreign investment in Latin America.

But Brazil's 'economic miracle'—the highest growth rate in the world in 1971—is on borrowed money, by foreign firms, on borrowed time.

The biggest problem for the generals is that the boom can only continue if workers are content with their miserable wages. Already there are signs of renewed union activity, this time without the poisoned 'help' of labour bureaucrats. The road ahead is difficult. But success will mean removing the dangers of conflict with other Latin Americans, and beginning to lift the yoke of hundreds of years of slavery. The coming battle is one which the Brazilian workers must win.

Socialist Worker

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Exploiting real fears

WE KNOW the sort of people who are whipping up the agitation on the Uganda Asians issue and we know their motives. Foremost is the millionaire press with those well-known champions of the working class, the Express group of newspapers, leading the pack.

Naturally immigrant bashing goes hand in hand with union bashing for these people. The Express's London stable mate, the Evening Standard, carried a front page lead on the TUC last week by their highly paid political correspondent Robert Carvel. 'Grab, grab, grab' began this particularly repulsive piece of propaganda about how the greedy workers are ruining the country.

Then we have the Monday Club, whose members believe that Mr Heath is too soft on the unions and too generous to the unemployed, pensioners and others in distress. They are now suddenly professing concern about overcrowded housing and unemployment.

And, of course, there is the National Front with a supporting cast that includes Mr Danny Harmston, the admirer of Sir Oswald Mosley and Mr Colin Jordan, the admirer of Adolf Hitler.

The great white hope of all these unreconstructed reactionaries who would like to drag us back into the nineteenth century or better still the eighteenth—Mr Enoch Powell—completes the bill.

In short, behind this agitation we have a collection of dedicated enemies of the working-class movement ranging from right-wing conservatives through mainstream British fascism to the nutcases who dream dreams about Dachau and Auschwitz.

And yet the agitation evokes a response amongst millions of ordinary decent working men and women who wouldn't touch Colin Jordan with a ten foot pole. The reason is clear enough and it has nothing to do with alleged 'built-in racism' or any such rubbish. It is that, though the logic of the racist arguments is absurd, the ISSUES which they exploit are only too real.

Bad housing, high rents, low wages, over-crowded schools, unemployment and the fear of unemployment directly affect millions and indirectly affect tens of millions. Now it is easy enough to point out that the areas of highest unemployment are the areas with the lowest proportion of immigrants, that the housing problem is as old as capitalism and so on.

Scratch the surface

But necessary as this is, it only scratches the surface. Working people suffering from the growing evils that the racists exploit are not satisfied with explanations.

They want action. If they don't see any action forthcoming from the labour movement, the far right will have a field day.

The reaction of the Labour Party and TUC leaders has been contemptible. Mr Harold Wilson tells us that he didn't come out against the racist clamour because 'nobody asked me'!

The TUC, which managed to find time to send a telegram condemning Palestinian terrorists, did not see fit to send a telegram condemning our native racists.

These miserable failures, bad as they are, are only symptoms. The real crime of Wilson, Feather and the rest is that they are doing nothing to attack the disease.

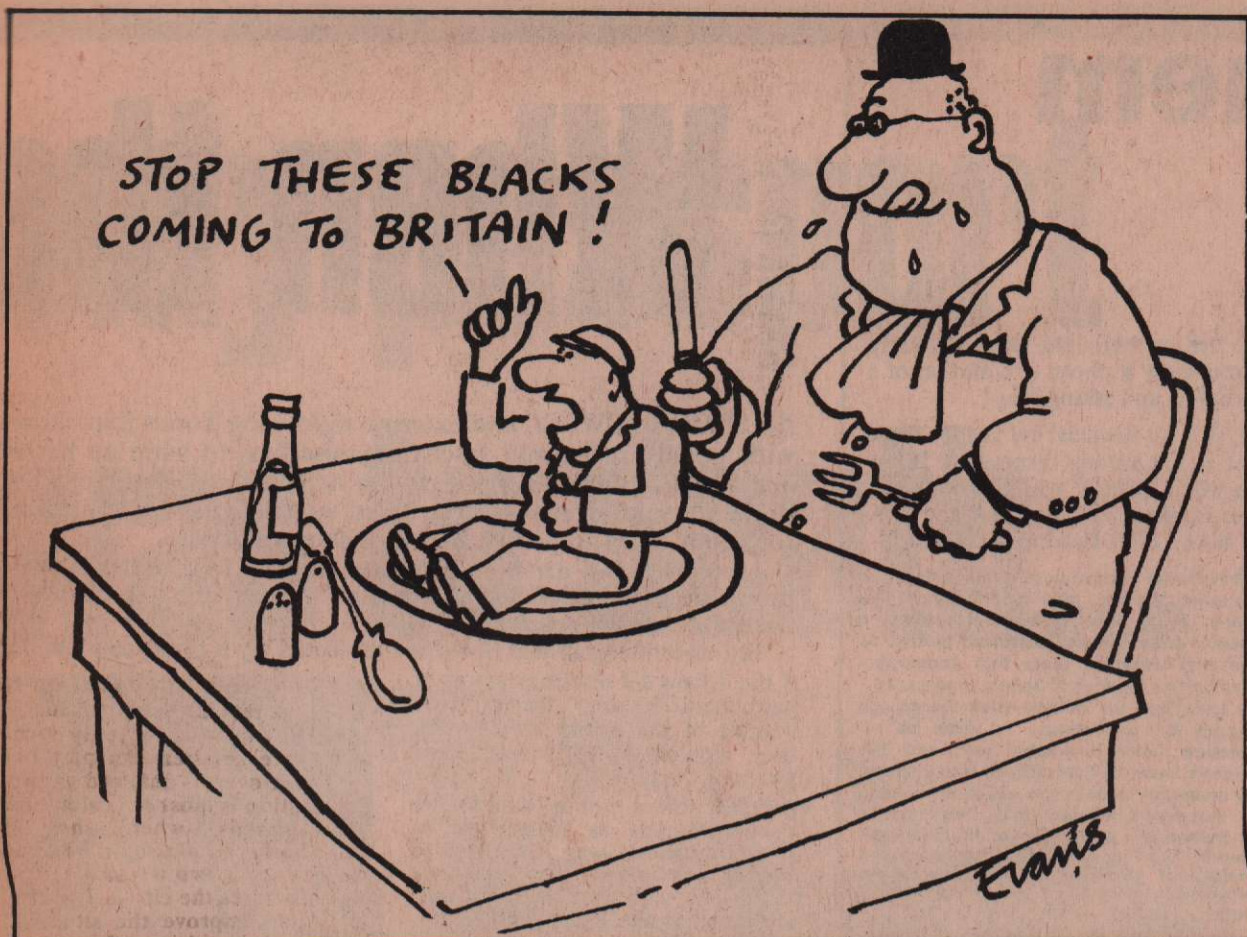
Far from fighting the infamous Tory rent rises they have been twisting the arms of those of their followers who wanted to refuse to implement the increases to make them give in to the Tories. Far from campaigning for an all-out onslaught on overcrowding and bad housing, they pioneered cuts in council house building.

Far from fighting for full employment they introduced legislation to make it easier for firms to sack workers and they succeeded in doubling the numbers of the unemployed.

Far from tackling the problem of chronic low wages in many industries they introduced a wage freeze whilst letting profits soar. And so, though they are not for the most part personally affected by the racist poison, they help to provide the fuel that stokes the fires of racism.

The fact is that the right will always use whatever means to hand to divide the working class, to set worker against worker. At one time the Irish were the scapegoats, then the Jews, now those with dark skins.

The only way in which racism can be finally destroyed is to fight, to quote the Labour Party's alleged aims, 'to secure for the workers, by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their labour'. The object of the racists is to prevent just that. That is what it is all about.



COTTONS WARMS

...at the brotherly briny

BUILDING TRADE militants may have been surprised by the presidential address to the TUC by UCATT gensec George Smith. Without batting an eyelid, George lashed out at 'competitive trade unionism' and 'an apparently illogical trade union structure which had not helped the campaign to recruit non-unionists.'

With amazing insight, he observed that 'less than half the working population is in trade union membership'. He should know, for George is something of an expert in non-unionism.

The ASW, the union he headed since 1958, must have just about the worst membership record in the TUC. Between 1958 and 1969, under Smith's stewardship, the woodworkers lost 25,328 members. To achieve a 'logical trade union structure', it amalgamated with the equally right wing and declining ASP&D (painters), who managed to lose more than 15,000 members in the same period.

Between 1969 and 1971 they managed to shed a further 18,000 members before they incorporated the AUBTW (bricklayers), who had lost 30 per cent of their 1958 membership of 88,864. By combining their strength, a further 21,000 disappeared from the books.

UCATT came into existence with a combined membership of 260,490, a decline of 107,456. The construction industry employs more than 1½ million workers.

Now, when the militancy of rank and file building workers is bringing a flood of new members into the unions for the first time in years, it is well to remember that it is leaders like George Smith and Will Lowthian who have been responsible for the present low level of membership.

MUCH sweaty to-ing and fro-ing between the Communist Party



JONES: Star treatment

leaders and Jack Jones in recent weeks. After the docks explosion had forced the Morning Star to criticise Jones, albeit mildly, Jack was more than a little put out and let it be known that he didn't want any more delegations from the party around his office.

Appalled at this loss of access to ears in high places, the party leaders took speedy action. Jones was visited and, after much grovelling, the unpleasantness was patched up.

Much relief at the Morning Star, which had Jack back writing for it in time for the TUC about his non-campaign for higher old-age pensions. Forget about the docks and the TGWU's abysmal role—the Communist Party was back in orbit with the most powerful union boss in Britain.

TRIBUNE, the 'left Labour' paper, held a meeting at the TUC with such luminaries on the platform as Anthony Wedgwood Benn, chairman of the Labour Party, Jack Jones (surprise, surprise) and Ray Buckton, gensec of the Loco Engineers and Firemen.

Chairman was Tribune editor, Dick Clements, who finished his opening remarks by saying that the meeting would end when the platform speakers had made their perorations. There would be no questions allowed from the floor, he said but assured the mass audience of 70 that anybody who had a question could write to Tribune and he would make sure that replies were forthcoming.

It is understood that Jack Jones and company made 'no questions' a condition of their appearance. Tribune is a fervent advocate of 'democratic socialism'. Democracy is so much better without debate.

SPECIAL treat for the members of the Electricians' delegation to the TUC: gensec Frank Chapple took them at his expense to see *The Godfather* on Thursday night. *The Godfather* is a film about the Mafia.

MUCH READING of left-wing papers at the TUC, not because the

delegates are necessarily sympathetic to the cause but because the papers help distract attention from the unbelievable boredom of the proceedings.

A letter in the latest issue of Voice of the Unions caused such amusement. From Jim Prendergast, an executive member of the National Union of Railwaymen, it lambasted a columnist in the paper for attacking the union's gensec, Sir Sidney Greene, that well-known pillar of right-wing respectability, for his enormously bloated salary of £6000 plus a year.

'Mind your own bloody business what we pay our general secretary,' froths Bro Jim. 'What we pay him is determined at our annual general meeting and in the most democratic way possible by the rank and file governors of our union.'

Warming to his theme, Jim proudly reminds us: 'A year or two back Sidney Greene was described in the "Tailor and Cutter" as one of the five best dressed men in Britain. And why not? We don't want our Sid going around with a beard down to his belly. He is conforming to railway rule and appears on duty clean shaven and neatly attired. And the best of British to him!'

Is Jim Prendergast some snivelling right-wing hack doing a Public Relations job on Sidney Greene? Sadly, no: as he admits in the letter, Prendergast is a member of the Communist Party.

Perhaps it's just a softening up process to allow the Morning Star to publish a piece by Sir Sidney on the campaign for better pensions for retired railwaymen.

FOR the last word, back to George Smith. The president and the other TUC big-wigs entered the Dome by a side entrance, away from the hoipuroi of the delegates. On Monday and Tuesday of the Congress, Smith entered and left the Dome past a small group of building workers engaged on repainting the building.

Deep in thought on the problem of decreasing union membership, our George didn't greet the painters or ask for their union cards. It wasn't until a few militants turned up on Tuesday to lobby the TUC that it was discovered that the painters were non-unionists employed by the federated firm of Braybourn. Much consternation and the Dome management smuggled the painters elsewhere until the assembled ranks of the labour movement finished their deliberations.



Ireland: Let them fight it out?

I HAVE come to the conclusion that all the British press is allowed to print is Ireland's side of the situation. On television the other night the news showed a picture of an elderly woman with her eye hurt. What the hell was she doing fighting the troops?

The troops—and my son is one of them in Ireland—are being put in a situation where stone throwing and spitting are a common occurrence. One young soldier has been fined £30 for swearing—it's utterly ridiculous.

Most of the troops are in their late teens and early twenties. Why don't you show a photo of a mother of a soldier, pointing at his coffin and asking Why?

Get the troops out, stop all financial aid and let those ignorant peasants fight it out among themselves. It has come to a sorry state when 'British' Irishmen walk the streets with their faces masked. Let the UDA and IRA fight it out.—(MRS) C WALTERS, Headington, Oxford.

● With the exception of a few papers like Socialist Worker, the British press, far from giving 'the Irish side', paints a totally one-sided and distorted picture of the real situation there that encourages Mrs Walters to speak of 'ignorant peasants'.

Like her, we believe that the troops should be withdrawn. It gives us no pleasure when ordinary rank and file soldiers, many of them forced into uniform by unemployment or low wages, are killed.

But our main objection to their presence in Ireland is a political one: that they are used by the tiny minority who control the wealth of Britain to maintain their domination of Ireland, both North and South.

If Mrs Walters is concerned about violence, then she should know that the British ruling class for centuries has used the most barbarous means, including mass murder, to subjugate the Irish masses. They set out deliberately to divide Irish workers along religious lines in order to keep them divided and head off any united working-class opposition to British domination.

The elderly woman injured by the Paras last week is one of the 'British Irish' who are beginning to see that the troops are not there to defend their interests but to prop up the police state terror of the British Tories and their Orange friends in the Six Counties.

Far from being ignorant peasants, Irish workers, like British workers, are the victims of capitalist society that breeds unemployment, slum housing and poverty and whips up religious and racist propaganda.

The tasks of socialists is not just to call for the withdrawal of British troops but to organise against the Tories and employers here and to do everything in our power to aid the Irish workers in their struggle for freedom.—EDITOR.

Not enough just to counter lies

YOU DID NOT answer my criticisms last week of your front page article but simply strengthened them. One reason I wrote was precisely because to find that IS is opposed to all immigration restrictions you would have to turn to page 10 and pore through 'the What We Stand For' column.

This column seems to act like TUC resolutions on pensions with pious declarations of intent.

It is not enough simply to counter the lies and distortions of the racists. We must present clearly and concisely our own arguments for being opposed to ALL immigration controls.

I did not say that you favoured immigration controls but that the logic of the facts you gave implied that you might favour immigration controls, especially in the absence of any statement saying you were opposed to all such controls.

It is rubbish to say that 'Militancy is the best antidote to racism.' Good militants can still be racists. One of the main racist sections of the working class is the dockers (many of whom in 1968 marched in favour of Powell) and the Smithfield meat porters who were one of the first sections to come out over the jailing of the five dockers.

Racism and its physical outlets will only be defeated by the self organisation of black people and other minorities, as when the Jews physically drove Mosley and his fascist thugs off the streets.—TONY GREENSTEIN, Liverpool 8.

In defence of defence?

PERHAPS the mass media has been making such a hue and cry over the immigrant Ugandans because the British government is frightened that it will have to divert into the social services some of the £2000 million it wastes annually on the so-called 'defence' programme.—JOHN ORMSBY, Chard, Somerset.

LETTERS

ROMANTIC MYTHS FROM THE LEFT

OF COURSE Kenneth Clark's 'Civilisation' was entirely the capitalist version but he and Ken Montague (Review, 9 September) both present us with a romantic slant on culture.

Our kids' dreams come off the Hanna-Barbera production line. They can get a collective cultural experience at the disco or if they're lucky an actual rock and lights show where they can see the drummer sweat. They can have a good collective yell at a soccer match. There is no way for them to decide who is performing only for the money.

There were genuine working-class intellectuals in the Welsh valleys and similar communities at around 1900. These people did not sell out their own kind. They sang, acted and wrote and were powerful political orators. There was real exchange of ideas and personal creation.

I expect many of their ideas were chapel-bound and derivative but you can't be at cave-painting and the work-hollers all the time. What has happened since then? These communities existed in spite of capitalism.

Ken Montague subscribes to the capitalism-supported-by-technocracy myths by quoting Einstein, one of our science-gods. Ordinary people are more likely to understand simple fascism via the BBC than to be able to evaluate works of which even intellectuals like Montague can only understand a small fraction. Such obscurity doesn't help us to have faith in our own 'work, language and myths'.

There are still some working-class artists (eg Arthur Dooley and Chris Searle's

children). Let's have more about their work in Socialist Worker.

Too often when discussing art the left implies that we have only two choices, drop out or sell out. Socialist Worker could be pointing towards the revolutionary way in today's society, not helping Ken Clark with obscure romanticism.—EIRLYS HUDSON, Ystrad Mynach, Glamorgan.

Strike pay and the SS

I FAIL to see the point of your nasty dig at NUJ executive member Bryn Jones for suggesting that NUJ strikers should go on supplementary benefit rather than get union strike pay (Cottons Yarns, 9 September).

For since the coming into force of the Social Security Act 1971 (which reduced the disregard level for strikers to £1), any union which pays strike benefit (other than to 'single' people) is being foolish and wasting its funds: the money they pay from their funds merely saves the government the same amount in supplementary benefit. Unless of course its strike benefit is above the poverty line.

Ideally, what a union should now do is pay benefit to 'single' strikers during the strike and to strikers with dependants as a lump sum after the strike is over.—ADAM BUICK, London N6.

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Rosa Luxemburg

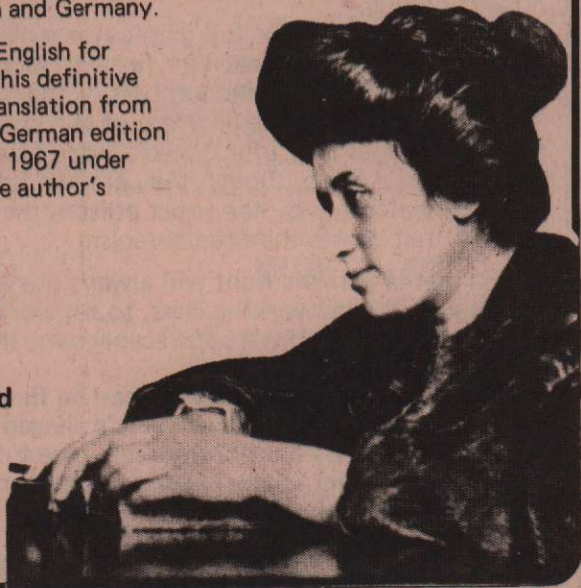
BY PAUL FROLICH

Rosa Luxemburg was one of the greatest figures produced by the international working class movement. Both a profound and original thinker and a brilliant speaker at party groups and mass meetings, she embodied all that is best in the revolutionary tradition.

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When the

AS ENOCH POWELL and extreme right-wing Tories join chorus with openly racist and fascist organisations to whip up hatred and hostility towards the Ugandan Asians, the pathetic bleating of the Tory government can be heard explaining their 'obligation' to permit entry to people with British passports.

Landowner and part-time politician Sir Alec Douglas-Home speaks patronisingly of 'these poor unfortunate' people who are victims of General Amin's vile policies.

But underlining all that Home and the Tories say is the assumption that if the Asians did not carry pieces of pasteboard bearing the glorious insignia of the British crown, then they would cheerfully wash their hands of them.

This absurd notion that people rubber-stamped as British are in some mystical way superior to identical people defined as 'non-British' is equally as reactionary and poisonous as the ideas peddled by Powell and his supporters.

In fact, Powell is more honest than mainstream Tories: he opposes people on the basis of their colour, while Heath and co—and their Labour twins—disguise their own racism behind blatherings about the sanctity of passports.

But for the passports, British politicians would stand by as the Asians were shunted from country to country, defined as 'stateless people' and left in growing destitution.

In fact this may well be the fate of hundreds of Ugandan Asians not blessed with the Holy Grail of a small blue book. It is a safe bet that the British civil servants flown to Uganda to barter over the fate of the expelled people will devote much energy to rendering as many of them stateless as possible.

Massacre scapegoats

A grim reminder of the terrible consequences of such nationalism can be seen from the fate of German Jews in the late 1930s. When Hitler's Nazi regime took power it set out systematically to massacre the Jewish 'race' who, along with communists, socialists and trade unionists, were the scapegoats for all the problems of German society.

Faced by ghettos, concentration camps and gas chambers, hundreds of thousands of Jews decided to flee Germany and seek refuge in the 'democratic' countries. No doubt many of them naively believed that governments that held up their hands in horror at the brutality of Hitler and proclaimed their own liberality would welcome the dictator's victims with open arms.

They were quickly put right on that score. And the Nazi propaganda chief, Goebbels, had no such illusions in the liberal pretensions of countries like Britain and America.

Take no more

He threw out a gloating challenge to them: 'If there is any country that believes it has not enough Jews I shall be glad to turn over to it all the Jews that we have.' He found no takers.

In July 1938 a conference of 33 nations met in France to discuss the refugee 'problem'. Speaker after speaker went to the rostrum to condemn the atrocities of the Nazi regime, to trumpet all they had done in re-settling a few victims of Hitlerism—and regretfully to stress that they could take no more.

The Jews found that it might be easy to leave Germany but it was terribly difficult to arrive anywhere else. By 1939 their plight and persecution were so bad that departure was the only alternative to certain death.

In May 900 passengers on the Hamburg-America ship St Louis bought landing tickets for 150 dollars each that apparently entitled



GOEBBELS:
Gloating challenge

them to land in Cuba, a stepping stone to the greatest of all democracies, the United States.

The tickets had been sold to the shipping line by the Cuban Minister of Immigration. The decision sparked off a revolting outburst of anti-Semitism and the Cuban president declared that the landing tickets were invalid.

The St Louis sailed in circles in the Caribbean, awaiting a decision on the fate of its human cargo. Their plight was headline news in the United States, but there were no official moves to offer them refuge. A discreet veil was drawn over the embarrassing slogan on the Statue of Liberty: 'Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. The wretched refuse of your teeming shore, Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me.'

In June, the St Louis steamed back towards Hamburg. Coastguard cutters put out from Miami to make sure that none of the passengers attempted to swim ashore.

But there was a last-minute reprieve: thanks to the activities of an unofficial body, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, European governments agreed to divide up the passengers between them.

Britain reluctantly took 284 of them. But the Daily Express, then as now a leading voice of reaction, launched a campaign to ensure that no further Jews sullied Lord Beaverbrook's conception of a decent Aryan Britain.

Doors of the

only passport was to death...



THE MANY:
Concentration camp victims

'The St Louis must not set a precedent,' said the Express. 'There is no room for any more refugees in this country.' It did not, however, suggest that 284 Jews would lead to serious overcrowding.

The British government had done its duty. The doors were now barred to the thousands of Jews clamouring for refuge from Nazi terror.

Shrieks from press

As war approached, the government said that it might give asylum to a few more, but it was a sham offer. Temporary asylum was all that was suggested and to be granted entry under this heading a refugee first had to prove that he had obtained a place on another country's immigrant quota.

On top of this, the refugee had to produce a resident of Britain willing to stand as a financial guarantor for him.

Few such guarantors could be found, thanks to the shrieks against the 'foreign hordes' from newspapers, politicians and respectable organisations.

The British Medical Association threatened strike action if Britain were 'inundated with emigres'. It must be the only recorded instance of that august body contemplating a withdrawal of labour.

Perhaps its leaders felt they were aiding medical advance by forcing more Jews into the concentration



THE FEW:
Refugees arriving in Britain

camps to suffer under the experimental knives of Hitler's 'doctors'.

Bowing to the convenient racism of 'public opinion', the British government did nothing to aid the refugees.

Even in 1943, when the full facts of Nazi atrocities were known to the entire world, the Churchill government turned down a request from the Archbishop of Canterbury that it should lift its restrictions on

refugees.

Six million Jews were murdered in the Nazi holocaust. A mere third of a million found refuge in the West.

Patriotism and national honour had won the day. The alien hordes had not threatened 'our' way of life: they had lost theirs in Hitler's death camps.

**ROGER
PROTZ**

closed to victims Hitler terror regime

Bored boss who made only £10m.

I HAVE written before about takeovers and mergers—that favourite game of the City. Three recent ones deserve comment because initially they appear to have no logic for the capitalist whatsoever: Consolidated Goldfields (a gold mining company) bid for Amey (a builder); P&O bid for Bovis, a shipping company and a builder; Imperial Tobacco bid for Courage, the brewers.

On 19 August I outlined the reasons for the Consolidated Goldfield bid for Amey: to get UK profits to pay the shareholders' dividends. The others illustrate rather different problems of capitalism.

Bovis, the company who build the shops for Marks and Spencer, have a problem: this year they expect to make £10 million profit, but this will be made on only £20 million worth of assets and it doesn't matter how good a capitalist you are, it's very difficult to improve on that.

And if you are an ambitious young man like Frank Sanderson, who runs Bovis, it's nice to have a few more assets to borrow against to finance some more property speculation.

He can see the M&S building programme tailing off and, anyway, he is probably getting a little bored with simple building and property speculation.

Of course he doesn't know anything about the 230 ships that P&O own. But their ships, property and cash give the company net assets of £30 million that earn a paltry £5.2 million profit.

Few sackings

Even more important, the government, by a clever and complicated device, lets shipping companies off paying their full tax charge of 40 per cent. So Friendly Frank can avoid paying tax on all those lovely building and property profits if he is in the same group as P&O.

You will notice, and it may not surprise you, that there is no mention of the workers here. And with good cause.

Because the 'unlocking of the property potential' will probably cause a few sackings: nothing new at P&O, who started a rationalisation programme at the beginning of the year.

So the merger solves P&O's problem of not making much money from lots of assets and not having anyone who can do it. It solves Bovis'

IN THE CITY



with T.H.Rogmorton

problem of making so much money and running out of things to occupy its talents.

There is no evidence whatsoever that the houses, shops and ships will be any better for all this.

Imperial Tobacco's problem is that it is heavily involved in the cigarette market which, although profitable, is probably not growing.

But they have plenty of cash. Courage has no cash but needs to expand in Europe, having squeezed almost all the extra profit it can from closing breweries and 'rationalisation'.

The merger was a natural solution to the problem that to compete in world markets to exploit and expand.

Both these mergers may seem bizarre but they make a lot of sense to the capitalist, whose power and influence spreads wider but is concentrated in fewer hands.

They provide the financial muscle necessary for the capitalist to survive when faced with international competition. These three mergers are not the first large ones and they are certainly not the last.



'The language of the civilised nations has clearly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the aristocratic culture introduced into world parlance such barbarisms as czar, pogrom, knout, October has internationalised such words as Bolshevik, soviet... This alone justifies the proletarian revolution, if you imagine it needs justification'—Trotsky.

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CRISIS IN THE AIR

TO READ the newspapers last week, delighting in the Farnborough Air Show, one would hardly guess that the British Aircraft industry faces a growing crisis. Two weeks ago 1,000 workers were made redundant by Rolls-Royce at Coventry and Bristol, and as one convenor said: 'This is just the tip of the iceberg.'

The aircraft industry is locked in crisis. It has suffered major shocks from cancellations of military projects like TSR2, the withdrawal of government support for major civil projects like BAC311 and the financial collapse of Rolls-Royce.

These shocks have provoked a major reorganisation of the industry and the move towards multi-national projects. With the drive towards entry into the Common Market and increasing international collaboration, further sweeping changes will be tried.

The UK aircraft industry employs as many workers—250,000—as the whole West European industry. Yet profits per worker in Britain are well below those in Europe. With a shrinking world market, the pressure to rationalise will cause increasing attacks on wages, conditions, job security and the ability to organise.

Military contracts had been one major source of income. There was less competition involved in getting the contracts, profits were higher and many military planes and engines could be adapted for the civilian market.

But during the 1960s the government drastically reduced spending on research and development on new military projects. Things were getting tighter for the aerospace firms.

By 1960 Sir Denning Pearson the Rolls-Royce chief executive, had to plead for 50 per cent government aid on civilian contracts. The Plowden Report in 1965 noted the trend: 'The present situation is dominated by the increasing dependence of the industry on government decisions in both the military and civil field.'

BANKRUPT

The loss of military contracts speeded up the process of mergers and rationalisation. By 1969 Rolls-Royce controlled all the aero-engine industry and firms relied more and more on single projects.

The first results can be seen already. By June 1970 Rolls-Royce had cut its workforce by 3500 and in 1961 the British Aircraft Corporation began its programme of redundancies.

Then came the real crash. In January 1971, Rolls-Royce went bankrupt, mainly due to the escalating costs and delays on the RB211.

The subsequent 'nationalisation' of the company was little help to the workers. In Derby and Glasgow 4300 men lost their jobs overnight.

Weinstock is BAC hatchet man

As usual they were the ones to pay the price for years of loyalty to the firm, while the debenture holders had their money returned to them in full, and more on top.

The government has since used its control of Rolls-Royce to set an example to other employers in the engineering industry.

In last year's cost-of-living strike at Bristol, Rolls-Royce and the government refused to concede anything, and in the Coventry toolroom dispute they spearheaded the employers' attack by locking out the workers.

CONTROL

Over the national engineering claim they took a hard line: in Coventry they offered only £2 and a day's holiday, in Bristol they have been haggling for months.

Despite denials by BAC, it is an open secret that GEC/AEI, Hawker-Siddeley, BAC and the government have been negotiating with a view to major reorganisation of the industry. It seems only a matter of time before Weinstock's GEC/AEI will gain complete control of BAC.



The airframe side would be sold off to Hawker-Siddeley.

This is important, for Weinstock is a key hatchet man. He has joined the board of Rolls-Royce along with Lord Beeching, the man who demolished the railways. Weinstock is the man who under the Labour government took a £25 million grant for the merger with AEI and promptly closed AEI Woolwich, making 5500 redundant.

With these men in control a major review of operations is certain.

A key part of the strategy for Rolls-Royce seems to be an attempt to weaken the wage-leading Coventry plants and concentrate the control of the combine at Derby. At the same time as the management try to control direct workers with job evaluation and work study, they are starving the piecework areas of work.

A great deal of production is being transferred to sub-contractors. Input of materials to the Parkside factory has dropped by 40 per cent.

All this points towards a long-term concentration of research and development at Parkside and the gradual removal of production to other private hands or elsewhere in the combine.

It is not surprising that the management should want to weaken Coventry. A comparison of wage rates throughout the Rolls-Royce combine shows at least a £10 differential—and not only for manual workers.

In 1960 TASS—the technicians' union—noted that Coventry Rolls-Royce was as much as £9 behind other Coventry factories and TASS members in Bristol were £5 behind Coventry.

In the car industry parity claims have led to large increases for worse-off workers. It is time to bring the slogan of parity into the aircraft industry.

The rationalisation of the industry has already meant the loss of thousands of jobs. Last year BAC's Commercial Aircraft Division plants at Weybridge, Hurn and Filton were integrated—which meant 1200 workers on the tiles.

BLACKING

With Weinstock still hovering in the background, BAC management have refused to discuss the strong rumours of further sackings.

Meanwhile the chop begins to fall at Rolls-Royce. As a union leaflet said: RR now stands for Redundancy and Redeployment. In Bristol the

Whitchurch factory, has been due to close. Now management are 700 more redundancies at Parkside, Coventry.

In Bristol, where not be deterred, the demand is for no more of writing, had a line with a ban on blacking of all subco

The most dangerous present sackings is willingness of many their heads on the. With inflation at its severance pay won't

With unemployment a million, what dancy means today loss of jobs. Already town of Bristol the

BOOM OR BUST?
The crisis in the aircraft industry

'The huge sums of money being spent on Concorde will only serve to save a few hours for businessmen or to carry on pleasure trips a tiny handful of privileged people. We have to ask what sort of society refuses to spend even a small amount of money providing a reliable and efficient bus service for ordinary people while at the same time wasting millions on Concorde.'

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Shop floor links are vital

SHOP FLOOR STRENGTH depends on more than just the number of workers enrolled in the unions. It depends on the stewards' ability to control the job situation as far as possible.

This control is undermined continually by technological change which breaks down processes formerly done by skilled men and enables them to be done by semi- or unskilled men at lower rates. At BAC, for example, the introduction of new machinery was accompanied by demands for a new grade of Junior Operators, which the unions agreed to.

Electrochemical machining is an important new process, at present used extensively on the RB211 at Coventry. This method of drilling holes by using an acid plate offers new possibilities for management to extend control. Machinery is very

expensive and the introduction of new sophisticated techniques will be accompanied by demands for three-shift systems.

Rolls-Royce have already hinted at this in Coventry. If and when Concorde goes into full production, the same demand will be made with the need to meet delivery dates. Shift working undermines health, social life and union organisation. Its spread shows clearly the priorities of our society: profits at the expense of workers' health.

Shifts

Productivity dealing is confronting the workers in every part of the aircraft industry, and many sections have already accepted it to differing degrees. Details vary according to local conditions, but the general strategy behind them and the aims of each deal are strikingly similar.

In Coventry Rolls-Royce most

sections are covered deals and workers the faced soon with a Rolls-Royce Hillier accepted a rise tied. Work, which has laid open to complete mobility, method of working and re-deple

In this they have b fact that the manu been grouped in: tw bins with no clear little link with the workers.

Bristol RR is the in the combine: no productivity agreem clear that managem to push one through trying the classic st the latest pay claim deal. But the unions refused to consider

In BAC Bristol: rather different. The mobility of labour: h through without: re pressure for a fullop has been postponed.

But plans for Measured Time Motio for MDW) in BAC defeated by an: re recently, which: re cent rise without stri

The white collar feeling the effects: b industry. Work: ma bargaining agreement and other managem cut wage costs are be

At Rolls-Royce: bargaining agreeme management great clerical staff repres must act 'constitut acceptable to manag Any represent



Rolls-Royce stewards on a recent picket line.

AIR

Conky -built by the many for the few

unemployed chasing 3,128 jobs. Aircraft workers do not need to look far to see how not to fight redundancies. Last year at BAC Bristol unions were originally mandated to fight the 1200 sackings. But their overemphasis on procedure and recognition of the joint trade union committee sidetracked the struggle.

The absence of a fighting programme uniting the different sections of the committee led to the negotiation of a redundancy procedure agreement even while further redundancies were being announced.

Unity between white collar and manual workers is essential for a fight against redundancy, but only on the basis of an agreed strategy, endorsed and discussed by mass meetings. It must be centred round the refusal to accept redundancy or productivity deals.

Already there are ominous signs of a split in Bristol, following differences over the Whitchurch closure and the need to strike in defence of the jailed dockers.

PROFITS

The aircraft industry must be a 'viable' one to attract private investment. That is why the hatchet men have been put in control.

Under capitalism, rationalisation always means that the working class must pay: profits have to grow to make the system work. So the wave of redundancies, closures and productivity deals to reduce shop floor control will continue until the industry is cut down to size, with every worker reaching the ultimate in productivity.

Even then, the international crisis of the industry will not be solved.

The only solution to this crisis is nationalisation under workers' control.

The day-to-day struggles over wages and conditions cannot be isolated from the need to change the nature of society itself from one where production is geared to profits to one controlled and managed by the people themselves.

As Rolls-Royce workers have seen for themselves, simple nationalisation by itself changes nothing. Only when all production is controlled by the working class will society be run in our interest.

THOUSANDS of workers' jobs depend on Concorde—a project which the BAC management is desperately trying to persuade the reluctant world airlines to buy. In many ways Concorde shows the link between the crisis of the aircraft industry and the irrationality of capitalism.

For those who work on the aircraft it is used as an ideological weapon. Local newspapers attacked BAC workers in Bristol as 'suicidal luddites' when they tried to defend their jobs last year.

The Great Plane was in danger! Once management had convinced the trade unions that the future of Concorde depended on redundancies, the workforce was sacrificed.

As one BAC steward said at the time: 'While Concorde supplies the jobs I support it, but how many of us on the dole queue will it carry?'

There is no doubt that Concorde is used and will continue to be used as a weapon against shop floor struggle. This happens in two main ways.

First, because of its unstable financial position and the reliance on the project for vast numbers of jobs, the press and management scream disaster at the first sign of trouble.

Secondly the identification of Concorde as a national project which the workers themselves somehow gain something from, is an important way for management to keep control. This concept of 'national interest', the idea of worker and managing director pulling together to produce a 'national plane' important and useful for all, is played on time and time again.

Wage rates in BAC may be £10 less than Rolls, the workers may never share any profits, perhaps some



people are thrown out of work, but there remains the pride in some mythical unity of interest between those who own and those who work.

This appeal to the less politically aware sections of the workforce must be constantly fought against. It is precisely because of the risk to workers' livelihoods in this project that strong and militant trade union organisation is needed.

What is never mentioned is the social uselessness of the plane. The overwhelming mass of workers will never be able to fly in it, even if they wanted to.

It is a tremendous technological achievement that represents a complete waste of human endeavour and skills. The huge sums of money being spent on it will serve only to save a few hours for businessmen or to carry a tiny handful of privileged people on pleasure trips.

It has been aptly nick-named in France the 'flying Rolls-Royce'. We have to ask what sort of society it is that refuses to spend even a small amount of money on providing a reliable and efficient bus service for ordinary people while at the same time wasting millions on Concorde.

It is a monstrous example of waste, waste directly related to the capitalist system under which it is being built. It raises the whole question of who controls production and to what end.

We can fly to the moon, build Concorde, but we cannot even achieve full employment in our own 'advanced' country. If mankind directed these tremendous skills and talents in a rational way, if workers themselves controlled what they produced, then we would see tremendous steps forward in the standard and quality of life of ordinary people.

Talk, talk, talk,

as the TUC avoids the battle

AS EXPECTED, the Trades Union Congress showed that the official leadership of the trade union movement will go to almost any lengths to avoid a real struggle with the Tory-employer alliance which runs this country.

Most of the time the scuttling and running goes on behind complex philosophical formulations about what trade unions can and cannot do. It was down to loud-mouthed Daniel McGarvey, of the TUC, to really lay it on the line.

He declared himself appalled at the thought of state seizure of a union for a real defiance of the industrial courts. And this, he said, is what Hugh Scanlon's motion to boycott these courts surely involved. Do you want state appointees put in to run working-class organisations?

God forbid. So what you do is you just let the Danny McGarveys of this world keep on running them under the threat of state seizure. Which is much the same thing.

What McGarvey and all the others who voted against Scanlon's motion were saying is that as long as unions aren't sequestered and full-time officials don't go to jail, then everything is fine.

The direct implication of this is that it matters little if rank and file workers are imprisoned. And in between times the official unions will have been doing their utmost to dissuade their members from pursuing their struggles in a way that could lead to imprisonment as well as victory.

It is such an abject position.

For if Jack Jones had been imprisoned, or the Transport Union sequestered over the dockers' struggle then there would have been something like a major explosion in this country. And the Tories and their Act would have been shattered.

This, of course, is simply not allowed. Everybody who is anybody knows that only the employing class can use their power for political ends.

PRAYING

Vic Feather expressed it beautifully in his reply to Scanlon. He pointed out that previous repressive legislation against the movement had not been defeated by mass struggle. It had been done slowly by constitutional means.

What Mr Feather forgets to say is how the movement came into being at all. Was that by constitutional means? Not at all.

His position is worse even than that. For Feather is saying that this Act can stay on the statute book for 20 years as far as he is concerned. Meanwhile you talk endlessly to the government of the day, wring your hands and pray for rain.

Vic was doing no more than repeat the invocation every good trade union bureaucrat says nightly in times of great struggle and crisis: You shall not use your industrial strength for political ends.

This is not just an excuse. It is something deeply rooted in the brains of the professional practitioners of trade unionism. Working-class organisation is not the means to any definite set of ends. Survival is all, the means must go on for ever.

Joe Gormley, of the Miners, made this quite clear. He kicked off his speech against a complete boycott of the courts with something that moved many of the delegates. He talked of how the miners could never have won on their own, of solidarity and united struggle.

BOYCOTT

Then, certainly without pausing and probably without noticing, he switched to his other tongue. If the TUC took any decisions he and his union didn't like, then the miners would not abide by them. Unity and solidarity could get stuffed.

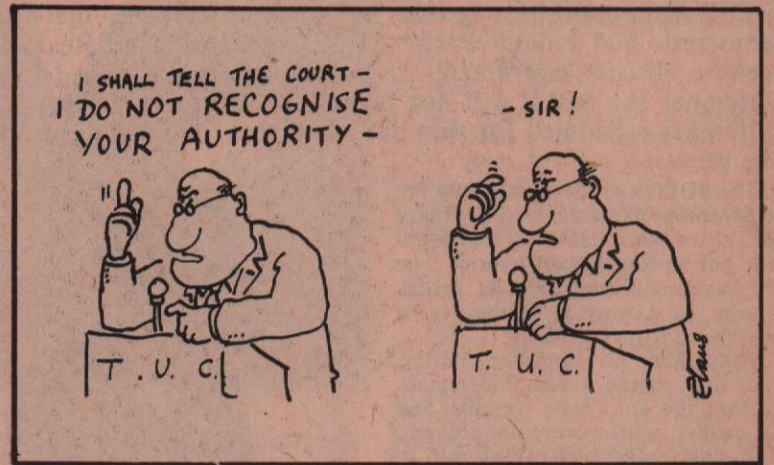
And why? So that Joe and the NUM can defend themselves before the NIRC. Incidentally, one wonders who exactly is going to take them there. And even if they did, haven't the miners got some small experience of taking on the world—never mind the NIRC.

So Scanlon's motion for a complete boycott and discipline for those who did not comply was lost. It was defeated by the same union leaders who have spent the last year sneaking round for ways to comply with the Act in full.

The dockers effectively prevented them. And it is important that they have been thwarted, important too, that the openly blackleg elements have been suspended.

But what happened to Scanlon's motion behind the scenes is a revealing little parable on the kidology that is the Trades Union Congress. Jack Jones and the Transport Union lined up to vote with Scanlon on the motion. The left was reunited, said the press.

If the AUEW motion alone had been carried then it would have been about as useful as an English dictionary



full of blank pages. For it to mean anything, the relevant paragraphs of the General Council's report on the Act would have to be referred back. Otherwise the TUC leadership, like last year, would have been left facing two ways and living one way—collaboration.

Jack Jones and the Transport Union did not vote alongside Scanlon for the reference back. This union too wants to face two ways, one in public, another in private. And Scanlon himself wasn't too keen to move the reference back.

SPLITS

The same duplicity was evident in all the serious debates. On unemployment and economic policy they shilled and shallied and resolved on more talks with the government of the day. The motion they carried spans the entire spectrum of support and opposition to incomes policy.

Still, splits were avoided and things patched up, a notable achievement.

Throughout it all there was scarcely one speaker who asked the simple question: 'Why are all these things

happening to the trade union movement?'

The anti-working-class policies of successive governments, they believe, are all a tragic mistake which can be rectified by reasonable men and women persisting in making their views known at the highest level in the land. It has nothing whatsoever to do with a severe and rolling economic crisis, where big business can only survive by making the working class pay the price.

That is what strikes you most about the TUC and all its components, left as well as right—complete poverty of ideas and analysis.

Apparently there is another maxim that must ever be obeyed. You must not think. Instead just carry on negotiating even when the world's falling apart.

There is an alternative, a simple one: think, organise and struggle to build a movement that can really carry on the fight which will inevitably come.

Laurie Flynn

SELECTED POLITICAL WRITINGS
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with 265 workers, for some time, have announced redundancies, and 300 volunteers could be the unions' main compulsory sack-ASS; at the time taken the firmest overtime and contract work. aspect of the is the apparent workers to put chopping block. present level the last long. ent again touch-voluntary redun- is a permanent in the aircraft are 10,151

by productivity are expect to be plant-wide deal. London recently to Measured Day of the workforce flexibility and study, three-shift ment.

Regularly

The manual combine committees in RR are well established and have met regularly in the past. A recent joint meeting in Crewe paved the way for one national combine, which would be a great step forward. However, the committees have few links with ordinary stewards—let alone the mass of rank and file workers.

workers are also the crisis in the surement, plant job evaluation at techniques to signed.

The SDLP: A rickety crutch for British rule in Ireland

by Eamonn McCann

THE MAIN opposition group in Northern Ireland, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), meets Edward Heath this week to discuss internment. If internment is not ended by 25 September the SDLP will not be able to take part in Whitelaw's conference scheduled for that day. And they desperately want to take part.

The SDLP had six members in the old Stormont parliament. In February 1969 three were elected as independents, one as Republican Labour, one as a Nationalist and one as British Labour. In August 1970 they came together to form the SDLP.

They had no common policy. What they shared was an understanding that the old, crude Unionist and Nationalist politics were not going to wash any longer. They set out to introduce a new professionalism—or a new pragmatism—into anti-Unionism.

The leader of the party, Gerry Fitt, is a political 'fixer' who would have held his own in Tammany Hall. If there was an Olympic competition for stabbing-in-the-back Gerry would be medal material.

At Westminster he has contrived to align himself with the Tribune group, without ever taking a firm stand on the Industrial Relations Act, Prices and Incomes, Vietnam or indeed anything else—which is as much a comment on the Tribune group as it is on Gerry Fitt.

In the past six months Fitt's position as leader has been steadily undermined by John Hume.

All-party

Hume, a former factory manager, is a personification of the new Catholic middle-class pragmatism. In private he has said that shop stewards who lead unofficial strikes should be jailed. In other company—such as that of the Labour leftists—he can describe himself as a socialist.

He maintains close liaison with both Jack Lynch and Harold Wilson and has been described by Lord Windlesham, Tory under-secretary for Northern Ireland, as 'our best hope'.

The other members of the party include:

Ivan Cooper (Mid-Derry): At 29, Cooper has in turn been a member of the Unionist Party, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, the 'Mid-Derry Independents' and now the SDLP. This may be some sort of record. He is a director of a building firm which refuses to employ union labour.

Austin Currie (East Tyrone): Currie was elected as a Nationalist and has been referred to as 'the



HUME: former factory manager

Weathervane'. Whatever way the wind is blowing, that's the way Currie will turn. In 1970 he was one of the most passionate supporters of Roy Hattersley's Bill setting up the Ulster Defence Regiment. The UDR is now terrorising Catholics in rural areas, including East Tyrone. Currie now demands its abolition.

Paddy O'Hanlon (South Armagh), of whom little is ever heard. His main ambition is to remain the MP for South anywhere.

Paddy Devlin (Falls) is a more complicated man. He was interned by the Unionists in the 50s. In British politics his instincts would be well to the left of Tribune. More than one Ulster policeman has felt the weight of his fist.

He is the only member of the SDLP whom socialists and republicans would even begin to trust and is generally believed to have stopped the others completely breaking their pledge not to attend the conference until internment is ended.

For all that, he has remained within the party through successive changes—and changes back—of policy. In many respects his presence provides Hume and Fitt with a left cover for their manoeuvring.

The SDLP has recently spent two weeks in County Donegal trying to hammer out a common policy to be presented to Whitelaw. It is widely



Gerry Fitt, leader of Northern Ireland's opposition SDLP, speaking at a rally in Trafalgar Square. The banner shows how far towards socialism they will go—just to Toryism without hang-ups.

believed that six different policies are on offer and in Ireland there is considerable speculation as to which of these, or what combination of them, will be enshrined in the final document.

But one thing is certain: whatever the details of the proposals, they will not present any challenge to the rule of Toryism in Ireland. Because despite the contradictions, the internal bickering and the reciprocal backstabbing, the party's general aim is clear enough.

They want a structure which will give 'the Catholics' a share in power in Northern Ireland.

The Tories will be perfectly prepared—indeed quite anxious—to do that. They, like the SDLP, want a civilised Tory regime in Northern Ireland without the hang-ups and recurrent violence associated with the old shibboleths of Protestant ascendancy.

Pledge

This would enable British big business to get on with the job of making profits out of the place. (Engineering wages are 20 per cent lower than in Britain, building wages 30 per cent lower and so on.)

The short-term difficulty is that last August, swept along by the outrage of the Catholic ghettos, the SDLP pledged that they would not negotiate until all the internees were released. Whether they like it or not—and Hume and Fitt certainly don't like it—they will have to stand by the pledge. To do otherwise would be to risk losing their grass roots support.

Recently Fitt has talked vaguely of a 'compromise' on internment. This could take the form of hauling the remaining internees before a special court without a jury and with new rules of evidence, thus giving their continued detention some semblance of 'legality'.

Certainly Heath this week will be hoping against hope that some such plan can be hammered out. He needs the SDLP at the conference table. He needs them to deliver the Catholic workers into a Tory settlement.

The SDLP in the last analysis is a rickety crutch for infirm imperialism in Ireland.

Political trial strips mask from 'impartial' law

THE Old Bailey trial of the Stoke Newington Eight on charges of conspiracy to cause explosions and unlawful possession re-started last week.

The jury's verdict will probably not be known until Christmas, but it is already clear that this trial, now largely ignored by Fleet Street, is of some importance to socialists.

It will certainly be the longest political trial in British history. Those in the dock had already endured 10 months in prison on remand when the trial started.

The level of bail now required of Anna Mendelson is the unprecedented sum of £29,000. And if the 15-year jail sentence on Jake Prescott is anything to judge by, the defendants face jail sentences of a severity not matched for political offenders since the Fenian Trials of the 1860s.

This trial is at a time when the law, to the open embarrassment of many lawyers, is abandoning its carefully fostered impartiality and being openly used to knuckle down on political offenders. From the jailing of the London dockers to the police attacks on the picket lines of Scunthorpe dockers and South London printers, this year has witnessed a new viciousness against workers by the police and in the courts.

And it is clear from the Special Branch gun-planting attempt revealed in the Hackney Arms Trial and the rising level of spying and raids on Left groups and their members that the political police are abandoning some of their former discretion.

Phone-tapping

The hunt for scapegoats for the Angry Brigade bombings serves as a clear warning of the weapons now at the disposal of the political police and the lack of scruple with which they are being used.

During this search police squads made repeated raids on political households offices and bookshops. In some cases they quite illegally seized property, which is unreturned. Letter-opening, telephone-tapping, continuous surveillance and the intensive use of Special Patrol Group units, hinted at officially in the pro-

ceedings to deport Rudi Dutschke, are now openly acknowledged.

Suspects were seized and subjected to prolonged cross-examination without legal advice.

The right to be considered innocent until found guilty (which is soon to be effectively abolished in law) was never even applied in this case. Instead the police hunt involving more than 200 detectives at one stage, and supervised by a Cabinet-appointed police chief, centred on finding—in Inspector Habershon's words—'suitable candidates for an outrage'.

Yet despite this unprecedented effort, the bulk of the prosecution evidence so far has hinged on circumstantial evidence and guilt by association. The police have already been obliged to release Chris Allen and Pauline Conroy after holding them for two weeks because of an entire lack of evidence. And the evidence so far mustered against several of those in the dock has been not merely thin but actually threadbare.

Bombs

The International Socialists have repeatedly emphasised our lack of sympathy with the methods of the urban guerrilla. We regard symbolic bomb explosions, crypto-military assaults, air liner hi-jacks, when they take place in isolation from a mass revolutionary movement which understands and supports them, as exercises in futility.

Indeed the marxist tradition with which we identify was actually shaped in conflict with previous enthusiasts for 'propaganda of the deed'.

The rash of small bomb attacks in Britain after 1968 actually reflected the disintegration of the student movement and the attempt to find a quick solution to the problem of revolutionary organisation. It has been shown to be a short cut to nowhere.

The political elitism, the taste for melodrama and the impatience with reality of that period must, we believe, be replaced by the far more rewarding business of organising a revolutionary movement which has real roots in the factories, the quays, the pits and the workplaces. The urgency and the passion of that period now finds its voice in the turbulence of the Labour Movement and it is there revolutionary ideas must take on active, human meaning.

But our complete disagreement about political methods and theory does not stand in the way of our solidarity with those in the Old Bailey dock, especially those who are courageously defending themselves.

For behind the legal system which judges them stands a state whose regiments and police forces are now being openly used against its own citizens. Authorising and approving this trial is a Tory government which, beneath an urbane mask, is contemptuous of democracy, ruthless in its war against workers and in some cases personally corrupt.

DAVID WIDGERY

● The Executive Committee of the International Socialists condemns the political frame-up of the Stoke Newington Eight and expresses its solidarity with those on trial.



REVIEW

KEEPING IT
IN THE
FAMILY...

THE GODFATHER is now showing at 24 British cinemas. There were five showings in five different languages at the Olympic Games in Munich. In America the film has broken all previous box office records and when the cash registers finally come to a halt it is estimated that the film will have earned more than 100 million dollars for its distributors, Paramount.

The Godfather is big business and this is quite apt because big business is the subject of the film. This is not always clear, because producer Francis Ford Coppola has erected a whole system of half-truths, euphemisms and evasions to pretend that the film is about something else.

The most obvious example is the agreement never to mention the word Mafia or even Cosa Nostra in the film, allegedly to protect the tender sensibilities of New York Mafia gangsters.

In itself, this would not be a crippling factor but sadly it is merely one feature in an overall, cringing kow-towing to the power of the Mafia. In exchange for the possibility of making a film with genuine insights into the way in which the Mafia operates and its roots in American society, the director has opted for the spurious advantage of the co-operation of several notorious Mafia hoods.

PATHETIC

This had two consequences. First, the Godfather lost any chance of being anything more than a ridiculous caricature of reality. One might as well ask the American Army to co-operate in making a film about militarism as expect hardened gangster chiefs to come up with meaningful insights into their own brutality and behaviour.

But there was a second and even less expected consequence. While this pathetic farce was being played out on the screen, the real aspect of the Mafia was revealing itself on the streets of New York.

'Godfather' Joe Colombo, the man with whom producer Coppola had had the closest co-operation,



Reviewed
by
Martin
Tomkinson

was gunned down and left permanently paralysed. This sparked off yet another in the endless rounds of internecine warfare between the New York 'families'.

On the screen, the candy-floss and prettified picture. On the streets, the blood and bullets in glorious Technicolour.

It was almost as if the tough men of the gangs were revolting against their own self-image being projected in this manner on the screen. It also served to remind

those tempted for even a second to forget the nature of big crime in America.

Socialists, least of all, should be under any illusion about the Mafia. What started as a closely-knit movement of peasants to protect themselves from the foreign invaders in Sicily, has been transformed into a hidden arm of the capitalist system.

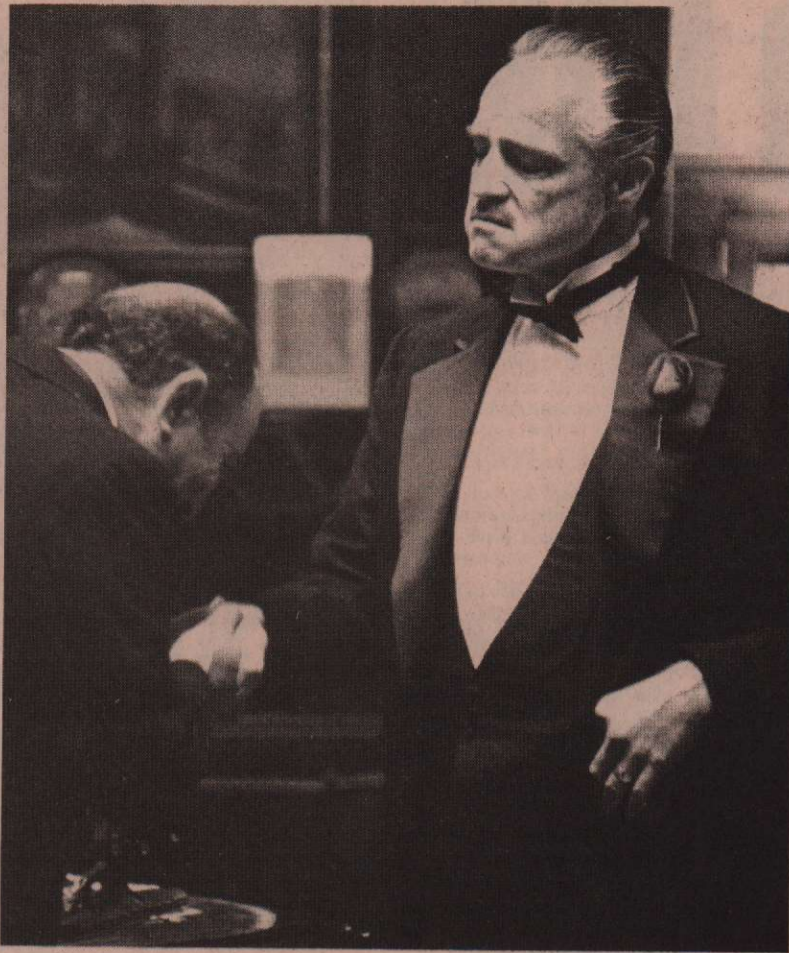
When a firm is having too much trouble with its workers or with a union, the 'syndicate' is called in to

sort things out. No one cares to admit it, but this violence is an inherent and very necessary component of the American system.

Neither is this a thing of the past, a product of the lawless 1930s. Only two years ago, a leading contender for the president of the miners' union Joseph Yablonsky, was brutally murdered by three gangsters on the orders of his opponent.

Similarly, corruption continues to eat deep into the fabric of American life. In 1931 it was estimated that 75 per cent of the Chicago police were on Al Capone's payroll. At Congressional hearings on police corruption last year, one New York policeman estimated that every single New York cop received bribes and back-handers from brothel operators.

It is just this interpenetration of the Mafia with every section of American society that the Godfather refuses to portray. Al Capone in his blunt and unsophisticated way understood this better than anyone else. 'Why don't these guys get off



Brando
as
head
of
the...
sssh!

my back? I'm the biggest supporter of private enterprise in this country.'

What is more, the American government has seen fit to co-operate quite openly with the Mafia when they saw fit. In 1943-44, when American troops landed in Sicily, notorious Mafia chief Lucky Luciano was used as an intermediary.

The result was that Luciano was given a free hand with his rackets and the local Christian Democrats were able to use the gangs as an 'extra-parliamentary' arm against the Left.

On May Day 1947 a peaceful Communist demonstration was fired upon and ambushed by the Mafia. After a bloody few minutes, dozens of people lay dead and hundreds were wounded.

GRIM

This is the reality of the Mafia in Sicily and in America. There have been good and sensitive attempts to understand the phenomenon. One of the best was Franco Rossi's fine film about the bandit, Salvatore Giuliano.

As for America, two books sum up the grim truth. One is The Valachi Papers, the first account of the Mafia written from the inside and not by glamourising journalists.

The other is Boss by Mike Royko—the story of Chicago's mayor, the renowned Richard Daley. He is not a member of the Mafia but to all intents and purposes he might just as well be.

We do not anticipate a film with Marlon Brando starring in the role of Richard Daley.

The point is that the American system is riddled with corruption. The Godfather makes no contribution whatsoever to understanding the roots of this corruption or its ramifications through all the different sectors of society.

If you want to understand this, turn to Boss or the Valachi Papers (both of which are available in cheap paperbacks). If you like romantic fairy tales or even Marlon Brando's acting, then see The Godfather instead.

A chilly reception for 'democratic socialism'

HOW does big business react when a government opposed to some of its interests comes to power? Three months ago the Washington newspaper columnist Jack Anderson brought to light certain documents that give a graphic account of such reactions.

His publication of secret files of the giant American company ITT caused an immediate furore. Now Spokesman Books have done a service to the left by reprinting them for sale in this country.

ITT was naturally disturbed in the autumn of 1970 when Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile. The company owns very profitable assets in that country—a 160 million dollar holding in the telephone monopoly and some luxury hotels—and Allende was promising to nationalise the major foreign monopolies.

The immediate reaction of the company was to do everything possible to stop Allende taking over the presidency. To this end it urged the previous president, Frei, to carry through a manoeuvre with the leader of the extreme right wing National Party to prevent endorsement of Allende's election by the Chilean Congress. When Frei hesitated to do this, ITT tried to organise economic disruption and a military coup.

As the ITT vice president in charge of the public relations, Edward Gerrity, wrote to the head of the company, 'Certain steps were being taken aimed at inducing economic collapse.' Other documents tell that 'chances of thwarting Allende's assumption of power are now pegged mainly to an economic



Allende: promises...

collapse which is being encouraged by some sections of the business and political community and by President Frei himself. Massive unemployment and unrest might produce enough violence to force the military to intervene.

'Under cover efforts are being made to bring about the bankruptcy of one or two of the major savings and loan associations. This is expected to trigger off a run on the banks and the closure of some factories, resulting in more unemployment.'

Deliberate plotting by big business aimed to reduce the country to such a state of economic anarchy as to make it seem that the election of the left was a disaster and that only military rule could restore order. To bring this about, the savings of tens of thousands of lower middle class people were deliberately to be destroyed and bigger numbers of workers thrown out of their jobs.

ITT's plotting was, however, to be ineffective. There was not complete economic chaos or a military coup. But this was only because the other major companies and the US government backed a shrewder, less direct, strategy.

This, too, is well documented. Instead of planning for the immediate overthrow of Allende, they set about forcing him to confine his actions within a framework which would, over time, make him turn against the working class.

Instead, the main US interests followed a 'low profile' approach. The US ambassador said they should 'try to live with Allende—not appease him—take a firm line, but attempt to negotiate at every turn.' He believed that the US had 'pressure points' such as 'our source of development funds and markets for Chile products...'

Promises

But the manoeuvres of ITT and certain Chilean army generals were not without their results—although the outcome was rather different to what ITT itself wanted.

In order to prevent the majority of the army officers and big business from supporting the plotters, Allende made a whole series of promises to them. He 'promised various officers that he will not change the military organisational structure' and he held 'a series of meetings with Chilean business leaders, seeking pledges of support...'

Effectively, he promised that he would not touch the forces which ITT had wanted to use against him. But this means these forces continued to exist—and could threaten him if they decided he was really damaging their interests.

My copy of the Spokesman book contains

an inserted statement from Eric Heffer MP who writes that 'The documents reveal how far big business interests will go to ensure that a democratically elected left wing government is defeated... They reveal that once a genuine socialist government is elected the forces of reaction will not permit its programme to be carried through.'

He suggests that the same forces would try to use the same methods against any Labour government elected in Britain on a left-wing programme. There can be no doubt that he is correct. The only trouble is that the logical conclusion is not drawn.

Capitalism cannot be reformed slowly out of existence. The economic and political power of big business interests has to be destroyed at one blow before it can be used to organise economic chaos, military coups, or for that matter 'Labour governments' obedient to its dictates.

And that transformation is not going to be achieved by the sort of play acting in the Palace of Westminster that is so dear to the hearts of Eric Heffer and his friends. It will require mass working-class action, organised by workers themselves in workers' councils and led by a revolutionary party. Otherwise the Chilean road will also be the British road.

Subversion in Chile, 85p, from Spokesman Books, Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Forest Road West, Nottingham.

Chris Harman

ESTATES PREPARE FOR RENT STRIKES

EVERY week more tenants' organisations are committing themselves to rent strikes. The past week has seen the collapse of three more Labour councils into collaboration with the Tories.

In Huyton, Lancashire, 21 Labour councillors resigned rather than implement the Act, but this left the eight Tories to put up the rents. Hemel Hempstead, one of the original organisers of the non-implementation lobby, voted by 22 to 7 to implement, with a feeble excuse about protecting the tenants. Rugeley in Staffordshire, where Labour councillors asked for the appointment of a Housing Commissioner in April, also voted to implement after receiving a sharp letter from the Minister.

The collapse of these councils has brought it home to tenants that they will have to fight in October, but there is so far no co-ordination of these struggles nationally. The National Association of Tenants and Residents doesn't seem to have the will or the ability. The only action it has organised is another dreary rally in Trafalgar Square on Sunday 1 October. Its only call to action is the now futile and irrelevant demand that Labour councils should not implement the Act.

Tenants' organisations must concentrate in the next few weeks in getting as many tenants as possible on rent strike in October and getting the maximum backing from the trade unions.

HALSTEAD: Tenants have voted to ignore the Housing Commissioner if he is sent in by the government to put up rents.

Local Labour Party members have been trying to persuade the tenants to urge the council, who have refused to implement the Act, to put up rents while using the 'Newcastle amendment' to make increases less severe.

But the Tenants and Residents Action Group rejected this and passed a resolution stating that they would not recognise the authority of the housing commissioner and would pay no increases. Any attempts to evict tenants or victimise councillors who have refused to implement the Act will be met with a total rent and rates strike, with a call for industrial action from trade unions locally and nationally.

CHELTENHAM: Hundreds of tenants, who have been on rent strike since April, have forced the Tory Council to drop its plan to impose a further 50p rise next month.

GREENWICH: The tenants movement has been spurred on by the collapse of the Labour Council. Four new associations have decided to withhold the rent rises in October and are organising local trade union support.

WANDSWORTH: At a conference held by the Tenants Joint Action Committee, the delegates, representing 20 tenants associations, 5 trade unions and various political groups, called on all Wandsworth tenants to withhold the 75p increase.

BRISTOL:—Three hundred tenants of Kingswood urban district have voted to withhold the £1 rent increase from October. Kingswood, on the edge of Bristol, is yet another Labour council that has gone back on its promises.

At the first meeting of the tenants' association the chairman of the council finance committee supported a vote of total opposition to the 'Fair Rent' Act and calling on the council to back a rent strike. Now he is saying that he 'regrets' having to implement it.



A float entered by Buxton tenants for the annual carnival. The slogan says: 'His home was his castle, but now it's a tent—Homes too dear to buy and too dear to rent.'

Army raids end the loyalists' little tea party

by Mike Miller, Belfast

LAST WEEK'S gun battles between the British Army and the Ulster Defence Association were the first of their kind since October 1969, when Shankill loyalists engaged the army.

Since the military onslaught against the anti-unionist minority began in July 1970, the loyalists and the army have worked well together. During the internment swoops of August last year they joined forces in some areas against the Catholic minority. As late as two weeks ago loyalist gunmen and soldiers were operating together against Catholic areas in Belfast.

The degree of collusion between the UDA and the army finally reached the light of day with a UDA declaration that army personnel came regularly to consult them.

On top of this Colonel Wilford of the Paras stated publicly that he had always 'stood back, in the past, in order to accommodate the UDA to the best of my

ability.' He is a personal friend of many leading loyalists.

Such collusion went on even though many UDA members have recently been involved in murders, bombing and gun-running—with the knowledge of the 'forces of law and order', if not with their direct assistance. The UDA is in possession of republican documents, which appear to have been given to them by the army.

Even after the army announced that the UDA had attacked them with automatic weapons and shrapnel bombs, two senior army officers and the assistant chief constable had a meeting with its leaders and agreed to many of their demands. The chief of police himself wrote a character reference for the UDA chairman when he appeared on an arms charge involving £350,000 worth of illegal arms.

One of the more sinister aspects of the present situation is the involvement of the Ulster Defence Regiment, brainchild of the last Labour government. Two of its members face charges of intent to murder Catholics and others are detained on arms charges.

Explosives

150 Shankill UDR men are 'on strike' demanding the withdrawal of the Paras from their area. One of their leaders said he would not be held responsible for their future action if their demands were not met.

Since the breakdown of the UDA-army detente several UDA men have appeared in court on arms charges, and for the first time ever loyalist premises have been searched and large quantities of guns and explosives found.

The UDA headquarters, which must have been visited several times before by army officers, were suddenly found to be a bomb factory. Recent explosions at Catholic churches, pubs and businesses were almost certainly planned there.

The reason for the breakdown in relations is not hard to find. In spite of the recent increase in the repression of the Catholic minority, the British ruling class still hopes to come to some agreement with the Catholic middle class by way of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. So the army has been forced to at least limited actions against the UDA.

The same loyalists who worshipped the Paras after the murder of 13 unarmed civilians in Derry last January are now calling them 'animals' and 'gun happy louts' and are demanding their removal from Northern Ireland.

Inquiry

But this does not indicate a shift to sympathy with the Bogside who 'only got what they deserved since they were acting illegally'.

Loyalists firmly believe themselves to be above the law. Any action against them is 'unjustified', 'immoral' and 'illegal'. They see no contradiction in opposing an inquiry into the Paras' massacre in Derry while demanding one for the deaths in the Shankill. In place of the Paras they want their own UDR.

The failure of the loyalist unity talks last month means that the Unionist Party can no longer claim to speak for loyalist workers. So the rank and file have no voice at the conference table.

Without a say they fear a 'sell out' to republicanism and a set-up where their lot as workers deteriorates. Their recent spate of armed attacks on the army is an attempt to ensure that their voice is heard before Whitelaw tries to decide their fate.

But they wrongly imagine that they can achieve a better way of life within the framework of Unionism, just as many Catholics believe that their problems can be solved by mere reunification with the South. In either case, imperialism will still dominate Ireland, and the interests of the working class, Catholics and Protestant, are not compatible with that.

PICTURE: Back page

BOILERMAKERS GO IT ALONE ON THE TYNE

by Dave Peers

TYNESIDE:—A mass meeting of boilermakers from the five Swan Hunter shipyards voted unanimously last week to stay out on strike until their claim for a 17½ per cent cost-of-living pay claim has been met in full.

The 3800 workers gave a rough reception to district delegate Jack Oliver, who urged them to return to work and go through procedure. Such was the feeling against union boss Dan McGarvey and the union leadership that the men decided to stop all union subscriptions during the strike, and to keep full-time officials away from negotiations.

'The one thing you can say about our officials is that they are consistent. They're always on the side of the employer,' said Les Jordan from the platform. This distrust of the leadership was echoed by other rank and file speakers and stewards.

FALLEN

The Swan Hunter shipyards do not have a reputation for union militancy, which makes the boilermakers' revolt against McGarvey all the more significant.

Their claim is based on the 17½ per cent rise in the cost of living since the three-year pay and productivity agreement was signed in February 1971. This agreement rules out any increases in basic rates until 1973, and as a result boilermakers' rates at Swan Hunter have fallen steadily behind those in engineering works.

McGarvey pushed through this agreement with the argument that Swans were virtually bankrupt and to demand more would put the company out of business. A few months later the fitters and other trades won substantial pay increases.

Far from going bankrupt Swans' shares have leaped from 30p last autumn to their 139p earlier this week. In February 1971 and in the notorious 1968 agreement under which welders had wage cuts of up to £10

per week, McGarvey won the day by dividing wage-leaders such as the welders against the lower paid.

But this time he will have a tougher job confusing the membership: as a result of these sell-outs his reputation is at an all-time low, and a cost of living claim unites the entire membership.

This has all the signs of developing into the most important confrontation on the river in years. The determination of the workers is unmistakable, and from the size of their offer (30p per quarter cost of living rise plus 50p on the bonus) Swans are going to fight it out.

Building workers break up racist meeting

BUILDING workers and International Socialists broke up an anti-immigrant meeting at the end of a march through BIRMINGHAM centre last Saturday. The march had been organised by Tory Alderman Charles Collett with the British Movement, whose leader is Nazi supporter Colin Jordan.

Alan Brown, building workers' shop steward on the Queen Elizabeth site, said: 'The Powellites are trying to divide the workers and divert attention from the real issues. But building workers will turn out in force to prevent the anti-immigration demonstrators from holding another meeting in the city.'

In READING police attacked counter-demonstrators who were opposing an

anti-Asian march last weekend.

The counter-demonstrators—supported by the International Socialists and other left-wing groups—had already decided they would not attempt to break up the racist march by force. Instead they set out on a separate demonstration ahead of the march, giving out leaflets along its route to counter the racist propaganda.

Police, without provocation, attempted to seize one of the counter-demonstrators in a conveniently deserted part of the town. When others attempted to rescue him seven were arrested. One has been charged with assaulting a police officer, six with obstruction.

The racist march included fewer than 50 people, despite massive publicity.

Two-month lock-out in battle for union rights

TONBRIDGE (Kent):—A 100 workers at Creffields' motor components have been locked out for more than two months in a fight for trade union organisation with a vicious, anti-union management.

Since the firm moved from London seven years ago it has done everything possible to prevent union organisation developing. Pay rates, including bonus, range from a top level of £23 down to £17 for mates.

But earlier this year some workers began to enroll men into the union. They had to do so in great secrecy, carrying enrolment forms hidden inside newspapers.

When management heard about this, the organisers were moved from job to job and sacked, ostensibly for clock-card irregularities.

Finally, all the workers signed a petition to the management demanding recognition.

At a mass meeting at the beginning of July it was decided to start a work-to-rule and overtime ban until the demand was met.

Since then the company has continued to resist recognition. It has offered a 'works council' instead. But when the strike committee visited another Creffield factory at Ishington, they were told that the works committee there was a joke.

Rumour

Ford shop stewards declared 100 per cent blacking of Creffields' products at the beginning of September. When a fork lift driver at Ford's Halewood plant was suspended for refusing to unload blacked goods, 2000 workers struck until he was reinstated.

Management then tried to get goods

moved by spreading the rumour that the strike had been settled. But telephone calls soon defeated this move to smash the struggle.

Nine weeks after the struggle started 93 men out of 107 are still out and they are confident of victory. They have seen police attempt to help lorries cross the picket line.

They have seen the management forced to meet twice with the Engineering Union district secretary. And they have seen management threaten to take back only 36 out of the 107 men sacked.

The struggle is being watched keenly by other workers and managements in mid-Kent. If the workers are successful, then other companies in the area will be forced to concede the same rights.

Donations to: W Fox, 7 Dodd Road, Tonbridge, Kent.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

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Socialist Worker

Immigrants help to win strike victory

BIRMINGHAM:—The engineering firm of T D Cross hardly looked a likely place for a successful strike back in June when a claim was submitted for a substantial wage increase. Only 200 of the 375 shop floor were in the union and they had been members for less than two years.

About half the workers were Asian immigrants, many unable to speak English. And the firm had had no strikes in its 102 years' history.

Yet after five weeks of strike, the men have been able to return to work victorious. When the official strike was declared, only

25 of the 175 non-unionists stayed in work. The rest came out and soon joined the union, nearly doubling its factory membership.

Despite an initial management refusal to negotiate, the strikers remained solid, including the Asians who were always present in good numbers on the picket lines. Finally the management was forced

to offer first £1.50 then £2.50. This was accepted by a majority at a mass meeting.

Wages are still low. Before the strike they ranged from as low as £14 for women to a top figure of £26 for skilled workers. But the union is much stronger now. As the convenor says: 'From now on the company will treat us with a bit more respect.'

BUILDERS' LEADERS PLAN DIRTY DEAL

Con trick
they call
a 'model'

ABERDEEN:—When workers on the Cameron's building site got their wages last week, they finally realised the extent of the 'model' agreement con-trick.

It was supposed to give skilled men at least £30 a week, and this was the big selling point used by the right-wing officials to persuade Cameron's workforce to return to work while their brothers on other sites remained out on strike.

But some workers haven't been given the full £5 bonus that was to go on top of the £25 basic. Cameron has accused UCATT of misleading Scottish workers. 'They are trying to tell their members they are on 75p an hour. But this only applies to men in a position to earn a bonus, and there are many jobs on a building site which were non-bonus paying.'

Cameron is also saying that when a craftsman is in a bonus job and fails to make the bonus level of £5, then he will decide whether the man has made sufficient effort to merit a make-up payment to the minimum level. If Cameron doesn't think he has then the man won't get it.

Retreat

There is no doubt that Cameron is breaking the terms of the original agreement, bad as they were. But the reason why he's doing this must be understood. When he settled with the unions he obviously hoped to avoid a strike and only end up by paying what the other building firms would be forced to do by a strike. Both ways he would win.

Since then he has seen the effective withdrawal of the £30 for 35 hours original claim in favour of a claim that is equal to the settlement he had actually reached.

Now Cameron believes this retreat will mean that the eventual settlement will be a compromise between the last national offer and his agreement. As he has no intention of paying more than his competitors he has decided to wriggle out.

This must surely be the final nail in the coffin of the 'model' agreement idea. It has been shown to divide the strikers more than the employers, who are now reforming their ranks. Only a united all-out campaign for the full demands can stand any chance of winning.



Building workers giving mock Nazi and Fascist salutes during their counter-demo to a Birmingham racist march.



DIRTY WORK is afoot in the building industry. The strike of 300,000 workers remains solid and is continuing to spread to new areas, but the leaders of the unions involved have been attempting to arrange a settlement that falls far short of the main demands.

Informal talks over such a deal with the employers began at the TUC in Brighton last week, where George Smith, leader of the main building union and chairman of the TUC, managed to pass the week without making any public reference to the strike, still less any appeal for solidarity and financial support from the assembled delegates.

The employers' offer makes no concession on the claim for a 35-hour week, without which more than 100,000 building workers will remain in the dole queue. So any acceptance of a deal that does not reduce the working week is a direct betrayal of the unemployed.

Nor does the employers' offer meet the other main demand of the strike, for a basic wage of £30. Instead all that they seem to be offering is a basic of £26, to be raised to £28 next October. Because of rising prices, £28 next October will be worth only about the same as £26 now. So the demand is far from being met.

Yet the signs are that the employers are now really feeling the pressure of the strike. They have been hit by what they least expected, a struggle involving hundreds of sites previously unorganised and dominated by the lump. That an employer in Basildon has been using a helicopter to evade picket lines is a symptom of how desperate many of the firms are.

But the official leaders of the unions have given virtually no lead to this new-found militancy of their members.

Their approach has been to allow rank and file militants and some local officials to spread the strike and organise the industry

by SW reporters

properly for the first time, while doing nothing themselves. Instead they wait for the rank and file to tire of the struggle so that they can then carve out a deal and resume cosy relations with the big building bosses.

The only nationally organised rank-and-file movement in the industry, Building Workers' Charter, has completely failed to organise a national response to this half-hearted approach. No issue of the Charter's paper has appeared since the strike began.

The danger now is that the latest offer will cause enormous confusion, particularly among those brought into contact with trade unionism for the first time during this strike. The dirty compromises being arranged by George Smith and his friends will not only hit his members' living standards. They could also threaten the gains made by the unions if workers drift back to work disenchanted.

DRIFT

Militants must fight the danger by opposing any acceptance of the employers' latest offer. They should demand that before any settlement is made, it be put to mass meetings of those who have borne the brunt of the struggle, the rank and file. Those sites that were organised before the present dispute must take the initiative in ensuring that non-unionised and previously lump sites do not return to work until union cards have been issued and stewards recognised.

- No retreat on £30 for 35 hours.
- No local deals.
- No national agreement until it has been put to mass meetings in each locality.

- Mass picketing of cement works and other building suppliers to ensure that scab sites cannot work.

- Appeals of support to the whole trade union movement for funds and sympathy action to keep the strike going.

ENGINEERS JOIN MARCH

WIGAN:—Building workers who marched through the town last Saturday were joined by engineering workers from Walmesley's plants who have been on strike for two months.

At a meeting after the march, speaker after speaker from the floor condemned the building union leaders' policy of company agreements.

Mike Farley, chairman of the Wigan action committee, spoke of the arrest by the police of 13 pickets outside Peters, the building suppliers, the week before.

'Apparently,' he said, 'When picketing is effective it is illegal. But the police are not going to beat us back to work.'

A spokesman for the local trades council pledged full support for the strikers and said attempts were being made to raise money from all sections of the trade union movement in Wigan. He reported that Bold miners have already raised £300.

Sixty delegates from 13 action committees in towns in the North West met on Friday of last week. They voted by 40 votes to none for a resolution criticising the national union leaderships' support for local and company deals.

The only open dissension from this line came from three Liverpool delegates, led by Billy James, chairman of the Merseyside action committee and a member of the Communist Party.

The delegates agreed to meet weekly on Fridays at 11.15 at the Wigan Central Labour Club. They also called for a national conference of action committee delegates.

Lorry drivers fight the spy in the cab

by SW reporter

SINCE the dockers started their picketing and blacking campaign the road transport section of the Transport Workers Union has been thrown into crisis.

Threats to break away and join the smaller and less militant rival United Road Transport Union have been made. And, encouraged by the press, many lorry drivers have been 'persuaded' that the dockers' jobs fight is a struggle against other workers—drivers in particular.

But with the British road haulage industry in the process of massive rationalisation and Common Market entry on the horizon, lorry drivers are themselves face to face with the beginnings of a fight similar to the dockers'.

The avowed intention of the Devlin productivity deals in the docks was to reduce massively the number of jobs and impose factory attitudes on the dock labour force. This is precisely the purpose of the tachograph, the 'spy in the cab' machine which the Labour government threatened to make compulsory in 1968. Its widespread introduction has been stalled thanks to the continued militant opposition of important sections of TGWU lorry drivers.

Opposed

But now both Labour and Tories are relying on Common Market entry to do their dirty work for them. EEC legislation provides for the compulsory introduction of the spy in the cab on all heavy goods vehicles.

Until recently the Transport Workers Union had a slightly devious 'no tachograph' policy. While rank and file sections were firmly opposed, TGWU national officers maintained only that the union would not put up with statutory introduction of the mechanical foreman.

Privately they had come to a gentleman's agreement with URTU to fix a 'trade off' price for permitting the tachograph to be brought in as part of a productivity deal. Heavy lobbying of TGWU national officers organised by the Midland section has led to a stiffening of this position into one of outright opposition.

Sickening

What the drivers are saying is simple: The freedom of the lorry driver is not up for sale. The tachograph is specifically designed to monitor every move and stop he makes and is completely foolproof. The lorry driver cannot deceive or interfere with it.

Perhaps the most sickening thing about the manufacturers and the big employers' drive to install these machines is the way they wrap their desires for lower costs and more job control up in propaganda about increased safety.

In point of fact the hazards of lorry driving cannot be solved inside the cab but only by a planned and integrated transport system whose priorities do not include the pursuit of profit.

The tachograph is only one part of the current employers' offensive. The road transport industry is rolling into a crisis situation where the employers are learning that the best way to make a killing is not necessarily the obvious one.

They are interested in planning the whole drive and delivery operation down to the most minute details. To counter this threat to employment and job control, lorry drivers are going to need policies and tactics as imaginative as those thrown up by the dockers in their fight for survival.

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ONE of the banners used by the British Campaign to Stop Immigration on their march in Bradford. When the 'Stop Immigration Now' slogan was stripped off, there was a Tory election poster underneath.

'We stay out' vote

YORK:—At a mass meeting on Monday builders voted unanimously to stay out for a reasonable settlement, that all scabs should be barred from the union and that no normal working will be resumed, after a settlement had been made, on sites where scabs have been working, until they have been dismissed.

After the meeting, 200 men went to the hospital building site opposite, pulled out the scabs and closed down the site.

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