SINISTER
THE whole sinister technical apparatus of the secret agent was let loose in a drive to avoid a repetition of 'Chair Farm', where legal protectors were found to retreat from jailing pickets held in contempt of court, Sir John Donaldson, and the entire freedom-loving capitalist press accepted it all without a murmur.
Tony Merrick, one of the dockers named in the injunction, was first observed and photographed on picket duty. His conversation with a lorry driver trying to get into the depot was supposedly taped. He was followed into a cafe, a public house and then home.
Subsequently Gary Murray, senior porteur in Europe, the firm hired for the job, telephoned Merrick's number. This is how Tony Merrick described to Socialist Worker what happened that evening:
'A man I now know to be the Murray ring and asked for me. I was out walking my dog and my wife told him I was a newspaperman from the City Press and that I had been posted over to give the dockers' case some space. He was very keen to do that, he said.'
SCHEMATICAL SPECULATION OVERGROWTH OF THE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLE PARTY WITH THE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION OF THAI COMMUNISTS (SACP) IN THE 1972 CONVENTION

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS SACK PRESIDENT

by Hannah Shoemaker

THE RESIGNATION of French Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas and his replacement by Pierre Messmer reflects a serious crisis in the Gaullist Party, the main party of the French right.

The Gaullist—like the British Tory Party—has always consisted of a number of strong, independent-minded factions. Some of these factions can be called semi-fascists, others are simply independent-minded groups within the big party, and the rest are just ordinary politicians.

The Gaullists came to power in 1958 as the only political party that could lead France from the problems of the Algerian war. But when they were finally able to stay in power, they became a luxury that the Gaullists of the old guard had no stomach for. They were replaced by Gaullist candidates in the 1966 election, and the Gaullists went on to lose power in 1969.

In 1969, de Gaulle himself resigned, as his government had become a luxury that he could no longer afford. The Gaullists were a force that France could not afford, and the Gaullists were the only party in France that was able to withstand the economic crisis of the mid-1960s.

But the ghost of the Gaullists was never far away. The Gaullists were a classic case of the electoral system, and the Gaullists were the only party in France that could withstand the economic crisis of the mid-1960s.
Stern gang

EVIDENCE to support the socialist contention that the Tories’ Fair Rents Bill is a landlords’ charter comes in this article in that worthy liberal newspaper The Guardian. Reporting on leading London landlord and property man William Stern of Stern Holdings, the paper said: “Mr William Stern played an influential role in the drafting up of the Housing Finance Bill. He gave evidence to the Francis Committee which last year reported on the Rent Act. It was Mr Stern who recommended the setting up of the national rebate scheme for needy tenants who could not afford to pay the rents landlords wanted to charge. He urged it in June 1970 and Mr Walker [the Environment Minister] has followed his advice. It was Mr Stern who made the observation that existing legislation ‘protects the tenant from reality’.”

“Mr William Stern is one of London’s biggest landlords and as the incorporation of his proposals in the Housing Finance Bill shows, one of London’s most influential… The government’s proposals, embodied in the Housing Finance Bill, are aimed at encouraging more landlords to invest in residential property. It will undoubtedly sway the balance in favour of the landlords and thousands of tenants face the prospect of rent rises at a time when house buying is beyond many of them. The prospect of payments by big business to Tory Party funds in TALKING of Peter Walker, he has streamlined the old ‘you scratch my back, I’ll scratch yours’ system of payment for favours done in a way more keeping with modern planning. The result is more payments by big business to Tory Party funds.”

Guscione a free hand to photograph look-up Colley Company in bulk. Ideological purity is not an intrigue—everything is a public concern. Meanwhile Guscione is looking to new fields and is trying with the idea of establishing his brothel in London. Apparently only female brothels are illegal bars. ‘I’ve made a million out of female flesh,’ says our erstwhile entrepreneur, ‘I’ll make one out of male flesh.’ He’s gaining first-hand experience from the way the Yugoslav party men are busy prostituting themselves by the.“

Yug up

OLD COTTONIANS will recall that Bob Guscione, millionaire boss of the Penthouse magazine empire, had given the go-ahead by the Yugoslav government to develop the island of Krk as a gambling resort for Western businessmen.

The developed island was officially opened last week by Guscione and a bevy of his harem. Penthouse girls and Guscione were given the red-carpet treatment by the local comrades.

Party officials met Guscione at the airport and garlanded him with flowers. The secretary of the Communist Party and some other than Mijak Todorovic, President of the Republic, were present at the opening ceremony on Saturday.

Guscione, who mixes exploitation and full-blooded right-wing anti-communist propaganda in Penthouse, was admittedly surprised by the glad-hand from Tito’s apparatus. “Yugoslavia was a virgin country, ripe for new tourist trade,” he said. “I expected a few ideological problems, but there were none. I am one hundred per cent capitalist. Socialism to me is an evil. They could not have found a bigger capitalist than me if they had looked for one.”

The Yugoslav bosses looked, liked what they saw and are now giving Guscione a free hand to photograph look-up Colley Company in bulk. Ideological purity is not an intrigue—everything is a public concern. Meanwhile Guscione is looking to new fields and is trying with the idea of establishing his brothel in London. Apparently only female brothels are illegal bars. ‘I’ve made a million out of female flesh,’ says our erstwhile entrepreneur, ‘I’ll make one out of male flesh.’ He’s gaining first-hand experience from the way the Yugoslav party men are busy prostituting themselves by the.“

48-YOFF to our story last week about the attack on Socialist Worker and IS in the anti-unification Sunday Post of Dundee. The paper received a letter from a 16-year-old schoolboy who had diligently read their piece on our threat to Scottish schools. Then he reached for his pen and told the Post editors that he had been searching for a revolutionary organisation to join and was grateful to the paper for its detailed report on IS policies, complete with address of where to join. Which was quite the result the Sunday Post was after.

Black money

CROCODILE TEARS from the Workers’ Party Company of Rhodesia, owners of the mine that was the scene of the massacre last week. It was an operation that killed 400 miners, most of them black. A press statement by the company says that in the face of the disaster steps were being taken to work out pensions for the dependants of the men who died under ground and who earned less than £600 a year—that is all the black workers.

In common with other companies in Rhodesia, the colliery had insurance cover for the dependants of those men who had been earning more than this figure,” the statement adds. They mean the white miners. In other words, the whites were automatically covered by insurance while the families of the dead blacks will have to go to the greedy business of haggling for money.

A HEADLINE in last week’s Morning Star yelled that Transport Union general Jack Jones had called for all-out ‘fight spirit’. the Tories’ the Industrial Relations Act? the right-wing on the TUC? Think again. Pollution. It’s all in the mind… .

THE GOVERNMENT now desperately needs the help of the TUC to put over an ‘incomes policy’, in reality a policy to restrain wage increases. The best current estimate is that retail prices rose by about 8 per cent from the September figures as compared with an average rise of 8 per cent a year over the last three years. Four to 5 per cent of the increase will be due to government the government has taken and cannot be reversed—Common Market entry and deflation via the floating pound.

All the more urgent then, is the government’s need for some ‘left-wing’ protective cover. Last week’s talks at Downing Street will be followed by a series of discussions which, Heath hopes, will result in a government TUC-CBI agreement. The government’s intention is to deflect the TUC away from the complaints that the government is proposing, and which has considerable support on the right wing of the TUC, is to link pay rises with the ‘slicing scale’ approach. The idea is that the government will fix a norm—8 per cent is being mentioned—as the maximum increase in a given year. This is all to guarantee that no increases of reasonable proportions will actually get per cent. It is a maximum, not an automatic increase. On top of the increase, whatever it is, there will be an additional 4 per cent. The government’s intention was that the certain figure over and above 8 per cent, then there would be another rise to compensate—4 per cent is being mentioned as the figure in this connection.

LAG behind prices

To illustrate how the scheme is intended to work, suppose that an 8 per cent increase is conceded to a group of workers and that, over the period of the agreement, the cost of living increases by 8 per cent. Second, suppose the cost of living index is held down to an 11.5 per cent increase over the period of the agreement. The workers are stuck with an extra 4 per cent has not been reached. They take a cut in real pay.

Then there is the effect of taxation. The 8 per cent or whatever figure is agreed is not taken as home pay, it is gross pay and will be reduced substantially by tax, especially for the lowest paid. As the Sunday Times pointed out in connection with the miners’ wage gain: ‘The underground worker kept to Family Income Supplement and began to pay more tax leaving him with only £7.20 out of £5.

These particular figures apply to a married man with two children but the effect is a general one. Even the best-off miners lost a quarter of the rise in tax. The worst paid lost getting on for half. Any threshold agreement will result in reduction in net real incomes if it can be enforced.

There needs to be a fight in every union against such schemes. And we mean real fight, not just a formal protest at which the people sign up. The TUC should demand: • A national minimum wage of £25 with automatic increases to compensate for price rises.

A compulsory third stream of minimum wage with automatic increases to compensate for price rises.

The TUC ‘left wingers’ have a special responsibility. They know the facts about incomes policy swindles as well as any one. They should do their bit to stop the government’s plans for the time for Scallon, Jones, Brighshaw and the rest to stand up and denounce Heath’s schemes and to expose Heath’s fifth column on the General Council. Let them do what the members pay them to do—fight for working class interests.

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THE LIMITS OF VIOLENT ACTION

I feel that too much stress has been placed on Socialist Worker's industrial policies of urging militant action and not enough on pointing out its shortcomings and limitations.

The most alarming example is coverage of the railwaymen's strike. This subject gives us an unparalleled opportunity to support workers who are struggling to defend their jobs and increase their wages. Cliff doubts that these state wars are any more productive than the wars of the 19th century, yet the financial structure of capitalism in Britain today.

We must at least be able to say that the most important contribution the International Socialists can make towards workers' struggle is to underline these points. At every opportunity we do point out to militants that they are behind the pickets. We have retreated from the threat of three attacks on trade unionism as though they existed. They are forming themselves, and return to the pre-1945 Labour government model of British capitalism, and that it is allowed to lead themselves and the working class into a third strike.

While our support for militant solidarity is necessary and good, if we fail to point out the limitations then it is only a question of time until the next Labour government i.c. can make it.

International Socialists can make a contribution to the workers' struggle is to underline these points.

As if they didn't know about Reggie...

SOLIDARITY, NOT POLITICS

Hugh Kerr attempts to answer my letter of 17 June. He says we must put politics before the strike, and that there are no political alternatives to rent strikers going back to work. In any strike, there is a struggle by workers to obtain satisfactory conditions of work and life, and to satisfy the needs of those who have been deprived of them. The workers who go on strike are determined to have more than the minimum level of living standards, but are not prepared to accept the conditions of work and life as they are. The workers who go on strike are determined to have more than the minimum level of living standards, but are not prepared to accept the conditions of work and life as they are.

Hugh Kerr's argument is that the strike is a form of protest, but it is clear that the workers who go on strike are determined to have more than the minimum level of living standards, but are not prepared to accept the conditions of work and life as they are.

As the strike continues, there are growing numbers of workers who are prepared to go on strike for a better life. They are prepared to risk their jobs in order to achieve this, and they are prepared to fight for their rights. This is the real meaning of the strike, and it is the only way that workers can win their fight for a better life.

LIVELIEST LETTERS ON THE LEFT

THEY TELL US WE DON'T NEED UNIONS...

There is a common belief that unions are not necessary, that individuals can negotiate their own terms of employment with their employers. However, many workers are not aware of the benefits that unions can provide. Unions can negotiate better pay and conditions for their members, and can also protect them from discrimination and unfair treatment at work. Unions can also provide support and guidance to members who are facing employment issues, such as job loss or workplace harassment.

Workers who are members of a union have more power than those who are not. Unions can negotiate collective agreements that set out the terms and conditions of employment for all members, and can also represent their members in disputes with employers. In addition, unions can provide members with training and development opportunities, and can also help to prevent workplace accidents and injuries.

In summary, unions are necessary to protect workers' rights and improve their working conditions. They provide a voice for workers and can negotiate better terms of employment with employers. Unions also provide support and guidance to members who are facing employment issues, and can help to prevent workplace accidents and injuries.
Fifty years as a revolutionary

by Edinburgh International Socialists

which took him to Kronstadt and Petrograd, where he learned just how hard conditions were in Russia at that time.

His travels took him to South Africa, where he helped organise the first trade union for black workers in South Africa. He also worked with the IUC, a multi-racial trade union, and in 1925 wound up in prison for his activities.

By his accounts this was a pretty luxurious place, for a white man. He had a black servant who was terrified of being put to death. He insisted on doing all his own chores, and used to tie in bed and refuse to get up out of it. At Christmas 1926 he was deported back to Britain. Back in Britain, Jim began to have his first

misgivings about the Communist Party. When an expensively printed hardback book, 'The Errors of Trotskyism', appeared, he was indignant at the charge that the CPA was in cahoots with Trotskyists.

During the General Strike, he was puzzled and confused by the Party's policy of simply calling a general strike and expecting rubber stamps when special emissaries were sent from London to ensure that local communists did the same.

He said of this period that the rank and file felt that they weren't being told the whole story, and that the tail was wagging the dog. He was determined to persuade the Party leadership that it would all come right in the end.

JIM CHARLESON, a revolutionary socialist for more than 50 years and a member of the International Socialists, died in Edinburgh last week.

During his life he saw the revolutionary struggle in many countries. He was one of the few very few who never gave up in any way.

He was born in Leith, Edinburgh, in 1903, and his first inkling of socialist ideas came from reading the works of Jack London. He served his political apprenticeship as soapbox carrier and paper seller for virtually all the political sects around the city.

None satisfied him until he joined the newly formed Young Communist League. He became one of their star soapbox speakers and toured the East of Scotland.

Jim began his travels in 1921 by getting a job on the Lenin, a Russian icebreaker on a trip

by Edinburgh International Socialists

by an ex-IWMM member, M. M. S. Macaulay, calling on the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Jim Crowe, to discuss the situation. Trotsky's explanation didn't please the General Secretary, but Crowe did agree to meet with Trotsky and discuss the matter.

Dazed

Jim told us how he met with Trotsky and how the two men discussed the situation. Trotsky's style of writing was straightforward and uncomplicated.

The shock was so great that Jim spent the whole afternoon in shock. It was a shock just walking the streets of New York in a foreign language.

He met Trotsky, Shachman, Abreu, Gilder and joined the group of supporter of Trotsky's line. He tried to continue to work with Trotsky, but it was impossible within a few weeks and denounced as a position of Trotskyist sympathizer.

In 1931, unable to find work in America, he took on the challenge of a job in Russia as an expert in the field of workers' education. As an illegal immigrant, he had not used his real name, but instead used the pseudonym of Shachman. His real name was not known as a Trotskyist.

He saw at first the misery of the working class and the political situation in Stalin's Russia. He lived with ordinary people and gave away his clothing to the poor. He saw starvation on a large scale, and at the same time, the massive organizational structures of the Communist party.

After his return to Edinburgh, Jim had a hard time, but it was difficult, if not impossible to get.

Disappointed

During the revolutionary period, the Communist group finally did get going in Edinburgh, but the Moscow-based International Communist League was set up, with 20 members, all of whom were Trotskyists.

Jim had high hopes for this group, but it soon became clear that it was disintegrating due to factional fighting. He left the group when he realized that the journal "Workers' Voice" was not a journal of workers, but instead was a mouthpiece of the Moscow-based International Communist League.

Following the purge of the Trotskyists, he spent many hours in bitter cold weather taking readings, making notes and selling Socialist Worker.

His political talent was taken for the most part by the International Left, which said that none of them should be simply a card-carrying member of the Communist party.

The purge of Trotskyists started with the purge of the Communist party. He was told that none of them should be simply a card-carrying member of the Communist party.

Rosa Luxembourg

BY PAUL FROLICH

Rosa Luxembourg was one of the greatest figures produced by the international working class movement. Both a profound and original thinker and a brilliant speaker, she represented one of the most important and significant periods in the history of the working class.

Unavoidable in English

for many years now, this definitive edition is a new translation from the German edition, which appeared in 1967 under the guidance of the author's family.

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SAFE
India: the motor falters...

India is again in crisis. It is not just the routine disaster that fills the newspapers. It is a crisis of economic development. People can bear a great deal of hardship if there is some hope. But it is hope that is running out in India today. Industry should be the engine that is driving India out of the misery and brutality of the past. Factory jobs, above all, are the first line of this new approach for the millions of the poor, some beginnings of a basic minimum of material freedom.

But the industrial engine will not fire. Or rather it splutters and puffes, lurches the country along briefly and then dies.

Indian industry ought to be roaring along at a rate of output growth of 10 to 15 per cent every year. In the quarter of a century that India has now been independent, it has never reached such rates. There was an 8 per cent per year average growth rate in the first three Five Year Plans. From 1955 to 1969, the economy slumped. And in the first three years of the current (Fourth) plan, the growth rate declined from 7 per cent in 1965 to 26 per cent in the first nine months of last year. Yet even when the engine runs fastest, there are fewer and fewer jobs to go with it. Productivity has soared in Indian industry since independence, so that wages hardly increase as output shoots up.

There are more and more workers looking for jobs, so that even when industrial growth is taking place, there is growing unemployment.

All the massive investment made since 1951 has been in the total of increasing registered factory employment as a proportion of all employment from 2 per cent to 2.4 per cent. The problem at the moment is not that there is too little industry to support the present population. Industry cannot even use its present equipment fully. More than half of the present engineering industry is going slow. The rest is still not needed because the economy as a whole is so sluggish.

The public sector is especially bad. The great nationalized steel works now only at half rate. At that level of output, the financial losses are enormous.

As a result, what ought to be the main source of the industrial economy now is to be no more than decorative status symbols. They were enormously expensive to build—there are being paid off and out of the sweat and blood of many Indians—and they are only slightly more useful than the pyramids of the Pharaohs.

The industrial engine is slogging because there are too many people doing off the fast. Foreign capital takes its share. Corruption yet another drainage hole. And so on...

What is left after that is too small a key to the engine going off course of momentum. To take that three step:

Foreign capital: The Indian government borrowed abroad heavily to finance its industrialisation, and it allowed important sectors of the economy to be controlled by foreign companies. The debts remain even if the projects don’t work.

The British government which built the Durgapur steel mill still demands its pound of flesh even if Durgapur does not produce any steel at all. The servicing of loans takes about a third of all India earns on exports at the moment, and that proportion is growing rapidly.

Yet to keep existing industry going require a steady flow of machinery and spare parts import, as well as raw materials. The growth of debt servicing can strangle the economy.

Besides, other payments to foreign companies already help produce payments of payments. But the lines of profit are not made on steel, but such export necessities as Coca Cola and chewing gum.

Foreign capital now earn little for keeping the engine going and are interested solely in exploiting the small upper class market, a pure hit-and-run operation.

Secrets

It is a myth that foreign companies earned much money in the country. They put in some nominal capital to start off. But then they borrow on the local capital market for the rest.

That does not prevent them exporting the proceeds as payment for their trade secrets or highly expensive components imported from their parent company abroad.

Naturally enough, the profits made are the best kept secrets in India. But sometimes bits of information leak out. For example, in 1968.

Burnham Shell made gross profits of £459,000 and £49 per cent of its sales in 1968-9 and 1969-70. In the same period, the major oil companies sent out of India profits and dividends equal to over the capital employed in India. The profits, incidentally, were gained not on refining oil or prospecting for it, but on marketing petrol.

The foreign operations are not all from the West. Eastern Bloc countries have a similar range of sale and trade agreements. And so on...

State corporations in the Eastern Bloc have the most control by labour agreements with private Indian companies. For instance, East Germany has 87 such agreements. In return, profits flow out of India.

The greedy palm: As for corruption, the sign of its increase are everywhere. The volume of illegal cash—"black money"—is now probably greater than the legal. Anyone can hold billions in private.

It is a man who claims to have no income at all in a block of luxury flats, runs a new foreign car, builds parties for hundreds with government ministers among the guests. The son of a former finance minister, hardly purchased land speculatively, then forces the local plan to be altered so that a public highway crosses his property and he can secure handsome "compensation" at public expense.

If you feel like reminding too many, there are men who will—for a consideration—happily put a bullet in your back.

Defence: The third great drain on resources is arms expenditure. For with corruption for the few and complement for the many, you naturally need a large army—and police force—to frighten the rebels.

Defence expenditure has been increasing by 41 per cent per year since 1966-7. In West Bengal, the same of the mind, the violent clashes between workers and bosses, rural guerrillas and landlords, spending on the police increased from Rs. 260 million in 1966-7 to nearly Rs. 500 million in 1971-2.

Defence takes an especially large share of resources now. For it is not about the money, without it not doing much for the economy as a whole. What is required now are supernatural fighter jets, missiles, electronic equipment, all fantastically expensive, all out of date even five years.

This kind of grace has to be imported, so its manufacture does nothing for domestic industry. The cost either wrecks the balance of payments or drives India deeper into the embrace of the Soviet Union (or both).

Originally, high defence spending was justified on the grounds that Pakistan and China were both liable to attack India. Yet, by invading East Bengal and creating Bangladesh, India has dismembered Pakistan, and demonstrated that China will not intervene.

Yet such considerations have not persuaded the government to make any cuts in defence. Instead, arms spending is still rising, and some people are trying to push it up to the astronomical Rs. 20,000 million (at the moment, it is Rs. 14,500 million on about $700 million).

Aren’t they the only weapons that the Prime Minister of India, Mrs Indira Gandhi, has in her category. She has also "socialism". Not long ago, she announced her intentions to eliminate poverty.

Mrs Gandhi: everybody was cheered

Everybody has been very cheered by this. Unfortunately nobody quite knows what it means. Possibly, it does not mean the setting of the area of the economy that is really thriving, industry which earns for upper class consumption—refrigerators, car conditions, household equipment, cars. And then, the food itself. The government is not really providing the food, but the food is still required by the people who work in the area of food, and the farmers, the less fortunate peasants are paying it.

During the push a lot of a side to try and Air almost all of the peasants, the improvements are the benefit of the rich. The rich get all the services the go some cases, with price which artificially high. In present is, as the present case. The poor, the peasants are getting poorer, the price of their food and their food their, the farmers, the less fortunate peasants are paying this means they are. (The Stateagram)
Landlord beaten back in Bethnal Green

The battle over the Tories Rent Act this autumn is likely to be one of the major working-class struggles of recent years. Can the tenants take on the government and win?

It seems a formidable task—yet the famous Glasgow rents strike of 1915 showed that landlords and the state could be defeated. And that was not the only victory that year by the tenants.

London in 1938 and 1939 was the scene of a series of rents strikes and some 30 of them were successful. One of the first involved the tenants of the Quin Square estate in Bethnal Green in the East End.

Quin Square was a block of 246 flats. There was one lavatory between two flats, one water tap between four.

The general state of repair was appalling. Bathtubs and radiators were broken, callings were falling down, the walls were often damp and the asbestos broke down.

The local authority, in fact, had to send in a team of workmen to remove it.

Yet we do not have to go so far for a revolution. The world capitalist system is going through an economic crisis and there are opportunities for development. Yet many of the people who have been made unemployed will be wasted because of the power struggle.

The poor peasants will fight the system which hits them so hard, but there will be nothing to affect the national ruling class. For that to happen you need a lead from the masses of the cities.

Courage

In the last analysis, only the workers can break the stalemate, and then only through a revolution which would uproot not just the rich peasants but the whole capitalist way of life.

The landlords have no shortage of a struggle among themselves. They are divided on some questions, but they fear the masses and their alternatives.

This is hardly helpful. It is dominated by what are called middle-class parties in particular the three Communist Party.

The third—and what is left of it after some time is not dominated by one party or design in isolated pockets of the people. It is divided in many parts of the countries India today has a large number of parties which are not connected.

The landlords, and all the landlords of the world, have no possibility at all that they can lead the battle to the revolutionary struggle against capitalist society and the landlords.

Rarely has the need for a revolutionary workers’ party been so urgent. In the years to come, as capitalist imperialism grows, and the masses of the people, the workers, become aware of the urgency of the Indian ruling class is coming to play a more and more important role in the world as a whole and they come to the fore to the revolution. For Indians in Britain and other countries, the need has become even more urgent.

Quin Square residents are determined to resist the landlords’ attack. The Quin Square tenants association, a group of 20 minimum rents for the flats.

This was presented to the meeting of landlords and agents.

The agent spent the next few weeks raising rents. The flat owners and the tenants were armed.

The Quin Square tenants had challenged the right of a landlord to increase rents.

Their victory gave confidence and experience to other tenants in the East End.

Bob Graves, the secretary of the Quin Square tenants association, explained in his pamphlet (Quin Square Tenants’ Rent Strike: History, published in 1938) the effects of the 1938 government Rent Act.
UNEMPLOYMENT has been above the million mark for five months this year, and the bosses and their spokesmen seek desperately to provide some facile explanation in the hope of preventing working-class people from realising the truth: that capitalism does not work in their interests.

With all the rubbish about 'unreasonable' wage demands causing unemployment, there is another favourite—the lie that immigrants are a major cause. It is useful to the bosses if workers can be encouraged to blame unemployment on immi-

unemployment has risen while in fact the number of immigrants has been falling.

Simple facts like these do not worry the racists. They argue that unemployment would be much worse if it wasn't for immigration control. Thanks to immigration laws they argue, the 'flood' of the 1950s was reduced to a trickle, and, but for this, unemployment would be much worse.

Racism

But immigrants do not come to Britain out of a masochistic desire to join the ranks of the unemployed. They come when there is a labour shortage in this country.

All through the 1950s and 60s immigrants came only when there were jobs available. During times of employment in this country immigration fell off drastically. Laws such as the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 in fact made no difference at all to this. The law simply aimed at banning the flames of racism.

Look at it another way: There are more than a million unemployed in this country now, not because there aren't enough jobs that need doing. We need at least 40,000 new homes, new hospitals and schools.

There are in fact enough jobs that need doing to keep all workers in this country, black, white or whatever, occupied for several years. Why is it then that these jobs aren't getting done, and that people are out of work?

Under capitalism it is the capitalist bosses that organise the work to be done. Unfortunately they don't organise jobs because they need doing but because they make profits. If the job does not yield a profit to the capitalist then he won't hire the workers to do it, no matter what the need.

It should be obvious then, what determines the level of unemployment is whether or not the capitalist finds it profitable to hire workers. This is the crucial thing.

It has absolutely nothing to do with the worker's skin colour. How could the colour of the worker's face determine whether the job was profitable?

Menial jobs

But to the extent that people fall for propaganda from racists like Enoch Powell, that affects the lives of black workers. On top of the normal capitalist exploitation by the bosses, black workers suffer the added burden of race discrimination and often personal insults and physical assault.

In employment, discrimination is widespread. There are black workers with university degrees who can only find unskilled jobs. In many factories black workers find that only the lowest-paid and most menial jobs are open to them.

For young black school leavers born in this country, the unemployment rate is five times the national average. There can be no doubt that this is due to racial discrimination by employers.

What confidence can the black worker have that the capitalist organisations of the working-class movement are prepared to defend him against such things as this?

Steve Jefferys

Smear

In another case, two ISM members had just opened an Anti-Interruption open-air meeting on a desert building site in the vain hope of attracting a crowd, when they and the one passer-by who stopped to listen were arrested and later found guilty of various charges of incitement and breach of the peace.

The police in their evidence conjured up a great crowd of 40 Rangers supporters and 40 Celtic supporters, the traditional Protestant and Catholic Glasgow football teams. They couldn't call any of them as prosecution witnesses, but in their own evidence they could swear that the speakers' remarks were just about to start off another Battle of the Boyne.

All three spent the weekend in jail, and the passer-by was the man who subsequently lost his job.

Arrests and massive fines are increasing. Yet the fight against intimidation has to continue. It is in this light that we urge all readers to send donations to ourselves, or get their organisations to send money to help cover the four men's fines.

Send to Ian Munny, Socialist Worker Centre, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow, C1.

Steve Jefferys

UNEMPLOYMENT has been above the million mark for five months this year, and the bosses and their spokesmen seek desperately to provide some facile explanation in the hope of preventing working-class people from realising the truth: that capitalism does not work in their interests.

With all the rubbish about 'unreasonable' wage demands causing unemployment, there is another favourite—the lie that immigrants are a major cause. It is useful to the bosses if workers can be encouraged to blame unemployment on immigrants rather than on the bosses themselves and their system.

During the 1930s, when there was hardly a black face to be seen in Britain, there was massive unemployment. Likewise, today, unemployment has risen while in fact the number of immigrants has been falling.

Simple facts like these do not worry the racists. They argue that unemployment would be much worse if it wasn't for immigration control. Thanks to immigration laws they argue, the 'flood' of the 1950s was reduced to a trickle, and, but for this, unemployment would be much worse.

Racism

But immigrants do not come to Britain out of a masochistic desire to join the ranks of the unemployed. They come when there is a labour shortage in this country.

All through the 1950s and 60s immigrants came only when there were jobs available. During times of unemployment in this country immigration fell off drastically. Laws such as the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 in fact made no difference at all to this. The law simply aimed at banning the flames of racism.

Look at it another way: There are more than a million unemployed in this country now, not because there aren't enough jobs that need doing. We need at least 40,000 new homes, new hospitals and schools.

There are in fact enough jobs that need doing to keep all workers in this country, black, white or whatever, occupied for several years. Why is it then that these jobs aren't getting done, and that people are out of work?

Under capitalism it is the capitalist bosses that organise the work to be done. Unfortunately they don't organise jobs because they need doing but because they make profits. If the job does not yield a profit to the capitalist then he won't hire the workers to do it, no matter what the need.

It should be obvious then, what determines the level of unemployment is whether or not the capitalist finds it profitable to hire workers. This is the crucial thing.

It has absolutely nothing to do with the worker's skin colour. How could the colour of the worker's face determine whether the job was profitable?

Menial jobs

But to the extent that people fall for propaganda from racists like Enoch Powell, that affects the lives of black workers. On top of the normal capitalist exploitation by the bosses, black workers suffer the added burden of race discrimination and often personal insults and physical assault.

In employment, discrimination is widespread. There are black workers with university degrees who can only find unskilled jobs. In many factories black workers find that only the lowest-paid and most menial jobs are open to them.

For young black school leavers born in this country, the unemployment rate is five times the national average. There can be no doubt that this is due to racial discrimination by employers.

What confidence can the black worker have that the capitalist organisations of the working-class movement are prepared to defend him against such things as this?

Steve Jefferys

Smear

In another case, two ISM members had just opened an Anti-Interruption open-air meeting on a desert building site in the vain hope of attracting a crowd, when they and the one passer-by who stopped to listen were arrested and later found guilty of various charges of incitement and breach of the peace.

The police in their evidence conjured up a great crowd of 40 Rangers supporters and 40 Celtic supporters, the traditional Protestant and Catholic Glasgow football teams. They couldn't call any of them as prosecution witnesses, but in their own evidence they could swear that the speakers' remarks were just about to start off another Battle of the Boyne.

All three spent the weekend in jail, and the passer-by was the man who subsequently lost his job.

Arrests and massive fines are increasing. Yet the fight against intimidation has to continue. It is in this light that we urge all readers to send donations to ourselves, or get their organisations to send money to help cover the four men's fines.

Send to Ian Munny, Socialist Worker Centre, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow, C1.

Steve Jefferys

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The weight that is beyond their reach. Black workers are the first to lose their jobs when unemployment grows.
NEIGHBOURS

Chris Searle reviews

NEIGHBOURS/Spitfields to Whitechapel, an exhibition of photographs by Ron McCormick, Half Moon Gallery.

PHOTOGRAPHER Ron McCormick co-edited, designed and photographed for Stepney Wood magazine. He is another of children's poetry. His photographs have recently been used in Rank and File, the journal of socialist teachers.

With Neighbours, McCormick has deliberately shown his photographs of the people, buildings and streets of his own neighbouring world in the very area they depict. In doing this, he is giving back to his neighbours his own images of them, confirming their identity and belonging to the brick and stones which the photographer and his subject share together.

McCormick has efficiently foisted photographs onto the gallery space of the exhibition, so the local residents have strolled into the gallery and found his photographs, his own world frozen by the photographer’s camera, as simultaneously the neighbourhood is being gradually demolished and redeveloped by outside forces, and the people arbitrarily dispersed to tower blocks and new towns as the speculators move in.

The photographs show a twilit world, where people of all races, ages and existences work, play and move around in an aura of decay. Crumbling buildings, cobble streets, Dickenians shops, markets and debas are the environment of these neighbours.

McCormick sees the exhibition as a number of separate and individual impressions of a neighbour-hood, rather than as an attempt to tell a whole story or make a complete statement, and there is a wide spectrum of moods and energies in his collection.

There are skipping children and sleeping dossers, the somnolence of Gittitho Street where Jack the Ripper walked and killed, and pigeons flying among the sun and washing of Fieldgate Mansions.

The coherence of the exhibition comes with the feeling it evokes: that the photographer belongs to his subjects, that he lives and walks in the same streets with them, that every corner of the shutter is an act of understanding the conditions which bear down upon them all.

A boy looks up from the heap of rubbish where he is playing, an old woman stands from her condemned slummers herring shop. Two Bengal boys hug each other and gaze at the camera, a street musician sits in an alley, his dog to the one side, his drums on the other.

Nearly all the photographs include walls and fences. They show an enclosed world, tricked off from space and beauty, yet still reflecting unique shapes of its own.

McCormick’s neighbours are oppressed neighbours, living in conditions which they fight against daily. It is this sense of the stamina and strength of the subjects that McCormick captures, and makes it a deep statement of human struggle.

The Half Moon Gallery is at 27 Jux Street, London E1 and is open 12 to 6pm; Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Neighbours is on until 18 July.

Pabst’s call to action

Working people of all countries unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains. It is a simple message, and much ridiculed. For it hits at the very nerve center of our world as it is now.

During the past 70 years those who shed their lives have been lifted by fraternal chauvinism, in films and newspaper, comic and text-book. It is easy to appeal to baseness, to put man-made misery down to demons and hostile people to some crazy politics thattranslate themselves as action.

It is no easy thing to subvert such beliefs. Last week, BBC 2 showed a film that is one of the truly great cinematic struggles to do just this and, along the way, to tell the truth about all aspects of the way we live together.

G.W. Pabst’s 1931 film Comradeship is a story of a rise between the world wars rising disaster in the French and German border lands. Its aim is properly to undermine heroic patriotism which is actually about which set of capitalists will have what section of the world marketplace.

Comradeship has a wonderful simplicity to its, a simplicity born of immense study and endurance. It starts with the insanity of a system of production and ideas which builds borders 20,000 below the ground to separate the 'French' and 'German' sections of the coalfield.

Pabst brings this system face to face with a mine disaster in the 'French' section. What are the German miners to do? Are they Germans or are they miners?

One speaks out where others are silent. Slowly the natural solidarity of the community is let loose and workers move to help workers. The boss is 'persuaded' to release the rescue gear.

Comrades

As the miners move across the border in trucks, French border guards are ready to shoot them. The weeping crowds of Frenchwomen who fear for their husbands, sons and lovers can scarcely believe that 'Germans' have come to help. With a joint rescue operation, the basis of a new relationship between the two communities is laid. But only the basis.

Underground a French miner taps away at a pipe to draw a rescuer's attention. The rescuer comes. He speaks German and wears a gas mask.

Washed with pain, the French miner has but one image in his mind, 1914-1918. He struggles with his comrades. They both die.

BBC 2 was proud to announce that their version of the film was the first UK showing of Pabst’s 'last and penultimate' ending.

After the rescue operation is finished, Pabst shows the great miners' gala day. The French miners' leader says, in wonderful applause, that there are only two things which threaten them all: fire and damp and war. The German miners' leader says that the German miners cannot understand the words, but readily grasp the meaning.

We must remember, he says, that we are not French or German but workers. Together we must rid the world of those whose pursuit of markets would turn us into killers.

Then the 'last and penultimate' ending: understood, French and German officers are seen again inaugurating the border in the pit shaft.

Pessimists? No—a call to action.

Laurie Flynn Stuart Morgan

POOR MARX, NEW LEFT

KARL MARX, by Werner Blumenberg, New Left Books, 8pp.

At last New Left Books have produced a book at a price most people can afford. Unfortunately the book itself is not much good. It claims to cast fresh light on Karl Marx ‘as a man’ rather than as the creator of a theoretical system. In fact it casts very little new light at all—unless you want to hear of the arguments between the young Marx and his father, or the detailed rumours about his alleged illegitimate son.

The author certainly does not give us any hinting what Marx was like as a person to know and to talk to. The book outlines some of Marx’s ideas—but in a fashion which presupposes an understanding of much of the terminology, which in turn presupposes an understanding of ideas—not much good to newcomers. And on some questions—such as Marx’s treatment of the Jewish questions and the Paris Commune— it is outrageously misleading.
Miners' leaders dodge hedges hook

BRITAIN's miners met in conference last week, less than six months after the most militant strike in the post-war history of the working class—yet many miners were dissatisfied with the outcome of the debates at Moseacre.

The union executives declared its strong opposition to any further production deal with the Coal Board last year, even though all the evidence shows that such deals have been the saving grace of jobs in the industry.

And moves to introduce a few simple elements of democracy into the union were defeated by a vote. But the current resolution was defeated, with a significant minority voting against it.

The miners expressed deep concern about the future of the industry, with many unions holding out for nationalization and others calling for urgent action to prevent a further decline in employment.

The conference heard that the Coal Board was still investigating the possibility of closing pits, even though it had already announced plans to save £250 million by 1982.

The miners' leaders were divided on how to respond to the government's plans. Some called for a nationalization referendum, while others argued for a more gradual approach.

The conference decided to press for a more active role in the negotiations with the government, and to continue to support the miners' legal action against the Coal Board.

The miners' leaders also discussed the possibility of a national strike, but decided that this would be premature at this stage.

The miners' leaders were determined to continue their fight for a fair deal for the miners, and to ensure that the industry is not allowed to decline any further.
Workers oppose grants fiddle
by Dave Peers
COUNTRY DURHAM—100 workers took strike action for the first time in a fortnight ago to prevent the movement of their plant. They claim the plant is from the factory after they were told it was being slated for closure.

This closure is an example of how the policy of redundancies and closures provides nothing valuable to the workforce. In 1980, a million a year will be spent on regional aid for the steel industry, and still it is placing the pockets of companies like G Sibbe and Co of Newcastle.

Leadtape Engineering, a Thibbe subsidiary, was invited to a workshop in July 1966. Thibbe offered to modernise and provide the factory all the equipment for the plant included in the bid. The cost was £15,000 and included plant and a factory shop constructed only eight years previously. When it went ahead the cost was £5,000. There were eight cases included in the factory.

Within months, machines and tools and every equipment worth £15,000 had been installed. At the meeting, the production department was shown the plant.

In contrast, the company is now closing down, saying it would save money.

All is not well in the company. The redundancies and closures threaten the livelihood of workers and the community. Members of the NCC in Leadtate are calling for the formation of a leadtate because of the closure and asking for a government grant to support the factory.

The government is no longer supporting the company. The workers are being left to their own devices.

Two workers are in hospital with chest injuries.

The workers are in hospital with chest injuries.

THE RENTS DILEMMA
Submit says Crossland
by Hugh Kerr
SHADOW Housing Minister John Crossland, speaking at an official Labour party conference, has stated that the housing market is in a state of crisis.

He stated: “We cannot deny the deflationary pressures in the housing market. This has led to a severe shortage of new homes being built and a substantial increase in the number of people spending over £100,000 on rent each year.”

He added: “We must take action to ensure that the housing market is driven forward by the demands of the people. This will require a fundamental change in the existing framework of government policy on housing. We must ensure that the housing market is driven forward by the demands of the people.”

The government is currently considering proposals to increase the supply of affordable housing. It has also been suggested that rent controls could be introduced.

WAGES STRIKE IN 24th WEEK
by Steve Jefferys
GLASGOW—A mass of unpaid minimum strikes hit you when you enter the building of the Bank of Scotland, Park Road. The workers, now in their 24th week of strike action, have been in pursuit of a wage claim, which is being implemented by the company. They have been on strike for 24 weeks, and are currently in a period of industrial action.

The workers are demanding £5 for all their efforts to improve the working conditions in the factory.

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WAGS STRIKE IN 24TH WEEK
by Steve Jefferys

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THE ATTACK by British forces on unarmed demonstrators in Belfast on Sunday evening, the subsequent IRA response and the UDA threat to massacre republicans, appear to have brought the North of Ireland finally to the long-feared brink of sectarian civil war.

British soldiers have no reason to romanticise and peddle illusions about a sectarian war should it develop. The working class, Catholic and Protestant, will be the losers. The only vectors can be the forces of bigotry and sectarianism and the privileged and propertied interests who stand behind them.

But soldiers will not be taken in by the protestations of liberal horror from British politicians, Tory and Labour, who are now intensifying the military build-up in Northern Ireland. They know more than anyone are responsible for defending and supporting the social system in the Six Counties which bred the poverty, the hatred and the violence which now threatens to explode in civil war.

Tragically the civil war will not be between the exploiters and oppressors but between two sections of the Irish working class.

Whitlaw and the British authorities stand condemned also for their acquiescence in the build-up of Orange terror in the Six Counties in such a way that it has now reached its final stage of open violence in the markets of Belfast, Clifton Street and Lenadoon Avenue on Sunday.

Since direct rule the British authorities have stood by and permitted the growth of Orange paramilitary terrorism. The police were given the authority to quell any disorder and maintain the peace. The corruption which has permeated the military and their police has not been stopped.

Under Mr Whitlaw's benevolent rule some 500 Catholic families in Belfast have been terrorised out of their homes by UDA thugs. And when some of these families tried to move into empty homes last weekend (with the initial approval of the authorities) the British Army was put at the disposal of the UDA hoodlums who wanted to stop them.

BANKRUPT

Of course not all the sectarianism and inordinate terror is the work of the Orange men. The British forces themselves have been responsible for some of the individual assassination by plain-clothes officers of Catholic priests.

And individual Catholics, sometimes with the tacit help of sections of the Provisional IRA, have also descended to barbaric terrorism in their efforts to protect the Catholic interests.

Much propaganda will be made by Whitlaw and the terrorists about the defeat of the Provisional IRA to call off the troubles. The International Socialists think that this is a misjudged and potentially disastrous step for the republican movement.

Yet the real charge against the Prowers is different. Despite the dedication and heroism of their militias, the political objectives of the Provisional and Official Republicans has rendered them impotent.

Their efforts have been to give a clear lead to the working people throughout Ireland against the whole system of oppression and exploitation.

Once in power the reserved fighting in Belfast, Provisional IRA leaders were engaged in secret talks with Whitlaw in a vain attempt to win his sympathies against the Orange forces. Reckless and indiscriminate terrorism have co-existed in the Provisional IRA with the worst kind of opportunism, middle-class politics.

The Official IRA, balancing between the demands of the same backward political tradition, the Stalinist politics of its leaders and the genuinely socialist aspirations of many of its rank and file members, has been unable to offer a counter lead to the Catholic working class that could have led them away from the blind alley of sectarian warfare.

Nevertheless, it is the duty of socialists to give unconditional support to all those engaged in the defence of Catholic areas against the Orange mobs.

But as long as the Catholic working class continue their struggle within the confines of the Six Counties there is no way out of the trap of sectarian strife on the one hand and left out by the middle-class politicians and social climbers on the other.

VULNERABLE

The key to victory against British imperialism in the north is always been in the struggle against capitalism in the whole of Ireland. Only an organisation that can unify the struggle of Irish workers against unemployment, bad housing, low wages, appalling social services and the other ills of capitalism in the 20 Counties can have chance of appealing to the Protestant working class in the North.

And until a section at least of the Protestant working class is won to the need for socialism, the Catholics will always be lured into the arms of the sectarian terror.

But another wing of the republican movement has shown the political ability to grasp this. The bond to build the alternative has been left to the working people of the Six Counties. Their drive to find an alternative to the sectarianism and terrorism has made them a base for the Popular Front movement.

The task of socialists in Britain is to engage in secret talks with Whitlaw in a vain attempt to win his sympathies against the Orange forces. Reckless and indiscriminate terrorism have co-existed in the Provisional IRA with the worst kind of opportunism, middle-class politics.

The Official IRA, balancing between the demands of the same backward political tradition, the Stalinist politics of its leaders and the genuinely socialist aspirations of many of its rank and file members, has been unable to offer a counter lead to the Catholic working class that could have led them away from the blind alley of sectarian warfare.

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But as long as the Catholic working class continue their struggle within the confines of the Six Counties there is no way out of the trap of sectarian strife on the one hand and left out by the middle-class politicians and social climbers on the other.

Catholics who tried to move into Andersonstown on Sunday were stopped by British Army CS gas and rubber bullets.

coming weeks is clear, 11 believes that the workers must demand:

- Withdraw the troops NOW, British forces can bring no peace to any part of Ireland.
- The Treaty must go. The Home regime is not an impartial referee in the sectarian conflict but the prime broker of the forces of sectarian privilege.
- End the building of a movement capable of bringing Catholic and Protestant workers together to fight the common enemy.
- Only Irish Workers Republic can beat the British and Orange terror machine.
- End the complicity of the Lynch government with Tory terror policies.
- Free the prisoners.

Lynch's cops get tough

by Brian Trench

DUBLIN—Rioting broke out in the South on Sunday when 200 demonstrators came face to face with the Free State Army outside the Curragh military interment centre.

The demonstration, organised by the Provisional Sinn Fein, marched towards the Curragh to demand the release of Republican political prisoners. The army used CS gas and baton charges to disperse the crowd. Stones and handgrenades were thrown at the soldiers.

Sinn Fein activists tried to prevent any counter confrontation. And in a statement issued after the march, the Provisionals laid the blame for the violence on members of People's Democracy and the Young Socialists.

They denied that the army and the police had been provocative in any way.

by Mike Miller

BELFAST—The truce is gone. The Provisional IRA's decision to set aside their ceasefires and take up the armed struggle once again results from growing frustration at the continuing failure of the British Tory government to face up to the reality of the Irish Republican movement.

And the activities of the Ulster Defence Association have brought the dinger of civil war closer.

A Provisional IRA command combined to create the Republican Fratricide, Whitlaw, Nortier, and Ireland. They've overcast, met the UDA leaders for talks. They failed with them, although no details were publicly announced. Since then behind the scenes, UDA members have met regularly in Protestant pubs to discuss their common strategy.

Masked UDA men armed with clubs called in at UDA bases with the British Army. The UDA publicity admits 'preparing for and carrying out armed warfare.'

In his address to the UDA leaders, William Craig, the Vanguard leader, claimed to have 70,000 strong 'Protestant army' at the ready for the civil war he hopes will come.

Loyalist murder gangs continue to patrol the streets. The leader of the outlawed Ulster Volunteer Force, himself jailed for murdering a Catholic bartender in 1961, was paroled from prison last week. The leader of the Ulster Defence Association, the IRA, announced that it would increase its manhunt of the sectarian killings. He never returned.

- The UDA also announced that it is sowing this year a 7,000-acre cotton field in South Armagh. It is hoped to grow cotton on the land the IRA freed from landlord ownership.

Refuse

But it was not all belligerent bickering that led the Provisionals to take up the armed struggle once again. Sixty Catholic families had been evicted from homes in a 'neutral' area of Belfast. The local UDA objected, saying it would force people there to become Catholic.

The UDA refused the Catholic families permission to return. Although the families attempted to move into their new homes with the help of 1000 supporters, the British troops themselves did what the UDA threatened.

The families and their supporters were met with CS gas, rubber bullets and baton charges. The rioting that followed, the IRA said, was caused by hundreds of shooting and bombing accidents have occurred throughout the Six Counties.

The Provisionals originally held that the British government should have no truck with Whitlaw until all irenities were freed. The fact that the British government has made no demands that they were serious about the ceasefire, they thought, made it easier for them to make a deal with the UDA and the IRA to demand withdrawal of British troops next year. Hope that British governors can be turned against the Provisionals: we show the insuperable contradictions of the British race against the Anglo-Irish war.

They offer nothing to Protestant workers because they have no perspective for the working class.

And unless they get peace on their terms, the appeal of the Social Democratic and Labour Party will be felt.

Lynch's cops get tough

This attitude shows their confusion about the nature of the Southern State. Their words are held in prison under some of the most repressive legislation that exists in the world. Yet the Provisionals still oppose those who see the British State as the one in a fight against the whole regime.

In this annual conference in Galway last week, the Irish TUC managed to do a lot of damage through its opposition to any accord with the employers' and the state.

Delegates were in support last month, where delegates were held under direct mandate against the terms of the new national wages agreement.