

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY OCTOBER 2, 1972 ● No 883 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY DAVID MAUDE

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For premier Heath and his top strategists recognize that among the thousands of words spoken by TUC and Labour Party leaders on the subject since last Tuesday there is not a syllable of real opposition.

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This is why TUC secretary Victor Feather was so anxious to stress, at a conference of National Savings enthusiasts in Torquay on Saturday, that the Tory plan for a £2 limit on pay increases had not been put as 'a pistol at our heads' or as an ultimatum.

And this is why Joe Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, was so quick to emphasize after an executive meeting the same day that his members' £5.50-£7 pay claim was 'subject to negotiation' (see 'NUM leaders retreat', page 11).

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Any such demands will be just as bogus as the union leaders' 'opposition'.

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No resolution opposing the plan will appear on the agenda of the Labour Party conference, which starts in Blackpool today. The conference - arrangements committee has refused to accept an emergency motion on the issue from the white-collar ASTMS.

The conference managers will explain this morning that this is because there will be plenty of opportunity for opposition to be expressed during the scheduled debate on prices and incomes, which is fixed for Thursday.

But a clear hint of the nature of this 'opposition' came in Blackpool yesterday from Jack Jones, Transport and General Workers' Union secretary (see above).

Speaking after a meeting of the T&GWU delegation, Jones said the Heath plan was 'outside the conference'.

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LABOUR PARTY executive member Ian Mikardo MP said yesterday that he did not want to lose members from the Party, whether they were pro-Common Market or not. But he would not be blackmailed, he said. It would not be an unmitigated disaster if some pro-Marketters decided to stand down at the next election.

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His union is insisting also that the government must introduce a legal freeze on house prices and rents, curb rises in profits and dividends and put the Industrial Relations Act on ice.

A formula has also been worked out on the Common Market.

At the debate on Wednesday, delegates will have three resolutions before them.

One supporting entry will certainly be defeated. But uncertainty surrounds the motion from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, which calls for 'complete opposition' to entry and commits a future Labour government to pulling out of Europe on taking office.

The resolution most likely to find favour is a third alternative.

This is a composite of

three resolutions from the Boilermakers' Society, and the Ebbw Vale and Ilkeston constituency Labour Parties.

It calls on Labour to negotiate terms and scrap the Market's common agricultural policy, Value-Added Tax, and to reject any curbs on the British government's freedom to carry out its economic policy.

The composite also demands that Labour halts any immediate entry negotiations until new terms have been negotiated and 'the assent of the British electorate has been given'.

This is only marginally tougher than the policy outlined in Labour's draft programme, which calls on a Labour government to sound out the feelings of the electors if agreement on satisfactory terms between Britain and the EEC cannot be reached.

On both main issues, therefore, the conference has already been made virtually incapable in advance of reaching any kind of principled decision.

Square rally on rents

BY PHILIP WADE

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They later marched to Downing Street to deliver a resolution calling on the Tory government to withdraw the Act. Carried unanimously by the rally, it also called on all Labour councils to refuse implementation and not to evict tenants refusing to pay the rises of around £1 which will result.

Earlier Mrs Millie Miller, leader of the Labour council in Camden, London, said:

'Camden doesn't feel happy, safe or secure in its confrontation with the government, but we feel we have to make this fight.'

'All the cards are stacked against your elected local representatives. The fight is in your hands.'

The rally was organized by the National Association of Tenants and Residents.

Before it began, about 350 tenants and others marched from Camden to the Square.

● See page 12 rents story.



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Gold magnet

It's still attractive though ministers try to ignore it

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE ONLY speaker at last week's Washington meeting of the International Monetary Fund to mention the taboo word 'gold' was Dr Nicholas Diederichs, the South African Finance Minister.

He referred to the IMF executive directors' report, which speaks of the 'tradition, universal use, limited production and physical characteristics of gold', the only reserve asset held by central banks that is not somebody else's liability.

As the capitalist world's largest gold producer, South Africa has obvious reasons for keeping the metal in the forefront, and for arguing, as Diederichs did, for a rise in the 'official' price.

At \$38 an ounce, the official gold price is almost \$30 below the level on the 'free market'. For this reason, the gold reserves held by central banks are effectively frozen.

Since August 15 last year when the US Treasury stopped selling gold to central banks at the 'official' price, no central banker in his right mind has settled his debts in gold when he could use special drawing rights, dollars or other paper assets.

This has given rise to the idea that gold is on the way out as an international reserve asset and that in the future the capitalist countries will settle their debts entirely with pieces of paper.

This idea is being fostered by the Americans, who currently have low gold reserves and want the rest of the world to believe they have abandoned the idea of piling up stocks of the metal.

Gold retains its power precisely because unlike paper assets it actually incorporates real value: huge amounts of human labour are required to find it in the earth, dig it out and refine it into bullion.

However distasteful Diederichs' ABC observations may be to the other representatives of international capitalism, they cannot fly in the face of the basic laws of their system.

The very fact that the free market price remains obstinately well over \$60 an ounce demonstrates that whatever the Finance Ministers may say the metal has lost none of its attraction.

British Steel - Rotherham

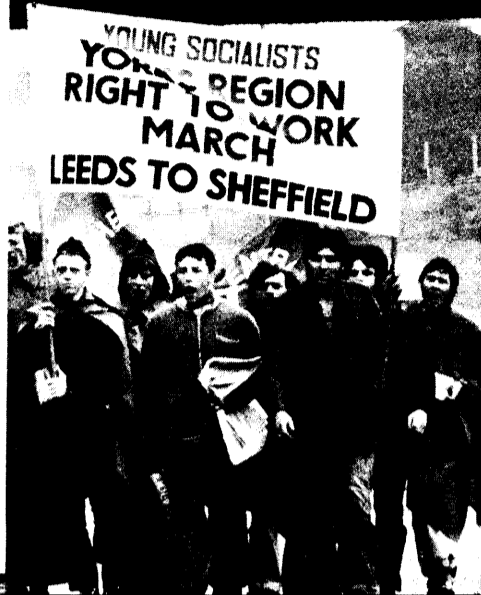
YORKSHIRE Young Socialists ended their Right-to-Work march last Saturday with a demonstration through Sheffield. They marched in from Rotherham in the morning and through the crowded city centre to a meeting attended by local youth and trade unionists.

Mike Duke, a local militant during the recent building workers' strike congratulated the marchers who walked for seven days from Leeds. The marchers, he said, had not allowed anybody to stand in their way. They had exposed the fake lefts, who also sold out the building workers' strike.

'We have got to fight for leadership. We have got to force a General Strike to get the Tories out,' he said.

March leader Ray Jaxon said the unemployed youth on the march had shaken up the trade union movement in Yorkshire.

'We drove fear into the minds of the trade union bureaucrats who do not want to fight the Tories. But we received enormous support from workers who are driven into conflict with their own leaders.'



YS Right-to-Work campaign



Hypocritical talk from Maoists

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

OFFICIAL Chinese journals yesterday accused the United States and the USSR of preparing for a new war under the guise of a superficial compromise.

In National Day editorials, the papers said that 'though the two super-powers, the Soviet Union and the US, have conducted negotiations and concluded certain agreements, their superficial compromise and ease-off only serve to prepare for a new fight.'

The editorials followed a week of intense diplomatic activity by the Chinese Stalinist leaders, who have concluded diplomatic relations with Japan and are reported to be on the verge of ending their border dispute with the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leaders no doubt hope to head off internal criticism by pre-empting some of the arguments of their critics. The opening of relations between Peking and the US and Japan over the last six months has flown in the face of the Maoists' previous denunciations of imperialism.

By stating that these new relations do not lessen the danger of war, the Chinese leaders are putting forward an obvious truism. What they do not say, of course, is that their secret talks with Nixon and his envoys endanger the Vietnamese struggle and are directly counter-revolutionary.

While acclaiming the 'great achievements of Chairman Mao's line in foreign affairs', the Maoists are trying unconvincingly to cover themselves on the left.

LIBERATION forces in Vietnam have accused the United States of using biological warfare to destroy crops and starve civilians and guerrilla fighters. US planes dropped insect eggs in plastic containers in Quang Ngai.

Soviet aid to fascists' nuclear programme

THE SOVIET Union is prepared to give technical assistance to Spain's nuclear energy programme. The offer came at a recent conference organized by the European Economic Commission of the United Nations in Alcala de Henares near Madrid.

After Spanish delegate Colino had pointed out that developing nations had difficulty with advanced technology, the Soviet delegate said aid would be in line with the recently-signed Paris trade agreement.

This Stalinist offer of nuclear aid to the fascist regime follows a statement by Luis Cerón, minister in charge of negotiations with the Stalinists, that Spain would have abundant trade with Comecon countries if Common Market entry was not possible.

This latest episode in the Moscow-Madrid alliance coincided with the first anti-student foray by the new ultra-falangist rector of Madrid university, Munoz Alonso.

Without any explanations, he banned a meeting of teaching staff in the Law Faculty which was to discuss staff resignations and the barring of 27 students from the Faculty this year.

The Ministry of Education has refused to renew the contracts of over 50 university lecturers who had built up a reputation as liberal academics.

Both students and lecturers are still waiting for the start of term to be announced.

A Barcelona military court on Saturday sentenced four men to terms ranging from 15 to 18 years imprisonment for a bomb attack on a local police patrol car.

Flare-up on Yemeni border

A NEW flare-up of fighting on the border between North and South Yemen has sent an Arab conciliation commission rushing to the area to try to prevent an all-out clash.

Backed by Saudi Arabia, the more conservative North Yemen government forces, together with mercenaries, attacked border posts last week and killed a number of South Yemeni soldiers.

North Yemen also claims to have shot down two planes belonging to the People's Democratic Republic of (South) Yemen. North Yemen wants to restore the semi-feudal system of rule which has been overthrown in the South.

European mercenaries, most of them extreme rightists, are reported fighting alongside the North Yemen troops.

Syria becomes the go-between for Egypt and Kremlin

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

PRESIDENT Hafez Al-Assad of Syria is acting as a go-between for Egypt and the Soviet Union whose relations have been strained since Anwar Sadat expelled 20,000 Soviet military advisers.

Last week Assad spent two days in Moscow on a private visit during which he held lengthy discussions with Soviet leaders. Afterwards he flew to Cairo for three hours of talks with Sadat.

As a result, Egyptian premier Aziz Sidky is to fly to Moscow on October 16 for further talks with the Russians.

Deputy Minister of Culture, Dr Mohammed Abdel Kader Hatem, is due in Moscow on Tuesday for celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of the overthrow of King Farouk.

Syria is one of the USSR's few remaining close allies in the Middle East. The Syrian army is heavily dependent on Soviet arms supplies and the Ba'athist

government recently signed a national pact with the local Stalinists.

On Moscow's insistence the Communist Party agreed to support the Assad government, though previous Syrian Ba'athist regimes have persecuted the party mercilessly.

Now the Kremlin is hoping that Assad will help to bolster the thoroughly unprincipled relationship between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Egyptian ruling class.

Though camouflaged as a common struggle against Zionism and imperialism, the relationship in fact subordinates the independent movement of the Arab workers to the increasingly right-wing bourgeois regimes and to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

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THE DARLING OF THE TORY PRESS

When Roy Jenkins became Labour's Chancellor of the Exchequer, the businessman's weekly, the right-wing 'Economist', produced a front-page headline which said: 'Roy's the Boy.'

And in his two years at the Treasury Jenkins proved that he certainly was 'their boy'. By the end of his term he was being described as the greatest Tory chancellor since the war!

If Jenkins was favourite son of big business while in power, he has done everything to earn its continued gratitude while in Opposition. What happened on October 28, 1971, is one day that immediately springs to mind.

He led 69 right wingers on the Parliamentary Labour Party into the Tory lobbies to give Edward Heath the necessary majority to take Britain into the Common Market. In voting with the Tories the right-wing rebels defied decisions opposing Market entry which had been overwhelmingly reached at the party's Brighton conference a few weeks before, the Parliamentary Labour Party itself, and the TUC.

But when they voted with the Tories, the Jenkinsites served a double purpose—they also perpetuated the hated Heath government, which has set itself on a course of mass unemployment, smashing the trade unions, doubling council rents and attacking the social security system and the National Health Service.

Lincoln Constituency Labour Party has set an example by throwing out its Jenkins acolyte, Dick Taverne. But the rest of the right-wing fifth column remains.

With the working class now entering a phase of unprecedented onslaughts from the government and the employers, these preachers of coalition and compromise politics must be removed.

In this article Workers Press has taken a selection of quotations from capitalist press newspapers which serves to produce a revealing profile of Jenkins and what he stands for.

'One thing is certain. Roy Jenkins will prove among the toughest of tough Chancellors: he is a realist with great moral courage and understands the ordeals that lie ahead.' James Margach, 'Sunday Times', December 1967.

'For a Labour politician, he does indeed make an unusually languid impression. No one in the Labour Party, not excluding the Earl of Longford, has a more upper class manner. Mr Jenkins has an evident liking for parties and the social life, and at first glance over a dinner table might be taken for a cultivated young Tory.' 'The Observer', February 1965.

'Does your drawing-room, wine-and-food, smoothie-chops image bother you?' 'No, because the old cloth-cap idea is dead', 'Daily Mail', May 1968.

'Roy Jenkins is a curiously complex figure. In character and

personality he is suave, elegant, something of a dandy with a taste for upper-class social life—indeed, there seems nothing to connect him with the son of the Welsh valleys whose father was jailed for his part in the General Strike.' 'Sunday Telegraph', March 1968.

'So we might be forgiven for thinking that Roy Jenkins was a languid socialite with a sharp brain and refined tastes but little else. That, however, would be a mistake. Roy Jenkins is now the most important politician in Britain. His position is overwhelmingly strong. Clearly, Wilson dare not sack him.' 'Sun', March 1968.

'Some time ago I walked one evening after dinner into the drawing-room of a great foreign embassy in London. There enthroned on a sofa surrounded by members of the post-war jeunesse dorée sat a plump and balding figure. In his mouth was a large cigar. This he would frequently wave about with expensive gestures. He looked like a caricature of capitalism. The actor was Roy Jenkins.' Lord Lambton in the 'Daily Express', June 1969.

'Watch this man! He could be the next Prime Minister bar none. Shrewdly and vigorously he has overcome every crisis that has hit the Home Office since he took control there. Knowing Roy Jenkins (and I have known him now for many years) I would back him to fight his way through the other crises which will inevitably hit him in the future.' Donald Cullimore in the 'Daily Mirror', December 1967.

'Jenkins is at heart a liberal. Indeed he has said that if he'd been born in a previous generation he would have joined the Liberal Party.' 'Sun', March 1968.

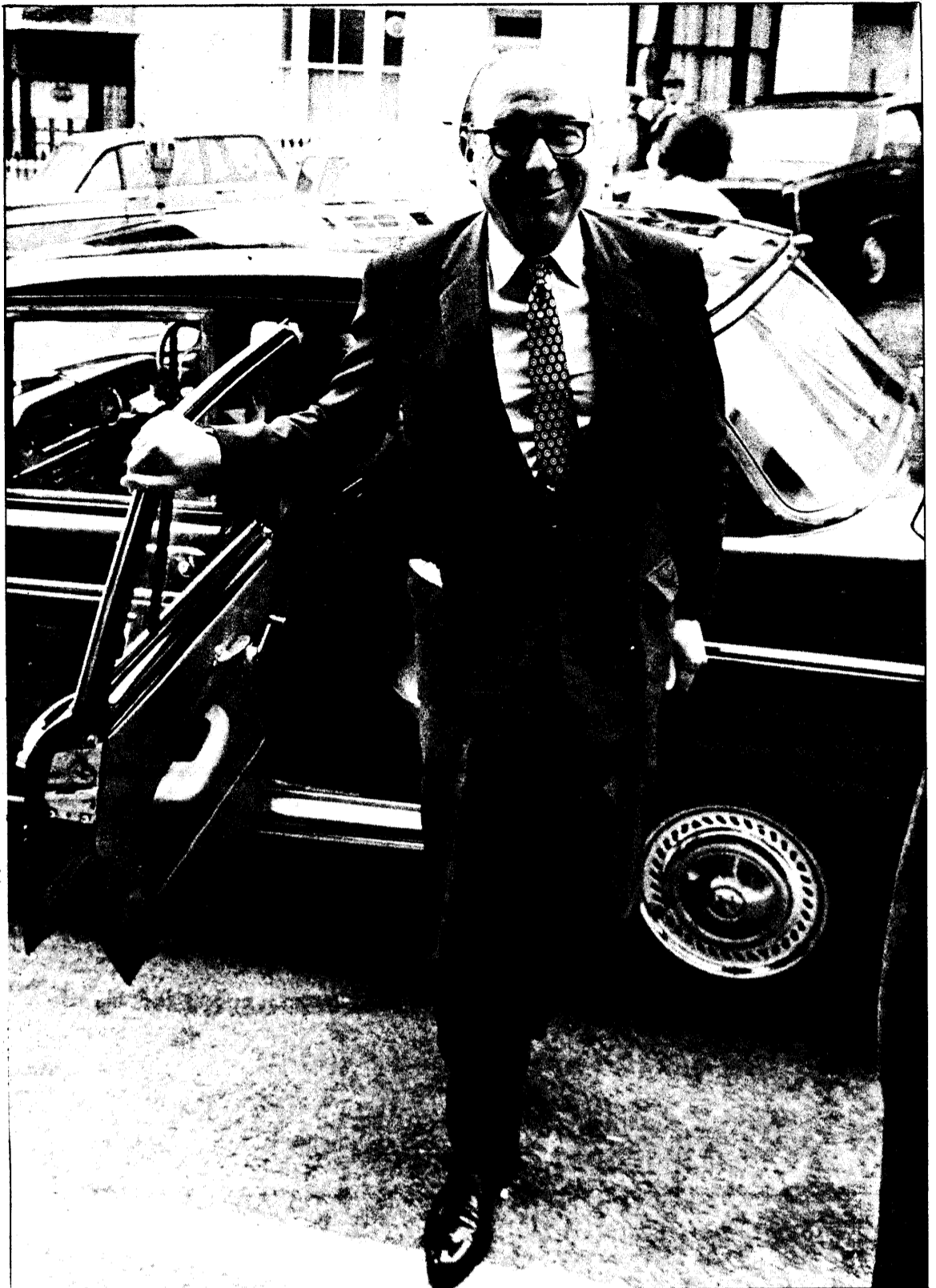
'Remarking on the case of Roy Jenkins, one very senior Conservative observed: "Roy's got a lot of sides to him which appeal to the Tory conscience. He likes high society, he has epicurean tastes in food and wine, he's the best all-round dinner party conversationalist in Westminster and, politically, he looks like a good safe drawing-room Liberal".' 'Evening Standard', October 1968.

'He [Jenkins] has never pretended to be a socialist in this sense, and if he had pretended to be a socialist, his Budget would have shown clearly that he is not. Yet he has sympathy in the Liberal Party and even on the left wing of the Conservative

Party which is not enjoyed by any other Labour minister. His politics are the politics of the fragmented centre. They are entirely compatible with the historic traditions of the Liberal Party.' 'The Times', March 1968.

'Sinks right back in chair, right foot on left knee, head cocked up. Deep upper-class voice, stressing a full vocabulary like a wise Victorian lawyer. Thinks so intensely that you can almost sense humming and clicks. A warm, urbane, human man to whom it would be comforting to take a problem.' 'Daily Sketch', January 1967.

'He was a Gaitskellite. He is a convinced European. He



backed George Brown against Mr Wilson and Mr Callaghan in the contest for the Labour leadership. He gained some experience of mass tastes as director of financial operations of the John Lewis partnership from 1962 to 1964. With his political equipment—intelligence, application, persuasiveness and debating skill, sense of current affairs and self-confidence—Mr Jenkins is poised for political advance.' Francis Boyd in 'The Guardian', May 1967.

'The club that has been a major centre of the post-war Tory Party establishment faces a more far-reaching flare-up than its frying pan fire in the kitchens last week... when it is disclosed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Roy Jenkins, is to become an honorary member. Mr Jenkins has been invited to join Pratt's by the owner of the club, the Duke of Devonshire.' 'Daily Express', July 1969.

'Roy Jenkins, Minister of Aviation, settled gnome-like into the deep leather of his official car to be driven out through the Horse Guards Archway into Whitehall. Policemen scampered to clear away the traffic. The Household Cavalry jangled to attention and flashed their swords in salute. "Tell me honestly," said my colleagues Stephen Fay who was sitting beside him, "do you enjoy all this?" "Well..." said Mr Jenkins and smiled a winningly frank smile. "Well... yes".' 'Sunday Times', November 1964.

'Jenkins, despite being the son of a Welsh miners' leader, sometimes shows a flippant attitude to serious political issues—illustrated in his dismissal of steel re-nationalization as the "Monte Cassino of the Labour movement".' 'Sunday Times', September 1964.

'Jenkins lives in a delightful and rambling house in Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill, collects Staffordshire pottery, and is finishing off a life of Asquith that is to contain some hitherto

unpublished letters from Churchill. His wife has just been elected chairman of the "Good Food Guide".' 'Sunday Times', September 1962.

'A glittering prospect, I can report, is dangling before Mr Roy Jenkins. It is that he should become editor of the "Economist" weekly journal. What is Mr Jenkins's reaction? He is waiting for the General Election. If Mr Harold Wilson forms a government and offers him a Cabinet post, he will serve Mr Wilson. And if Mr Wilson loses the election or fails to give Mr Jenkins a top job? Then Mr Jenkins, I predict, will be off like a shot to the "Economist".' 'Sunday Express', December 1963.

'Jenkins is a gourmet—though he doesn't cook. Holds the traditional view that the best cooking is French haute cuisine "but not necessarily best for me!" The drink he'd pick: "Oh, claret." Pauses. "I think it's the first thing that comes to one's mind." Dislikes Greek and Japanese food. His London clubs: Brook's and Beefsteak.' 'Daily Sketch', March 1968.

'He leaned back and deliberated carefully, then observed with the unmistakable Balliol languor, "I think politics is as good a way of avoiding boredom as anything else I can think of. It produces a highly variegated life in which one is not plodding away at a single thing without such interest or any sense of what's going on around one. I think this is the main attraction of politics".' 'Sun', March 1968.

'He belongs to an increasing band in the House of Commons who can only be described as intellectual society Socialists, and in this class Mr Jenkins is surely the prototype. He is a great social success and he is a Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer. How can you spend your weekends with millionaires, then the next week condemn that way of life which you so blatantly enjoy?' 'Daily Express', June 1969.

'For Mr Jenkins is a child of fortune. His father, the late Arthur Jenkins, was a close and personal friend of Mr Attlee. And Mr Jenkins junior has already shown his mettle by writing a 100,000-word book in praise of Mr Attlee. This is a combination of circumstances which makes Mr Jenkins, aged 28, the apple of the Prime Minister's eye.' 'Sunday Express', March 1949.

'It is no close secret that he [Jenkins] is not one of Harold Wilson's keenest admirers. Though superficially their careers look similar, they have little fundamentally in common. Wilson has become famous for his predilection for homely HP Sauce; Jenkins prefers chateau-bottled claret.' 'Sun', March 1968.

'He went to Balliol College, Oxford, as a commoner with his father paying for him. It was a little before the beginning of the war and Oxford was in one of its intensely political phases, especially Balliol. Jenkins found Edward Heath there reading "The Times" in front of the common-room fire. Denis Healey, then an extreme Marxist, was also there. So were Julian Amery and Maurice Macmillan. He helped Anthony Crosland slough off the Communist-dominated Labour Club and found the Democratic Socialist Club.' 'The Observer', May 1968.

'The perks of power are indeed fruitful for those Cabinet ministers whose jobs carry an official residence with them. A few days after Prime Minister Harold Wilson put his Hampstead Garden Suburb home up for sale, his Downing St next-door neighbour, Chancellor of the Exchequer Roy Jenkins, 49, looks forward to his own exchequer receiving added dividends. He has just secured another tenant for his four-storey Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill, house at a weekly rent of about £70.' 'Evening Standard', November 1969.

BRITAIN'S DECAYING DENTAL SERVICE

By Virginia Strickland. Part One

TORIES UNDERMINE THE NHS

The Department of Health is forcing the public to take over financial responsibility for dental care. Sir Keith Joseph, Minister of Health, has announced yet another increase in patient charges for treatment on the National Health Service.

Patients will pay from 5 to 14 per cent more for treatment up to the maximum of £10. The increase, which became effective on October 1, follows an announcement of an 8½-per-cent net pay rise for dentists a few weeks ago. Someone must pay for the ministry's 'generosity'.

By slowly starving the dental care services of resources, Sir Keith is forcing dentists to treat more and more patients on a private basis. One might even say private enterprise is being encouraged more than dental health.

As it is, most dentists consider their practice a business. They say the need to run a business interferes with the standard of dental care they would like to provide for patients.

Unlike doctors, whose surgeries are furnished by the NHS, dentists must think about overheads which run 50 to 60 per cent of their income. A modern dental surgery costs about £3,000 to equip and the dentist must pay his receptionist, book-keeper, dental hygienist, technician, and a consultant anaesthetist.

The recent 8½-per-cent pay rise didn't allow for expenses. And rising costs eat away increases as soon as they're granted, say dentists. For example, when a 4-per-cent increase was announced last April, some laboratories that do technical work increased their charges to dentists 8 per cent.

The NHS pays a specified fee per item of treatment. The dentist gets 64p for each routine examination, 84p for an ordinary amalgam filling, 94p for extracting one tooth, and so on.

If dentists only take NHS patients, their average annual income is £4,500 after overheads. The scale of fees established by the Dental Rates Study Group bases the income on a 33-hour week. Some dentists claim, however, that they would only earn 60 per cent of the stipulated income if they worked so few hours.

The piece-rate system also encourages the dentist's interest in disease rather than prevention. He gets paid for each cavity he fills or tooth he pulls, but the NHS pays no fee at all

for preventive measures.

Some dentists point out that their income has dropped while 'practically everyone else's' has increased. What they mean is that the dental bill to the nation has decreased. In 1949, the dental part of the NHS bill was 10 per cent. In 1970 it was only 4.6 per cent.

One reason for the drop is that the original dental fees were unrealistically high. The Minister of Health in 1948, Aneurin Bevan, based the dental payment system on the advice of his Harley Street dentist, Sir William Kelsey Fry.

Another reason might be that the government is simply sawing off the dentistry branch of the NHS. And they're selling the idea to dentists in the true spirit of capitalism: income is being left 'up to their own initiative'. Dentists can supplement their NHS income by treating as many private patients as they like. They can work 24 hours a day seven days a week.

Most dentists hire assistants to help them increase their intake of patients—and profits. One young dentist said when he was looking for a job as a dental assistant, the one question asked consistently was 'How much can you bring in a week?' No one asked him about the quality of his work.

Of the 17,000 registered dentists, about 500 are strictly private. The remaining dentists registered with the NHS spend varying amounts of time in private practice, from an average of about 5 to 25 per cent.

The NHS gives the dentist 'independence' to decide whom he will treat. The NHS pamphlet tells the patient: 'You can go to any dentist taking part in the Service, who is willing to accept you for treatment.'

WITHOUT REASON

In fact, the General Dental Service Committee recently reaffirmed that, as an independent contractor, the dentist has a basic right to accept or decline anyone for treatment for any reason he sees fit—or without giving a reason.

One dentist who takes this 'right' seriously has mimeographed pamphlets in his reception, informing patients they should 'regard it as a privilege to attend here. One should count one's blessings, remembering that in many countries modern dental techniques are not available at all'.

The same dentist does not encourage 'excessively nervous' or 'unco-operative' patients either. And an interesting twist for someone who claims to be a health care worker: 'We DO NOT accept patients whose mouths are badly neglected and very dirty.' It looks like patients are now being turned away for being too ill.

It's also the dentist who decides which treatment will



be done on NHS and what will be done on a private basis. As businessmen, many dentists have learned to use the NHS where it's convenient — and where it's profitable.

They can use the scale of fees paid them by the NHS as a long shopping list from which to choose what types of treatment they will do. For example, fewer and fewer dentists are doing crowns, bridges and dentures on NHS because they say the fee they receive doesn't make it worth their time. One dentist claims he would go bankrupt if he did the less profitable treatments on the NHS.

The private patient pays the dentist an average of two to three times what the NHS would pay him for the same treatment, with the possible—but not guaranteed—difference that better quality materials may be used.

Obviously a gold filling costs more than an ordinary amalgam one. But who's to say more expensive forms of treatment are necessary? The dentist, of course.

One dental practitioner says he feels it is his 'ethical duty' to tell patients that more advanced forms of treatment are available than are offered on NHS. The rapidity with which this 'ethical duty to tell' becomes a 'business necessity to sell' is staggering. A good example is the same dentists' professional history.

The man says he resigned from the NHS because he couldn't help patients achieve 'optimum dental health' under the system. In his plush Harley Street surgery, complete with Persian rugs and rosewood cabinets, he explained his moral conflict over having to live with a double standard. He had to treat private patients one way and NHS patients another.

Our friend has solved his moral conflict. He now runs a series of courses on ethical low-pressure salesmanship for dentists.

A business executive friend of his came up with the idea that good dental care could be promoted and sold to the public. In 1969 they started their seminars which cost £20 a day. Last February, 26 dentists attended the seminar in the warm sunshine of Majorca.

According to the brochure, the partners 'have already helped several hundreds of dentists to convert many or all of their patients to becoming private patients'. The management course is 'designed to help other dentists at all levels of clinical ability to move along the same road'.

Originally patients paid nothing when the NHS was established 24 years ago — other than their compulsory monthly contribution. In 1952, a flat fee of £1, increased to £1.50 in 1968, pushed a bit more of the cost onto the public. In 1970 Sir Keith quietly introduced a new charge system for patients with hardly a ripple of protest.

We now pay one half of all dental work up to a maximum of £10. Next month's increases will range from 5 per cent to 14 per cent on individual items of treatment.

For example, an examination, scaling, a couple of x-rays, and a filling, which now cost the patient £1.20 will cost £1.32 after October 1, an increase of 10 per cent.

MYTH DESTROYED

All persons under 21, expectant mothers and mothers with babies under 12 months of age are exempt from charges. Discussion is under way to lower the exemption age to 18. At a time when so many young people are being forced onto the dole by unemployment, they're being given the added financial responsibility of health care. It only makes sense in terms of Tory logic.

When Sir Keith initiated the last increased charges, in 1970, he promised that at least half the patients would pay less. One dentist destroyed that myth by analysing 616 cases six months after the introduction of the new system. Eighty per cent of his patients paid more than before.

A Manchester dentist argues that the regular patient pays less now than he did previously. Only patients who 'neglect' their teeth will pay more, he says. In other words, treatment should be confined to patients who are already dentally conscious and conscientious.

The worker suffers from the increase in charges in two ways.

First, his teeth are usually in need of more repair than his middle-class counterpart because his diet may be less nutritious and he's less likely to have been taught the rudiments of oral hygiene.

Secondly, the £10 maximum fee is proportionally a much bigger chunk of his income.

The British Dental Association fought hard against increasing patient charges—but not for the sake of the patients. Most dentists were afraid that increased charges would discourage people from going to their dentist. And that would mean decreased income for dentists.

So the BDA ran an extensive press campaign against increasing patient charges. They hit hard enough to make the Department of Health squirm.

Then suddenly and mysteriously, the BDA campaign stopped. A deal was made: the Department of Health would assist the BDA in persuading the public to go to their dentists—to the tune of £10,000 for a poster campaign. They called it public 'education'.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



CORRUPTION OF UNIONS PERON STYLE

By our foreign correspondent

In the first week of October, a delegation of Argentinian trade union leaders will once again fly to Madrid to consult with their leader Juan Domingo Peron. Once again the columnists in Buenos Aires will ask: 'Will he or won't he return for the next elections?'

Whatever advice the trade union leaders may have for Peron, they will certainly be able to display a record of holding back the struggle of the working class in accord with the philosophy of their hero:

'We maintain that social problems have never been resolved by struggle' but through harmony, conciliation and a class-alliance which generally is expressed in a "third" position between capitalism and socialism.'

This Peronist trade union bureaucracy has certainly lived in close harmony with capital since Peron's revolution purged

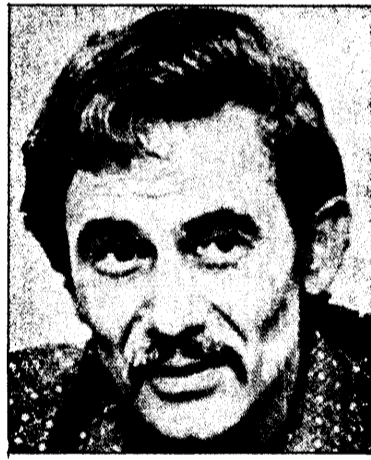
the Argentinian trade unions. Rogelio Coria, secretary of the Building Workers' Union, José Rucci, secretary of the CGT (General Confederation of Labour) and the rest live like millionaires, guarded by armed toughs. They fix union elections and speculate with union funds.

Coria, for example, lives in a luxury flat in the north end of Buenos Aires, far from the shacks where many of his members live on the outskirts of the capital.

His office in the new union building at 44 Rawson Street has been described by the CGT bulletin: 'First you have to open a glass-door leading to a hall lined by several rooms. One of these is the secretary's office. If the visitor can show that he is not a worker, he will be taken to the waiting room. In his office all the floors are covered with beige moquette and the huge windows have Havana coloured curtains. . .

'The arm-chairs are a natural leather and the furniture is pale-toned wood. The only communication with the outside is a bell for his secretary and a white telephone.'

This refined taste is paid for



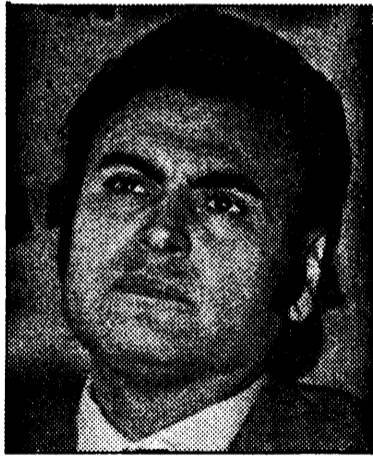
Top: Juan Domingo Peron. Left: José Rucci, secretary of the CGT. Right: Rogelio Coria, secretary of the Building Workers' Union.

from union subscriptions which the employers dock from the wages of their workers and send to the local union federation. Thus a union, like Coria's, has a fixed monthly income of at least 200 million pesos.

Not satisfied with this, the union leaders persuaded the government to decree that the unions should get the first month's increase in wages of any increase granted: as a result of this 'discount' the building workers' union amassed 750 million pesos last year.

The Minister of Labour also decreed in Resolution No. 266 that all firms should discount from each worker 500 pesos for the CGT. To facilitate this step, the National Bank printed forms for all its branches so that the employers make this deposit into the CGT account.

In order to benefit fully from his new riches, Coria set up a private firm, IRCOS, to invest the money. This firm, which is registered under the name of the union's accountant and a certain Miss Teresa Espinosa, gets a 20 per



the Panamby Company, dedicated to carpentry. Also in Panamby are Marcelo Coria, Rogelio's cousin, Esteban Crovatto and José Nicora.

By pure coincidence the last two gentlemen are brother-in-law and father-in-law of the architect Victorio de Lorenzi who Coria contracted to design the new union building. The furnishings in the whole building were designed and bought for a fair price from the Panza and De Lorenzi Company!

The friendship with de Lorenzi also became useful when Coria had a moment of social conscience and decided to build some flats for his members. De Lorenzi was entrusted with the job.

However, a year and a half after work had been started on the flats, despite loans from banks, Lorenzi owed the workers on the site three months' wages. Work was halted and an investigation was begun by a Labour Tribunal.

This discovered yet more coincidences and scandalous exploitation of building workers by Coria. De Lorenzi's firm was registered at the address of Coria's luxury flat. What is more, the regional committee of the building workers' union, on Coria's advice, agreed to pay the workers the money which the company owed them!

Not surprisingly it is impossible for building workers to vote in a new leadership as it is impossible for leaderships to be changed in other unions.

According to union rules, ratified by the government, in order to be a candidate for an elected position, it is necessary to have been previously a member of the national committee, a conference delegate, or belong to a regional executive committee.

Since ex-members of the committees who oppose Coria have been expelled from the union and since delegates who oppose Coria are known to the leadership, no opposition can be elected.

Not surprisingly, union conferences are held in top secret. A left-wing newspaper described the congress of catering workers in the following James Bond manner:

'In the Royal Hotel in Mar de Plata, there was an unusual atmosphere. About 70 people patrolled the exit and drove round the block in cars. . . . Perhaps it was a meeting of Ministers or a secret symposium on nuclear energy? NO. It was the Congress of the Union of Catering Workers.'

Severe inflation has hit Argentina. Factories are closing; the value of wages is being cut. The radicalization of the working class has led to strike waves, as in Cordoba and Tucuman, which were brutally repressed by police and army.

The possibility is there to build a new leadership in the Argentinian working class and to break down the myths of Peronism.

The Pabloite revisionists in the Revolutionary People's Army are extremely hostile to this task. They are inseparable from the left wing of the Peronist movement, trapped in the 'will he or won't he return' quandary. In this, their terrorism reinforces the grip of the Corias and the Ruccis over the working class.

The group supporting the OCI/Guillermo Lora, 'Politica Obrere' adapts to the syndicalism of the working class and thus to the militancy which the CGT syphons off in one-day strikes or isolated strikes only for 'rank-and-file committees'.

The answer to the corruption in the unions in Argentina is not terrorism of the militancy, but a struggle for a party of the Fourth International.

cent commission on the profits it makes with the union's money.

To ensure that IRCOS should collect all the money coming in from the building workers' wage packets, the union's finance was centralized. Coria put branch finance under central control and reduced the number of branches from 110 to 55 in five years.

Coria's lucrative harmonizing of capital and labour is perhaps best expressed in his speculation in the building industry.

According to the Public Register of Commerce, in 1958 an industrial firm, Tucon, was established to deal with the making, installation and the sale of building materials: one of the main shareholders was suave, smiling Rogelio.

But Tucon is not the only one. The investment firm with the unlikely name of Lawful has as its chief shareholders, Eleonor Balizan (don Rogelio's wife) and the union's accountant, Guillermo Lopez. Coria is also the main shareholder in

WHO LET THE RENT MAN IN?

By Philip Wade housing correspondent

As delegates assemble today for the opening of the 71st Labour Party conference, millions of council tenants will be faced with a rent collector demanding another £1 a week.

It is, of course, a mere coincidence that the Tory Housing Finance Act, designed to savage and destroy municipal housing, takes effect on the same day as the conference opens.

Nevertheless, it is adequately fitting that the two dates should clash. The reason, as many tenants will vouch for, is that the leadership of the Labour Party bears the ultimate responsibility, in more ways than one, for the fact that the Tories have ever been allowed to get away with their 'fair rents' Act.

Why is it today that hundreds of thousands of tenants under Labour-controlled councils all over Britain are being forced to pay another £1 on their rent?

Why, when the same tenants are faced with stupendous leaps in the cost-of-living—and all this before the Common Market—are only about 50 councils refusing to implement legislation directly aimed at destroying the basic right to decent housing at a reasonable rent?

There are over 380 Labour-run local authorities in Britain. Yet the vast majority have decided—many after leading tenants into campaigns of opposition and non-implementation—to enforce to the last full stop legislation which the Tories had been preparing for some years.

These facts are cold, but they represent the processes of a vast betrayal of the working class by the Labour leadership. For, like on all other vital questions facing workers, the Labour leaders have gone down before the Tories like lambs on their way to slaughter.

One would have thought, naively, that the Labour Party leaders would have put up a fight to prevent the destruction of a system of housing which had seen millions of tenancies built since the war, mainly by Labour-controlled authorities. Not a bit of it.

It is now an appropriate time to examine the record of the Labour Party hierarchy on this score, as well as their previous capitulations while in office to landlordism and Tory housing policies. Necessity also compels a look at what perspective for housing the national executive has planned out.

BETRAYAL

The scene for betrayal was in fact set during the Wilson government of 1964-1970 when Tory philosophy on housing was accepted by the Labour leaders. But before looking at that part of history, it is as well to go over the performance on the question of the Housing Finance Bill as it was last winter when it was intro-

duced into the House of Commons by Peter Walker.

Anthony Crosland, shadow housing spokesman, said during a censure debate moved by the opposition late last year.

'I urge the government, particularly at a time of high unemployment, to re-think their views on public spending and be willing to spend whatever amount of money is needed to achieve a sustained and rapid rise in council house building,' he told the Tory front bench.

And this came from a man who presided over housing for the last nine months of the Labour government when council-building reached its lowest point since the war.

Crosland got worse as the debate wore on. 'Do the government really know what they are doing when they introduce this scheme?'

'Do Tory backbenchers understand what is happening?'

Amid the alleged 'cut-and-thrust' of a Commons debate, a Tory backbencher, Peter Trew, threw out a famous reply to put Crosland's mind at rest.

'The extension of fair rents to council housing will encourage better-off tenants to move to homes of their own,' said the man who declared his interest as a director of a large building firm contracting for hospital work.

PHONEY

It was clear early on, therefore, that apart from the phoney, self-delusory campaign of 'fighting the Bill line-by-line', no opposition would be given to the Tories, at least from the leadership.

Into the breach left vacant by Crosland, the 'left' tried to jump in in the form of NEC member Frank Allaun. He fared no better.

Writing in the Tory 'News of the World', on December 5 last year he denounced the Bill and then proceeded to accept it.

'... I urge tenants to see their councillors and MPs now and ask them, in turn, to press the men in Westminster to water down these proposals.' (My emphasis.)

While embarking on a doom-laden and fatuous campaign of trying to get the Tories to drop the Bill, Allaun thought up another 'bright' idea. This was for tenants to put pressure on local councils to refuse to fix 'fair-rent' levels.

His thesis was that when the rent assessment committees did the work themselves, tenants would soon realize it was the Tories that put the rents up and not the Labour councils.

Of course this was an insult to tenants' intelligence. Everyone knows the source of the 'fair rent' Act. Allaun was trying to find excuses for refusing to lead a fight to make the Tories resign.

Millions of tenants had other ideas, though. And it was not long before many Labour councils were being forced by tenants' associations they had helped to create to take up a non-implementation stance.



Above: While Labour slashed housebuilding, thousands of workers had to live in 19th century back-to-back stums.

working-class housing and rent problems.

It is important to pass these resolutions.

But two questions still face every delegate and Labour Party supporter. They are how to bring the Tory government down before every basic right of the working class is destroyed and how to make sure the Blackpool policies are carried out by the leadership.

Without mobilizing the working class to force the Tories to resign and forcing Wilson and company back in to carry out these policies, the talk at Blackpool will be hot air.

The Socialist Labour League's policy is to build Councils of Action in every area to unite all sections of the working class against the Tory attacks, and to force the TUC leaders to call a General Strike to drive the Tories out of office.

Only in this way can a Labour government be returned pledged to carry out a socialist programme.

A special supplement to the Party's paper, 'Labour Weekly', called on tenants everywhere to prepare for the 'big fight of 1972'.

'Their fight is your fight. Support your local Labour councillors', it declared. It turned out to be nothing more than a cover for a confirmed retreat before the Tories.

The crunch came at an NEC meeting in March which left the door open for Labour councils to carry out and implement the Tory rent-doubling Bill when it became law in the summer.

This was how the sell-out was phrased.

The NEC have now given serious consideration to the likely effects of the Bill after October 1. The effects will be different from authority to authority. Therefore the NEC decided it was not possible to give advice to local authorities on a national basis. This does not mean this legislation should be accepted without resistance. Each Labour group must decide in the interests of tenants and in the light of local circumstances its own method of fighting the legislation.

Out of power, it is done by aiding the Tory government to stay in office by refusing to

and abject capitulation to property financiers. It has since proved to be one of the best measures ever enacted on behalf of property speculators.

In one way or another, tens of thousands of tenants—mostly in the ageing central areas of cities like London—have been forced to quit their private rented accommodation.

Landlords were then able to cash in on generous grants provided by the Labour government, refurbish their properties and sell them for tens of thousands of pounds.

Whole areas of London have been denuded of working-class families and instead have become the playground of the idle rich and middle-class trends. And all with the blessing of the Labour leaders!

Other aspects of Labour's housing programme fared no better. In a futile attempt to deal with land speculation, the Land Commission was set up. This cumbersome and bureaucratic machine was supposed to buy up surplus land and sell it cheaply to local authorities.

Part of the operation was the introduction of a betterment levy which aimed at heavily taxing profits by land specu-

lators. As an alternative to land nationalization the whole business failed miserably. The Tories abolished it to save the taxpayer money if nothing else.

As for the house-building programme, that suffered too as big business demanded more attacks on the working class and a cut in public expenditure. The 1965 target of 500,000 houses a year was not completed once in six years of office.

By 1969 the number built had slumped dramatically to 360,000, the lowest total in five years and 13 per cent down on 1968. In 1970 the total fell even further.

Yet what do we get from the NEC in its draft programme for the Blackpool conference, published in early July? Nothing but a rehash of the old policies which played a part in creating the mass abstentions in June 1970, leaving the road open for the return of the Tories.

On the key question of land nationalization, the document only vaguely promises 'to return any increase in the value of land to the community which created that increase.' But only land 'needed for

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RUINOUS

After bringing out hoary 'policies' of full rating of unoccupied properties, the programme returns to the bankrupt strategy of improvement grants pioneered under the ruinous Housing Act 1969. It seems the Labourites can never learn.

With the promise of security of tenure for tenants of unfurnished properties, the 'progressive' elimination of 'private profiteering, the reform of the housing revenue account' and other piddling little futile reforms, the section on housing policy grinds to a halt.

It is nothing more than a recipe for disaster. If the Labour leadership is allowed to carry out such policies, it will mean further attacks on workers' living standards and a worsening of the housing situation.

No amount of half-baked reforms can replace a socialist housing programme. In today's crisis-ridden capitalist system,

attempts to compromise with the landowners, property speculators and financiers will only lead to betrayal as much as did the 'efforts' of the Wilson administration.

A socialist housing policy must be implemented by the next Labour government. This must include: the nationalization without compensation under the control of the working class the land, building societies, pension funds and insurance companies and the building and subsidiary industries.

With the repudiation of the massive debt charges incurred over the years by local councils, these resources can then be utilized for a massive slum-clearance and council house-building programme to restore and advance the basic right of every worker to a decent home at a reasonable rent.

There are many resolutions down at Blackpool on the housing question. Thirty-eight constituencies, for example, demand nationalization of the land as the only solution to

RESOURCES

TOWARDS REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

Part four of a series by Tom Kemp on the history of the German Communist Party.

The German Communist Party (KPD) after the 1920 fusion, had material and human forces which had hitherto been lacking. But it faced immense problems.

Its membership, first of all, reflected diverse trends in the German labour movement going back to the pre-war years. The old KPD, despite the split which had led to the formation of the KAPD, was still afflicted with ultra-left tendencies. The traditions of Spartacus were not all conducive to the functioning of a centralized party.

The party also had to contend with the weak sides of the Luxemburgist tradition. In addition, the workers who came over from the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) were mostly militants with no theoretical training. The USPD leaders who entered the KPD did not compare in political understanding or capability with the former Spartacists who made up the KPD leadership.

EXPELLED

The Party leaders were themselves divided on tactics. In opposition to Paul Levy and his supporters, who sought a united front with the SPD and USPD, the left, led by Maslow, Ruth Fischer and Ernst Thaelmann, pressed for a continuous revolutionary offensive.

Meanwhile Levy came into collision with the leadership of the International, criticizing it for having admitted the KAPD as a sympathizing section, while excluding the Serrati wing of the Italian Socialist Party. In February 1921 Levy, Clara Zetkin (a Spartacist sympathizer who had stayed in the USPD until it split) and several others of the 'right' faction were expelled from the leadership.

A 'soviet faction' consisting of Brandler, Thalheimer, Frolich and Stoecker took over the leadership, just when the Party was moving into another crisis, the March Action of 1921.

According to Flechtheim*, the new leadership wanted to prove that the new party was capable of a revolutionary offensive and that the fear of putschism, which had gripped it after the defeat of January 1919, had definitely disappeared. Egged on by the Comintern representatives, Bela Kun, Pogany and Guralski, it adopted the famous 'theory of the offensive'.

The main arena which it chose to demonstrate this theory was central Germany where it had considerable support among miners and other workers. A bitter struggle had broken out between the copper miners of Mansfeld and the Social Democratic government which developed into an armed conflict.

The KPD called for an insurrection on March 17 with very little result outside a few isolated towns. The working class as a whole did not rise and in a number of factories fighting broke out between workers favourable to and opposed to the party's call. The government brought in the army to assist the police in putting down any risings.

By the end of March the movement had been crushed and the party called off the General Strike. The March



Top: Young members of the KPD on a demonstration in 1922. Above: Foreign Affairs Minister Walter Rathenau assassinated June 1922.

Action was a big defeat for the KPD, a defeat which was not necessary and could have been avoided. The leadership had completely misjudged the situation and had plunged into an adventure at a time when the working class was not ready for action.

In 1920 it had not been able to see a revolutionary situation when one existed. In March 1921 it tried to create a revolution where the conditions did not exist. The blow which the party suffered made it more difficult to build a revolutionary leadership and

win the confidence of the working class.

MINORITY

As a result of the defeat the Party was once again declared illegal. Some of its members were imprisoned while as many as half the total membership left. Supported by a minority of the leadership and the parliamentary fraction in the Reichstag, Paul Levy broke Party discipline and published a pamphlet called 'Our Way: Against Putschism' in which he criticized the leadership for

its role in the March Action.

Levy was immediately expelled, after presenting his defence to the Party, and this was endorsed by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The KPD leaders reaffirmed their belief that the March Action had been correct, blaming the defeat on to organizational and tactical defects. The situation, it maintained, had 'been most fruitful for the carrying forward of the revolution'.

The debate on the March Action continued in Germany and in Moscow where Clara Zetkin succeeded in convincing Lenin that the theoreticians of the offensive had been wrong and that Levy's criticisms had been well-founded. Levy was not rehabilitated and founded his own group which later fused with the USPD.

INFLUENCE

The Third Congress of the Communist International insisted that the first post-war revolutionary wave had ended and that the need for the communist parties was now to win the masses. Only in this way could the preparations be made for the next revolutionary opportunities.

The Congress laid on the German party the obligation 'to increase its influence over the broad masses, strengthen the working-class organizations, win the trade unions and destroy the influence of the Social Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy'.

It also aimed to maintain Party unity despite the great divergences revealed by the March Action.

Despite that debacle the KPD made a rapid recovery, reflecting not so much the capacity of its leadership as the need which the advanced

sections of the working class felt for a revolutionary leadership, an alternative to the SPD. In the latter part of 1921 the Party was able to re-establish its influence mainly through the activity of its trade union and works' councils members.

The growing economic difficulties which Germany was encountering created favourable conditions for the KPD's growth.

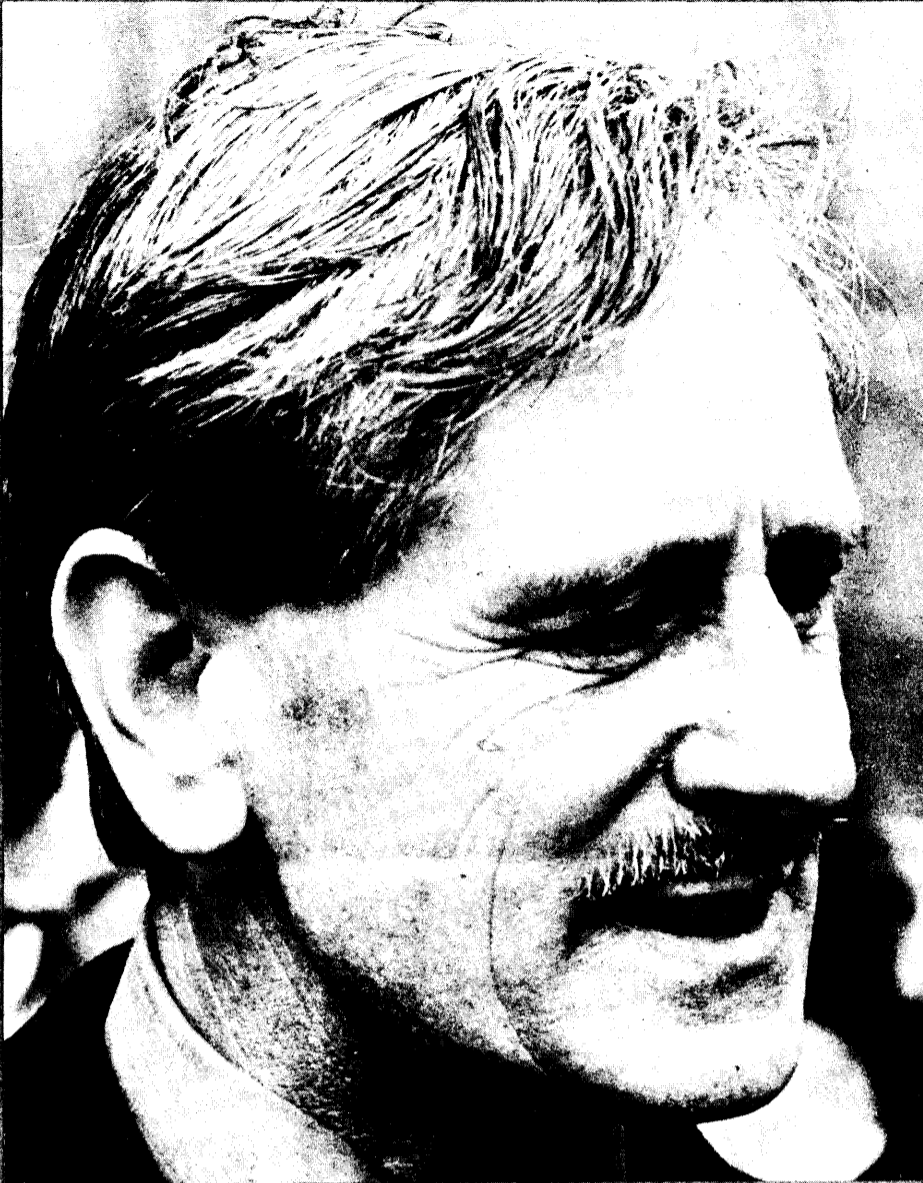
Although the high post-war unemployment had fallen off by 1921-1922, prices began to rise rapidly. During the next two years Germany was engulfed in a runaway inflation until confidence in the paper mark disappeared entirely. The workers' purchasing power fell catastrophically and many middle-class people on fixed incomes were ruined.

In addition right-wing terrorism was increasing, culminating in the assassination of Foreign Affairs Minister Walther Rathenau in June 1922.

In accordance with the united-front tactic, the KPD co-operated with the trade unions and other workers' parties in calling for the democratization of the Republic. However, the law for the defence of the Republic passed in July 1922 became an arm in the hands of the police against the working-class liberties.

In January 1923 French troops occupied the Ruhr in a vain attempt to enforce reparations payments. The printing presses were turning out paper marks without check or limit and the inflation reached its paroxysm. The country was moving headlong towards a revolutionary crisis. Would the KPD be able to live up to its historic responsibilities?

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Above: Ernie Roberts

RED PAPER COMPILED BY PARLOUR PINKS

'The Red Paper — A Response to the Labour Party's "Green Paper".' Foreword by Ernie Roberts. 12p.

Review by Tom Kemp

whole economy, by the actions of giant companies to increase their profits', but do not call for them to be taken over by the workers.

It is true that the programme says that 'a great expansion of social ownership is required' and criticizes the Green Paper for its weakness on the subject. But what it proposes is only an extension of the public sector within a predominantly capitalistic economy and some additional public works.

In other words, it is the same old gradualism, only taking the Fabian policy more seriously than the right-wing Labour leaders now do—and seasoned with appeals to 'industrial democracy'. This turns out to be no more than some administrative reforms in the already nationalized industries to give the unions a greater say, leaving them to draw up their own schemes for workers' control. What a travesty!

With this we have reached the high point of radicalism and what follows is bound to be anti-climax. In fact it is a commentary on the NEC document with some suggestions for improvement. To comment on this commentary would be superfluous since the whole method is defective from the start.

The centrists see the problem as pointing forward a 'better' programme for an election. They do not want to

mobilize the working class around transitional demands. Naturally they say nothing about a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

If it is true that 'the restrictions on our freedom and the destruction of our capacities for brotherhood' comes from the giant companies which treat people as 'factors of production' etc, then what is wrong with the demand to take over these concerns without compensation as the first task of a Labour government?

For this it would be necessary to mobilize the working class on a fighting revolutionary programme, not propose a series of reformist measures as outlined in this pamphlet.

But the authors are confirmed supporters of the parliamentary road and their final peroration, despite its claim that 'socialism is an urgent necessity for all the peoples of the world, if humanity is not to destroy itself', bases its hopes purely on a Labour government, not on the working class.

Under different names and with varying membership such groups have been around in the Labour Party for a long time. They might even be said to be necessary for its existence, despite the occasional heated exchange, which the right-wing leadership accepts as such.

The old term of 'left cover' retains all its validity in this case.

Ernie Roberts and his friends do not fight the right wing but prolong the illusion that it can somehow be manoeuvred into adopting 'left' policies, which in any case remain reformist.

So far as the ideas embodied here have any influence, they stand in the way of the development of consciousness in the trade unions and the working class generally. Beginning with a basically reformist diagnosis of capitalism, which ignores its contradictions and crises, we are given a recipe which can only open the way to defeat.

A centrist group in the Labour Party has put forward a programme, described as a Red Paper, in opposition to the official Green Paper drawn up by the National Executive Committee.

The authors of the programme are a group, headed by Ernie Roberts and Michael Barratt Brown, which is connected with the Institute for Workers' Control.

They claim that more radical policies are needed and offer 'a first attempt to firm up the commitment to such radical policies, so that rhetoric may be turned into reality and promises can be understood unambiguously for what they are, and those who make them can be held to them'.

The style is as revealing as the content of this 'thesis about the advance to socialism'.

The 'thesis', if such it can be called, is that we should not 'wait for the Revolution'—or 'work for it'—but get some immediate reforms. No, the authors say, this does not mean a reformed capitalism.

Rather 'in the process of pressing their challenge up to and beyond the limits of what capitalism is capable of, people will begin to make their own society, and see the society in all its detail, which they want to make'. Nothing about the role of the working class, and consciously anti-revolutionary, this key point reveals the authors' reformist position.

The programme which follows puts forward a series of reforms which go 'beyond the limits of what capitalism is capable of'. So while the Labour leaders realistically and pragmatically work within the confines of capitalism, our radicals want to go one stage further—in words.

But even in their own terms it remains precisely within those confines. They want, for example, 'to correct the distortion of the market and the

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

PLUG

The Department of Environment has been asked to plug an amazing loophole in the 1969 Housing Act, which is said to be leaking large sums of ratepayers' and taxpayers' money straight into the coffers of property developers.

The loophole is this: Under the Act house-owners can get grants of up to £1,200 for each new dwelling they provide. So if a property developer buys a big, old house and converts it into three flats he is entitled to £3,600 from the council so long as he had spent that much himself.

With the cost of renovation thus subsidized the developer could then sell the flats individually. He would have no obligation to hand over any of the money from the final sale to the council.

The council housing committee in Hammersmith, London, claims that more than £800,000 of the £1m it paid out in house-improvement grants last year went to developers rather than owner-occupiers.

Hammersmith has drawn up a set of proposals for stopping this alleged abuse. They have been endorsed by Lambeth Borough Council and sent by the London Boroughs Association to the Secretary for the Environment, Peter Walker.

When Walker was appointed cabinet minister he left a lucrative post as co-head with Jim Slater of the fast-flying Slater Walker investment, financial and property conglomerate.

OUIJA DISASTER

Where will it all end? One minute the nation's youth and (male) senior citizens are being corrupted by the moral-fibre-sapping porn threat, the next housewives all over the country are succumbing to . . . the dreaded OUIJA BOARD menace.

Sheffield vicar the Rev Robert Warren is very worried by it all. A few days ago he issued a stern warning to women who dabble in such allegedly occult practices. He even compared it to the use of 'soft' drugs.

'People who indulge in this sort of thing begin by treating it as a laugh,' he said.

'But it can be very dangerous. I believe it can be likened to the soft drugs which lead the addict on to heroin and disaster. It is causing much concern.'

'I believe this kind of thing is widespread. Housewives may do it through boredom and the ouija board menace tends to go around schools.'

The Rev Warren (33) is vicar of Crookes.

FREE CAPITALISM

A pop festival with a difference has just taken place in West Germany. It was organized by the big industrialists of Essen in the Ruhr district who are trying to win back the youth for 'free enterprise'.

The political strikes against the attempt by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to oust Chancellor Willy Brandt earlier this year scared the employers so much that they decided to launch a propaganda campaign for capitalism.

For weeks now the city has been plastered with posters saying:

'The freedom to work where and with whom you want!' and 'The freedom to go forward!'

The pop concert, which culminated the first stage of the campaign, was an interesting affair.

Firstly it was free. (The employers were clearly not too sure of their support.)

Then the stage where the groups played. (They were just there for the music, they said.) In big letters across the top ran the legend: 'Free Enterprise. Free Living!'

Most interesting of all was the light show which included subliminal shots of such symbols of capitalism as the Statue of Liberty. (The subliminal advertising technique involves inserting single frames of film into another film so that the eye cannot register the image consciously but the subconscious can.)

The employers themselves were there behind a row of police and a sheet of plate glass to watch the effects of their propaganda.

It is not known how many youth signed the pledge for capitalism, but the employers are not satisfied yet. They intend to continue their campaign for another two years at least.

BOOKS



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CHALLENGE TO LEADERSHIP IN UNION ELECTIONS

BY DAVID MAUDE

A South Wales steel-worker, Jim Bevan, who declares himself a supporter of the Socialist Labour League, is challenging the failure of the engineers' union leaders to fight the Tories.

The challenge comes in the battle for the post of national organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Voting takes place during the next four weeks. There are 17 candidates.

Present incumbent is John Bromley, a former Stockport works convenor who, in standing for re-election, will have the support of the Communist Party and many of the Labour 'lefts' in the union.

Bromley talks in his address about the 'momentous issues confronting our membership and the whole trade union movement': unemployment, the Industrial Relations Act and wages.

He says the problem of unemployment is a national one, demanding 'a national solution'.

'There can be no solution to the problem of large-scale unemployment under this Tory government,' he says.

'The strength and vigilance of the organized movement is the only safeguard for all workers—both employed and unemployed. Our task is to remove this Tory government at the earliest possible opportunity and return a Labour government pledged to socialist ideals.'

But he is completely non-committal on the crisis of leadership in the AUEW revealed by its failure to fight the Tories on any of the issues he mentions; if he has any alternative to the policies of president Scanlon and his executive he does not say so.

On the Industrial Relations Act, Bromley calls for the union to 'stand firm for a policy of non-co-operation with this Act, as laid down by national committee policy.'

Bromley does not make clear his position on last January's national committee decision to call off the pay fight at national level and pursue the union's claims locally.

He simply calls for 'every effort to ensure complete success in order to compel the employers to recommence meaningful national negotiations'. The manifesto was written before the recent national settlement.

Jim Bevan, a shop steward from the British Steel Corporation complex at Port Talbot, challenges the whole record of the existing leadership on the claim, the Industrial Relations Act and unemployment.

A supporter of the Socialist Labour League, the All Trades Unions Alliance and Workers Press, he insists that without a fundamental change in thought, policy and leadership there is no future for the trade union movement.

'My political beliefs,' he says, 'are based on the revolutionary socialist doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky...'

'I firmly believe that this reactionary Tory conspiracy can, and will be forced to resign in favour of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies of nationalization

without compensation and under workers' control. The engineering industry should be the first to be expropriated.

'But I am equally convinced that such a programme cannot be realized under the reformist leadership which presently dominates the unions.'

Bevan, who is an AUEW district committee member and representative on his local trades council, says the union leaders put up no effective resistance to the Industrial Relations Bill.

They refused to call for the maximum mobilization of the labour movement's industrial and political strength to force the Tories out. Their reformist policy of ignoring the Act led to the situation where leading 'lefts' like Jack Jones recognized the authority of the National Industrial Relations Court.

The record of the AUEW leadership is not much different to that of Jones despite a lot of presidential rhetoric, Bevan says.

'The abandonment of a national strike on the wage claim in favour of the reformist and dubious expedient of plant-bargaining is a dangerous precedent

'It has dissipated the energies of union members in isolated struggles which have proved ineffective against the intractability of the Engineering Employers' Federation. It has, moreover, confirmed the opinion of the employers that

leadership is not prepared to accept the challenge of the NIRC and the consequences of a major battle with the employers and the government.'

The retreat must stop, Bevan says.

Either the union goes forward to lead the struggle against Tory wage-cutting, unemployment and state control of unions, or it becomes an annex of the NIRC. There is no middle way.

He adds: 'Every defiance of the NIRC and the Act poses the question of a political struggle to force the government to resign. Only those members who are prepared to act on this assumption should be elected to positions of leadership in the unions.'

The candidate who seems likely to attract the bulk of right-wing votes in the election is Ken Cure, a branch secretary and district committee delegate from Birmingham.

The defeat of the Labour government in 1970 gave the Tories an opportunity to bring in the 'vicious and regressive' Industrial Relations Act, he says.

'It is my considered opinion that we must now stand firmly behind the Labour Party and its constitution and work, through our branches, in our wards and constituencies, for its return to power at the next General Election in what appears to be the only hope for a return to sanity in industrial relations.'

HAPPINESS IS NO STRIKE

A regular workers' paradise has been discovered at Halesowen in Worcestershire by . . . the 'Financial Times'.

In fact the paper's story on the town's GKN-Shotton foundry* is a warning. What its Midlands correspondent sees as a workers' paradise proves, not unexpectedly, to be an employer's bonanza.

'You never hear the word "strike" in this company', works convenor Cliff Pegg is quoted as saying. 'We're given the information to know how the company is doing, and we're pretty certain that our

wages will go up with the prosperity of the company''.

In the three years the so-called 'Charter for the Workpeople' has been working, tonnage output of castings has more than doubled. Meanwhile GKN has cut the labour force over 14 per cent, from 350 to 300, labour turnover has plummeted from up to 40 down to 4 per cent and the scrap rate has dropped from 40 to 14 per cent.

What the workers who still have a job get out of it is earnings which in the words of the 'Financial Times' 'can rise as high as £40 a week', as against £24 three years ago.

Of the possible £40, as much as half could be bonus, which means that basic rate has probably dropped in real terms taking into account the rise in the cost of living.

*A workers' charter at GKN by Peter Cartwright (FT September 20, 1972).



HOGARTH IS GRATEFUL TO THE TORIES

Seamen's union chief William Hogarth has described as 'gratifying' the decision of the Commission on Industrial Relations to grant an approved closed-shop.

Application for the approved closed-shop—as laid down in the Tories' Industrial Relations Act—was made to the National Industrial Relations Court jointly with the shipping employers.

On March 15 the issue was sent by the court for examination by the CIR. The Commission reported at the end of July.

SUSPENDED

On all counts these moves breached TUC policy of refusing to co-operate with the institutions of the Industrial Relations Act, and at the Brighton Congress last month the National Union of Seamen was suspended from membership.

But here is how Hogarth sums up the issue in the current issue of the NUS journal 'The Seaman':

'It is indeed gratifying that months of patient work have resulted in the vindication by an outside body of everything this union has said for months concerning our need for a closed-shop.

'Not only the protection of seamen's working conditions has been assured, but also the continued functioning of this union as an effective countervailing power in the sphere of maritime industrial relations.'

TACTICAL

An 'outside body'? Howarth seems utterly unconcerned by the anti-working class character of the CIR, or by the tactical purpose of its decision to grant the closed-shop.

He talks about the union functioning as an 'effective countervailing power'—without mentioning that it will do so under state licence.

Few seamen will be gratified by his literary efforts.

BOOKS



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POCKET LIBRARY

Why a Labour Government?

A reply to some centrist critics

By Cliff Slaughter

A series which appeared in Workers Press in June, 1972 is now available as a pamphlet in the Socialist Labour League Pocket Library.

'WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT? A Reply to some centrist critics.' By Cliff Slaughter Price 5p

Other titles in this series include: **The Case for a General Election** By Alex Mitchell. **The Ulster Dossier** **The Social Security Swindle** which includes the All Trades Unions Alliance Draft Manifesto and the Charter of Basic Rights.

All are available from 186a Clapham High St, London SW4 7UG. Or The Paperback Centre, 28 Charlotte St, London W1.

NUM leaders retreating on the wages fight

THE MINERS' claim for wage increases of up to £7 per week can only be won by determined action against the government. But as premier Edward Heath lays down the law about £2 wage increases, there are signs that the National Union of Mine-workers' leaders want to abandon the pay fight altogether.

President Joe Gormley says the claim will be decided at the October 12 executive meeting and that it is negotiable.

So, even before the claim is submitted, the Coal Board is told that the union leaders don't really expect to get it!

Gormley and his supporters are clearly in favour of a lower claim than that decided at the NUM conference in July.

And Saturday's executive meeting in Blackpool accepted the need for improved productivity to justify government 'support' for the mining industry.

This followed discussions with Tory Minister for Industry Tom Boardman, who demanded 'detailed agreement on production'.

An NUM statement declared: 'The industry therefore undertakes that all concerned will make the maximum and most economic use of its own resources and of the financial assistance to be provided, so that it may have a viable future.'

'It is essential that total costs should be kept in line with the achievement of this objective. The industry has agreed that wage negotiations should be pursued within the terms of the agreed conciliation procedures and, in the event of disagreement, the fullest consideration would be given to arbitration, so as to avoid industrial action, if possible.'

So the miners' leaders are not only willing to co-operate completely with the NCB and Tory speed-up and closures—they also accept the Tory version of the industry's financial difficulties.

This places the responsibility for the current £118m loss on the backs of the miners.

The recent seven-week strike is said to have cost £157m. But this is the responsibility of the Board and the government.

If union leaders accept that the men are to blame for losses incurred during a strike and have to work harder to make them up, they are accepting the principle of Taff Vale—that unions are financially responsible to the bosses for losses caused by strikes.

The trade union movement has fought against that principle for 70 years.

Instead of co-operating with the employers, the union leaders must be compelled to wage a real fight for the £7 claim.

They must be forced to carry out the decisions of the union conference and to break off all collaboration with the Tories.

BBC 1

9.38-11.55 Schools. 12.00 Profit by control. 12.25 Gwyl y gobaith. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Along the river. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05-3.55 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Parsley. 4.40 Jack-anory. 4.50 Deputy dawg. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 The long chase. 5.45 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.45 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM. United Kingdom v Canada.
7.10 Z CARS. Takes All Sorts.
8.00 PANORAMA.
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.
9.25 THE INCREDIBLE ROBERT BALDICK. Never Come Night.
10.15 INTERNATIONAL SHOW JUMPING. From the Horse of the Year Show.
10.45 MASTER MIND.
11.10 THE SKY AT NIGHT. Mars.
11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
11.35 PLACES FOR PEOPLE. London's Lambeth.

BBC 2

9.30 Labour Party conference. 11.00 Play school. 11.25-5.00 Labour Party conference. 5.35 Open University.

7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP. Mother and Child.
7.30 NEWSROOM, CONFERENCE REPORT. Weather.
8.10 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES. Wrong Train to Brimstone.
9.00 OUT OF THE BOX. Facts and Faces. Quiz about TV programmes.
9.25 CONTROVERSY. The Myth of Mental Illness. Professor Thomas Szasz, American psychiatrist, condemns any action taken against mental patients' wills.
10.45 NEWS ON 2. Weather.
10.50 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'The Judge's Wife'. Sebastian Shaw, Rachel Kempson, Valerie White.
11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

TV

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.00 Larry the lamb. 12.15 Labour Party conference. 1.00 Freud on food. 1.25 Bellbird. 1.35 Skippy. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Labour Party conference. 4.25 Freewheelers. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Bless this house. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.
6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS.
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.
8.30 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.
9.00 KATE. I Belong to Somebody.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 CADE'S COUNTY. The Witness.
11.30 DRIVE-IN.
12.00 MISCELLANY.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 2.00-2.22 London. 3.13-3.43 Yoga. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.00-12.15 London. 12.25-1.00 Labour Party. 3.43 News. 3.45 Labour Party. 4.20 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 11.13 News. 12.35 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.05 Labour Party. 1.00 News. 1.05 Play better tennis. 1.30 My three sons. 2.00 London. 2.20 Film: 'Let's Dance'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Question time South. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 12.45 Common Market cook book. 1.15 Dick Van Dyke. 1.45 A place of her own. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.10 Tinker-tainment. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Underworld USA'. 12.20 Weather.
HTV Cymru/Wales 41 as above except: 4.10-4.25 Cantamil. 6.01-6.22 y dydd.
HTV Cymru/Wales 7 as 41 plus: 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos.
HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 London. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Test case for paradise. 11.15 Journey to the unknown. 11.30 Frighteners.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30-1.00 London. 2.20 Horoscope. 2.30 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game.

ULSTER: 11.00-1.00 London. 1.30 News. 1.32 Cartoon. 1.40 Schools. 2.43 Labour Party. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: 'The Bramble Bush'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 1.00 Corwin. 2.00 Nanny and the professor. 2.30 Labour Party. 4.25 London. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.25 Calendar special. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 1.00 Galloping gourmet. 1.30 Cinema. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Labour Party. 4.20 News. London. 5.15 Crossroads. 5.45 Felix the cat. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Mummy'.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 1.00 Edgar Wallace. 2.00 Funny face. 2.30 Common Market. 2.59 News. 3.00 London. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Mr Fox and his frames. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the press. 11.00 Spvforce. 11.55 News. 12.10 Greatest fights. 12.25 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 1.00 Double talk. 1.30 Spectrum. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.35 Name of the game.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 12.55 Let's face it. 1.20 Enchanted house. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Cartoon. 2.27 News. 3.00 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Julia. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 12.00 Meditation.

No end to the bloodbath in Ulster

BY IAN YEATS

WHILE the various parts of the Provisional IRA thrash about like the arms of some great headless monster from one extreme of policy to another, the iron fist of Tory law and order smashes deeper into their ranks.

During a weekend of violence in Ulster, British army bullets swept the streets of Belfast and Derry shooting down virtually anyone who even so much as put his hand in his pocket.

An 18-year-old youth on a rooftop watching the Belfast funeral procession of a waiter killed in a bomb blast at a Catholic club last Wednesday was shot dead. Afterwards the army said he was a gunman.

As men of the Royal Anglians moved in to recover the body a soldier was killed by a sniper.

The killings triggered a hail of bullets from both sides which forced families in streets throughout the Catholic Lower Falls district to crouch on the floors of their homes for two hours.

During the firing, in which the army say they were up against at least 12 gunmen, a 20-year-old woman was shot dead.

At first the army said she was

about to fire a pistol. Later they issued a second statement saying she was seen to aim a rifle at a soldier of the Royal Green-jackets. She was shot in the back.

The funeral battle was followed by a night of bombings and gunfights in Belfast which left 11 dead and over a 100 injured.

Fresh fighting between snipers and army patrols broke out on Saturday and in the Lower Falls a 19-year-old girl was killed and a boy of 13 wounded.

Police and army units in Northern Ireland's major towns and cities came under attack throughout Saturday, but a woman died and ten people were injured when a car bomb exploded outside a Catholic club in the heart of Belfast.

Yesterday a man the army said at first was 'acting suspiciously', then was seen to draw a pistol and finally was alleged to have fired two shots, was killed in the New Lodge area. Troops recovered the body, but no weapon was found.

While army retaliation against terrorists is becoming massive and ruthless, Enoch Powell was in Ballymena at the weekend urging them to go even further.

'There has been talk without end about detaching the gunmen from the minority . . . people detach themselves soon enough from those who are bound to fail,' he said.

He told a Unionist rally that what was alone at stake in Northern Ireland was whether the province was part of the United Kingdom.

He said: 'Sooner or later in this corner of the Kingdom the government has to govern.'

Meanwhile a report alleged to have been smuggled out of Long Kesh by three men in Cage six, Hut 60, claims that on September 22, soldiers and prison guards 'ran amok' among prisoners beating them with batons and kicking them.

The report said: 'This went on for about an hour. Many men were unconscious and many had fractured limbs. The compound had to be washed down to get rid of the bloodstains.'

While evidence mounts that Tory repression in Ulster is being intensified, the Provisional IRA is moving to the brink of its final betrayal.

Dublin Provo leader Rory Brady called for a return 'to the realities of the situation' and in a weekend peace plea outlined three conditions which might make a truce possible.

He wants the IRA to share all future top-level talks, the removal of all legal curbs on the IRA and the removal of the various declarations and oaths of allegiance required of those seeking office in Ulster.

In other words, if the IRA is allowed to operate like any other bourgeois democratic party, it would be prepared to participate in William Whitelaw's new Ulster, the framework for which

emerged at last week's Darlington talks.

Significantly he made no mention of withdrawing British troops, ending internment and the ultimate future of Ireland.

While the Tories drive one section of the IRA back to the paths of bourgeois virtue, there is no sign that northern leaders of the IRA share Brady's optimism about the outcome of a new peace initiative.

Since the last one, when Provo leaders in the Six Counties described Whitelaw as a man with nothing left to give, terror has if anything increased.

Derry IRA leader Sean Keegan said on Saturday in direct opposition to Brady that there could be no peace in Ulster until the British army was withdrawn and internment ended.

Recession, coupled with civil war, has taken a crippling toll of Ulster industry. Now cheap imported shirts are closing factory after factory in virtually the last major industry left in the Six Counties.

After nearly four years of war, unemployment and poverty in Ulster are worse than ever—and both sectarian working-class communities are feeling the pinch.

That is the real meaning of Vanguard leader William Craig's UDI ultimatum to the Tory government at a 15,000-strong Loyalist rally in Belfast on Saturday.

Craig said that if Protestants could not 'win their rights' through the ballot box, they would be forced to turn to the bullet and go it alone.

Ultimately terror on either side is doomed to failure. Recession lies at the root of the continuing crisis in Ulster and the only answer is in the unity of Protestant and Catholic and British and Irish workers to force the Tory government to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

An essential part of these policies would be to bring about an end to internment and the withdrawal of the British army.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

ACTON: Monday October 2, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Rd, W3. 'The ATUA conference'.

MEDWAY: Monday October 2, 8 p.m. 'The Greyhound', Rochester Avenue, Rochester. 'ATUA conference: Discussion on main resolution.'

WOOLWICH: Tuesday October 3, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage Road, SE18. 'Stalinism and the Tory government'.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday October 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'The ATUA conference'.

SOUTH WEST LONDON: Tuesday October 10, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4. 'The ATUA conference'.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday October 12, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opposite New Cross Station. 'The ATUA conference'.

Socialist Labour League

LECTURES THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by
G. HEALY
(SLL national secretary)

London

Historical materialism today
Sunday October 8

EAST HAM TOWN HALL

Lister Room
Barking Rd, 7 p.m.

Liverpool

Tuesday October 3
MUNICIPAL ANNEXE
Dale Street, Liverpool
7.30 p.m.

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name

Address

The only solution — get rid of the Tories

A LABOUR PARTY militant and tenants' leader in Wilmslow, Manchester, Mrs Constance Fahey, yesterday spoke to Workers Press about some of the lessons of the fight against the Act and the way forward now for tenants.

'During the past year the vast majority of Labour voters and tenants put their trust in people not worthy of their trust, in many Labour councillors elected on the basis of their opposition to the rent increases.

'Those who voted for the Act should most certainly be expelled from the Labour

Party. They should be told, like Dick Taverne was in Lincoln, that they were not put in to vote in the same lobbies as the Tories, but to look after the interests of the working class.'

She said many Manchester tenants were going to withhold the increases demanded by the local Labour council.

'But we are stressing all the time that the increases spring from the fact we have a Tory government and that the only solution is to get rid of them.

'A lot of people underestimate the housewives in this

country who will have to pay the rents. But if we can get together with the trade unionists we can win.

'Only yesterday the secretary of a combine shop stewards' committee representing 33,000 workers sent his support. Manchester and Salford dockers are also backing us.

'With the backing of the trade unions I don't see how we can lose this battle—that is to remove this Tory government and only return to power a Labour government based on the socialist principles with which this movement was founded,' said Mrs Fahey.



Mrs Constance Fahey

You made it!
SEPTEMBER FUND £1,762.17

IT WAS a magnificent fight. We knew you would reach our target of £1,750 in time. We do thank you all over and over again for the wonderful effort.

This month, more than ever before, there has been a very special effort to raise our Fund. We know that you, dear readers, face prices going up every day that eat into your meagre incomes. And yet, not for a moment, have you neglected the Fund.

In September, due to our greatly increased costs, we were once again forced to put our target up £500 to £1,750. This did not deter you. In fact, a more determined fight than ever was put up and now we are home with flying colours. And still money is coming in.

We promise to give you the final result tomorrow of this really great fight. Meanwhile, learning from the tough struggle we had during the month of September, let's try and make an early start for our October target. We need £1,750, so please start today. Post your donations to:

Workers Press
October Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High St,
London, SW4 7UG.

Rents: Labour retreat 5½ million face rise

COUNCIL TENANTS all over Britain — over 5½ million of them — today face the first increases under the hated 'fair rents' Act as the Tories begin their demolition job on the basic right to housing.

For most tenants in the big cities rents will soar by £1 a week. And they will be passed on in almost every case by a Labour council which has capitulated before the Tories and decided to implement the Act.

The betrayal nationally and locally is almost complete. Only 50 councils out of 385 Labour-held town halls will not implement. Now it appears that the

so-called 'left' in London's Camden council is seeking an 'understanding' with the Tories, despite their loud non-implementation noises.

In August Camden voted for non-implementation, the only Labour council in London to do so. Mrs Millie Miller, leader of the council, declared at the time:

'We have asked that the Housing Commissioner be appointed to take over the affairs of the borough as soon as possible . . . to do their own dirty work.'

On August 11 they received a letter from the government warning them of the consequences of their action. By August 23, Mrs Miller, a speaker at yesterday's protest rally in Trafalgar Square, and

BY PHILIP WADE

others were meeting a junior minister in Whitehall, seeking concessions on the Act.

More letters passed between the Labourites and the Tories until last week the Department of the Environment told Camden their rents could go up 85p instead of the £1. The maximum rebate would be £10 a week, instead of £8 in the Act. Certain lower minimal rents were also authorized.

So, far from calling in the Housing Commissioner, the Camden 'lefts' have been seeking a basis for implementation. Last week a policy and resources committee passed over a

decision on whether to reverse the council's position.

The next council meeting on October 11 could be where this reversal takes place, making a clean sweep of the London Labourites.

Under the Act, 'fair' or market rents will be fixed by local councils and rents will rise until that level is met. Then a reassessment will take place.

Average rents will double, the new levels being assessed by a committee of property men and lawyers from which there is no appeal.

Subsidies to local councils—now running at £200m a year—will be gradually withdrawn. In the past they have been used to ease the massive interest and capital

charges debt which eats up 70 per cent of all local councils' revenue.

On top of this comes the introduction for the first time since the 1930s of a universal means test designed for those who want to claim rebates. Reassessment will take place as incomes change. Rebates will go down as wages rise, giving a built-in wage-cutting machinery.

All these moves constitute a massive and planned attempt to demolish the entire basis of municipal housing which is a basic right of the working class.

The Tories have been unmoved by protest against their legislation, comforted as they were by the carpet-crawling of the Labour leaders.

Briefly . . .

YOUNG TEACHERS have voted not to teach classes over 30 after January 31. There are still 4,500 classes in England and Wales with more than 40 pupils. Meeting in Nottingham, the National Union of Teachers' junior section also called for staff councils with decision-making powers on educational aims and internal organization. An amendment to replace head teachers with elected staff was defeated. Conference also voted for non-cooperation with the Industrial Relations Act.

SHAM OPPOSITION TO PLAN

FROM PAGE 1

the government, the Confederation of British Industry and the TUC must 'take into account productivity rewards'.

The so-called 'left' leader of Britain's biggest union, in other words, is not opposed to the state regulation of wages just so long as he can do a few speed-up deals on the side.

Against this background, it is small wonder that Tory Chancellor Anthony Barber was able to announce following his return from the International Monetary Fund conference in Washington on Saturday:

'The leading finance Ministers with whom I spoke believe that Britain is a country where it is possible to work out a sensible and fair voluntary arrangement to slow down the spiral of rising prices.'

The issue, of course, is not prices, but wages. And the finance Ministers' belief is rooted

firmly in Barber's account to them of the government's three months of talks with the TUC about holding wages down.

Since the union leaders have carefully kept secret the detail of these talks, we do not know what specific undertakings from the union chiefs Barber was able to cite in his account. But three points would certainly have figured:

1 As CBI director-general W. O. Campbell Adamson let slip in July, the TUC agreed with the employers to work towards an 8-per-cent ceiling on wage increases. This came out in a lengthy verbatim interview in the 'Sunday Telegraph'. Victor Feather later claimed on Adamson's behalf he had been 'mis-quoted'.

2 Shortly after the TUC leaders agreed headings for their detailed talks with the CBI and the government at Chequers, the leaders of Britain's 105,000 electricity-supply workers reduced their members' pay claim.

The Electricity Council had expected a claim for £5.50 on minimum rates and more for semi-skilled and skilled grades. Union leaders tabled a claim for £5.50 across the board.

3 On the same day leaders of 194,000 government industrial workers sent their members' claim for a substantial increase to arbitration—in the teeth of fierce opposition from the union members concerned.

If the finance Ministers needed further proof that the TUC chiefs are in Heath's pocket, Feather supplied it on Saturday:

'We are all starting off with the same purpose,' he said. 'The objectives of all of us—the government, the CBI and the TUC—are the same.'

Everyone wanted to see faster growth 'in the national interest'. He claimed the only differences

were about how this could be achieved.

With prices, rents and transport costs all rocketing, no trade unionist or Labour Party member can afford to allow their leaders to continue crawling to the Tories in this way.

Researchers for the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have shown that the plan for a £2 ceiling if implemented, would immediately mean a cut in real earnings for millions of workers.

A worker with a wife and two school-age children earning £22 a week who got the £2 would lose about 60p in additional income tax, 9p in additional national insurance contributions, 50p on rates, 34p on rents and 87p on free school meals and uniforms.

The Tories would give him £2 with one hand. With the other, they would take away £2.40. And this is leaving entirely out of account the current annual rate of price increases of 6.6 per cent, not to mention the effect of entry into the Common Market and today's council rent rises.

But even more important, behind the TUC and Labour leaders' conciliatory words lies their complete abandonment of the basic right of the working class to organize independently of the capitalist state.

Feather and Wilson must be halted. All talks with the Tories must immediately be broken off. The TUC must mobilize action to force the Tories to resign, and create the conditions for the election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The reformist top brass have already turned this week's Blackpool conference into a dangerous farce; the only alternative will be posed at the All Trades Unions Alliance national conference in Birmingham on October 22.

FORTY FORD door-setters are to meet in Dagenham today to discuss their walk-out last Friday. Their protest followed the sacking of a worker for allegedly hitting a foreman. This militant section recently forced the management to retreat on manning scales.

WEATHER

SOUTH WEST England, South Wales, and Northern Ireland will be rather cloudy with perhaps some rain in places at first. Elsewhere dry weather is expected with sunny periods. Early morning mist or fog in inland areas will soon clear. Temperatures will be near normal.

Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Continuing mainly dry with sunny periods and near normal temperatures by day, but local frost in inland areas at night.

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ATUA CONFERENCE

The way forward for all trade unionists

SUNDAY OCTOBER 22 10-30 a.m.

TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM

The All Trades Unions Alliance conference will be devoted to discussing the vital experiences of the last eight months, to analysing the problem of political leadership in the unions and to advancing the struggle for the implementation of the ATUA programme.

All trade union branches, shop stewards' and district committees are cordially invited to send delegates and/or observers to the conference. Delegates fee 25p.

Please send all correspondence and applications to: Conference Secretary, P. Goldstein, 103 Lewis Flats, Dalston Lane, London, E8.

SPECIAL TRAIN FROM EUSTON, LONDON, £1.50. COACHES FROM OTHER AREAS.

Union

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Name, addresses and No of delegates/observers

.....

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I enclose £..... as delegates fees. Signature of secretary