

AUEW BACKS INDUSTRIAL ACTION TORIES SEEK TO DEFEAT POWER MEN

BY JACK GALE

A SECOND big union yesterday decided to back industrial action in support of the power workers' £5.50 pay claim—but left its members dangerously exposed to Tory attack. The executive council of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers decided that it would give general support to any action agreed at Friday's meeting of power industry union chiefs.

It failed to specify what form of action should be taken. AUEW executive council man Bob Wright was given a free hand to back whatever emerged from Friday's discussions. This follows the decision of the Transport and General Workers' power and engineering group leaders to recommend an overtime ban to back up the claim.

With the support of these two big unions, therefore, an overtime ban would seem certain of support on Friday. But this will be utterly inadequate to meet the Tory onslaught against the power men which is already building up.

It is the aim of the Tories to make this a test case for their entire policies.

Victory for the power workers can only be won, in other words, by mobilizing the entire working class behind them. This involves a fight to bring down the Tory government.

Anything less only plays into the hands of Heath and Co, who are anxious for a showdown with the power workers and through them with the entire working class.

Ministers are hoping for a repetition of 1970 when they were able to isolate the power men and whip up middle-class hysteria against them on the basis of Press and television lies about pensioners and hospital patients.

The 1970 campaign resulted in electricians' union leader Frank Chapple abandoning the £5 claim and calling off the work-to-rule in exchange for a government Court of Inquiry.

In other words, in 1970 the union leaders placed the fate of the power workers in the hands of the Tory government. In the event the Wilberforce report gave an award exactly equivalent to the employers' last offer—£2.

Following this retreat the Tories were able to isolate and defeat the postmen.

In February 1972 the power men's leaders accepted a 7.4-

per-cent pay deal which amounted in practice to a wage cut in face of the rising cost of living. This was at the height of the miners' strike when united action by these two key sections of workers could not only have won both claims in full, but have brought down the Tory government altogether.

As the 110,000 power workers again come to the fore today, the union leaders are even less willing to fight the government than they were during the 1970 claim.

Since then, they have accepted the Industrial Relations Act and the right of the Tories to impose state control over wages. Tomorrow the TUC leaders continue their talks on the state pay plan with Heath and the leaders of the Confederation of British Industry.

An immediate condition for a power workers' victory is to force the union leaders to break off these talks and to halt their full-scale retreat before the Tory offensive.

TUC secretary Victor Feather's whimperings about the danger of a snap election must be rejected. This line has been used to prevent a fight against every single Tory measure, including the £55,000 fine imposed on the T&GWU by the National Industrial Relations Court.

Feather's bureaucratic 'logic' is to let the Tories walk over the working class now because if we don't, they might win an election.

But elections do not decide everything. The Tories cannot

TURN TO BACK PAGE

Homeless students picket DES



ABOUT 50 'homeless' students picketed the Department of Education and Science headquarters at Waterloo yesterday. The students, from the North London Polytechnic, have been sleeping rough for a month in a common-room and a board-room on camp beds or the floor.

Student Union vice-president Mr John Greer (23), said the Polytechnic, which has 4,000

full-time and 4,000 part-time students, was the only one in Britain without residential accommodation.

He said there was a serious shortage of flats and bedsitters within a radius of five miles of the Polytechnic and rents were beyond student pockets.

Said Mr Greer: 'We are demonstrating outside the DES because we feel it is their fault for not

TOMORROW



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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Behind the secret talks Nixon plans to intensify war in Indo-China

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE SECRET TALKS between Hanoi and Washington on a Vietnam settlement pose very great dangers for the Indo-China revolution.

While Kissinger talks peace in Paris and Saigon the Nixon administration is escalating the air war north and south of the 17th parallel and planning to obliterate Hanoi.

The carefully-timed 'peace offensive' from Washington a fortnight before the November 7 presidential election has more to do with Nixon's plans to smash the Democratic Party at the polls than with ending the war.

Nixon wants a clear majority at the polls to strengthen his hand against the working class both at home and abroad. By talking peace before the election he is preparing for a brutal intensification of the Vietnam war after November 7.

He used the same strategy to win the election in 1968 and thanks to the absence of a Labour Party in the United States it seems assured of a second success this time.

Yesterday Radio Hanoi questioned whether Nixon was seriously intent on achieving peace in Vietnam or just trying to fool public opinion.

Commenting on the recent talk of an imminent ceasefire, the radio said: 'Nixon's new war aggressions pose questions as to whether he is really talking peace seriously or is merely playing with conspiracies to fool public opinion.'

The radio condemned the US for continuing its bombing of North Vietnam and liberated areas of the south and said the build-up of US air and naval forces in South-East Asia indicated Washington wanted to step up the Vietnam war.

'At a time when the US is creating an atmosphere of peace before the presidential election, its intention to step up war and commit more crimes lays bare its ferocious character,' the radio added.

These correct sentiments are in marked contrast with those of North Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong, interviewed last week by the US magazine 'Newsweek'.

He said negotiations were 'in an extremely important phase' adding that 'we will do nothing to jeopardize a happy conclusion at this stage by talking out of turn'.

Pham Van Dong spoke of the 'positive' character of 'the present evolution' and even enlarged on the 'new relationships' which would emerge between Vietnam and the US 'following our agreement'.

There are clearly divisions within the North Vietnamese leadership which has been under great pressure to settle with the Americans from Moscow and Peking.

The Hanoi leaders are

vacillating: at the end of last week they were talking of an imminent settlement, but these statements have now been denied officially.

The biggest danger to the revolution in Indo-China comes from the Stalinist character of the leadership, which bases its perspective in the south on the achievement of 'peace, concord and democracy', in the words of Pham Van Dong.

It was the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1954 which accepted the Geneva accords with France, the USSR and China—the sell-out partition of the country which paved the way for the second Indo-China war.

Today, when the Vietnamese Communist Party is once again under intense pressure from Moscow and Peking to do a deal with the US, its leaders are wavering and divided.

In the talks with Kissinger it is they who have made the major concessions, if the reports in the Press can be believed. They have dropped their previous demand that military

and political questions must be settled together and toned down their insistence that the US remove its puppet Nguyen Van Thieu.

Meanwhile, as Hanoi Radio correctly indicates, the Nixon administration is stepping up the air war.

At the end of September, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to allow the bombing of previously 'off-limits' targets and on October 11, US planes bombed the centre of Hanoi, killing the French delegate-general and many Vietnamese civilians.

Administration spokesmen have made it clear that the North Vietnamese capital will continue to be bombed, and in the south the air force has been pounding targets around Saigon and in the area around Hue and Quang Tri.

All these developments point to an even more ruthless and brutal counter-revolutionary offensive following the November 7 elections, as Nixon has already made clear he will be much less inclined to 'negotiate' in the likely event that he wins at the polls.



Pham Van Dong

Durban dockers stand firm for £5 rise

ABOUT 2,000 black dockers in Durban, South Africa, have angrily rejected a company appeal to end their strike and return to work.

The men went on strike on Monday morning, bringing work on 20 ships in South Africa's biggest port to a standstill. They are demanding an increase in their basic wage from the present £4.25 a week to £9.25.

W. S. Dreyer, an executive of the Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply Co, which em-

ploys the men, told the strikers that a final decision on pay rested with the Minister of Labour.

He appealed for a return to work in the meantime, but was met with jeers and shouts of 'We'll not go back to work until we are paid 18 rand (£9) a week'.

The stevedores are also fighting a new five-day working week introduced a week ago, because the hours are too long. The men are forced to work 12½ hours a day with only an hour for lunch, a dockers' spokesman said.

They have to work compul-

sory overtime on top of this 62½-hour week and safety helmets and boots are not provided by the company.

The dockers are herded into barrack-style compounds which are riddled with bed-bugs. Food served to them, at about 4p a meal, is so bad they cannot eat it. And their beer rations are diluted with water.

This is the second strike this year on Durban docks.

The strikers' leaders were run out of town after the earlier stoppage, but the state was unable to smash the dockers' organization.

What we think LABOUR'S PRO-MARKET FIFTH COLUMN STRENGTHENED

DOUGLAS HOUGHTON, aged 74, has been re-elected chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. This is extremely noteworthy news for the labour and trade union movement because Houghton is one of the most enthusiastic pro-Common Marketers in the party.

On October 28 last year, Houghton was one of the 69 Labour MPs who trooped into the Tory lobbies to give Heath a majority for his Common Market bid. Subsequently Houghton abstained on numerous votes during the passage of the European Communities Bill, thus giving aid and comfort to the Tory legislation throughout the debate.

By voting for the reactionary plans of the big monopolies and their political agents in Europe, the Labour pro-Marketters were also keeping Heath in office to carry out the rest of his vicious attacks on British workers.

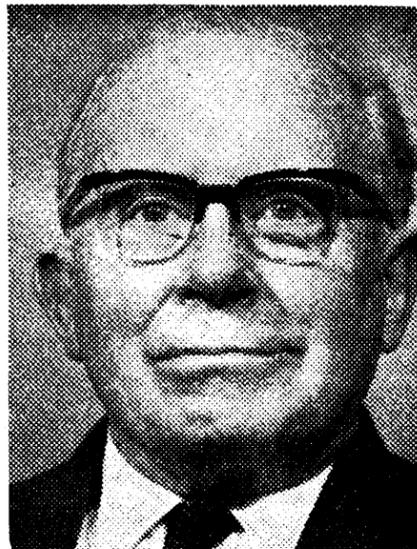
When the voting for the PLP chairmanship was announced on Monday it was revealed that Houghton had obtained 136 votes while his only opponent, Norman Pentland, received 120. The fact that this reactionary old fossil can command more than half the votes in the PLP throws considerable light on the state of political affairs in the party.

The PLP is now a swamp dominated by the right wing in which pro- and anti-Marketters co-exist, in which many senior ex-Ministers still favour 'acceptable levels' of unemployment, in which there is still enthusiasm for a prices and incomes policy, in which there is popular demand for the replacement of the Industrial Relations Act by another form of legislation over the trade unions.

Or let us put it another way . . .

Houghton is re-elected chairman of the PLP; another vigorous right-wing Marketeer, Roy Hattersley, is brought in by Wilson as shadow Defence Minister; George Thomson goes off to Brussels as an EEC commissioner and he takes with him as *chef de Cabinet* the party's assistant general secretary, Gwyn Morgan, who, earlier this year, came within a hair's breadth of becoming the party's general secretary in succession to Sir Harry Nicholas.

These people hold contempt for the



Houghton

working class. They believe they can break trade union and party conference decisions with impunity.

(It is interesting to recall that when the Wilson government was in office, Houghton, the right-wing tyrant, spent most of his time reading the riot act to 'lefts' who refused to go along with some of the more outrageous anti-working class excesses of the Wilson government. Now Houghton breaks PLP policy at will). The growth of this fifth column in the Labour Party is an indictment of the strategy of the 'left' and 'Tribune'-ite MPs who claim to be coercing the party leftwards.

They are doing nothing of the sort. And, more diabolically, they provide a left cover for the Wilson leadership in its manoeuvres with the Tories and the Jenkins faction.

But the day of reckoning is not far off.

The Lincoln Labour Party took the first tentative steps in making Labour MPs accountable for their treacheries when they threw out Dick Taverne. This is a sign of the times.

If the Labourites think they can flagrantly operate their coalition politics, they are mistaken. The working class will see to that.

Crackdown on Czech workers threatened

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE Czechoslovak government is planning to tighten up the already stringent code of labour discipline in a campaign against what it calls 'low morale' among the workers.

At the last conference of the Czechoslovak trade union movement earlier this year the Stalinists finally abolished the remaining formal rights won from Dubcek in 1968.

The trade unions were declared fully 'normalized' following the abolition of the right to strike and the imposition of a docile and subservient leadership.

The present campaign for 'labour discipline' indicates that many workers are passively sabotaging Husak's policies by lowering production quality, high absenteeism and the 'misuse' of health insurance.

The bureaucracy finds this difficult to combat because of the continuing high demand for labour in the factories and the fact that the right to work is one of the highly prized conquests of the Czechoslovak workers.

'In such a situation,' according to one leading party functionary, 'mere appeals to workers' consciousness and working morale have little effect'.

The Slovak 'Pravda', quoted by Radio Prague, says that 'many people are calling for harsher statutory measures against negative phenomena in the sphere of labour discipline.' It adds: 'This path will doubtless have to be taken.'

CAV sit-in leader tells ATUA conference

ON TUESDAY October 3, 1972, the CAV management made an announcement that it was their intention to close the factory by the end of April 1973. We were told quite ruthlessly that we were to be thrown on the dole.

On Wednesday October 4, 1972, the workers of CAV decided at a mass meeting that they would not, and could not, accept the threatened closure and that they were prepared to sit-in at a moment's notice. On Monday October 9, for reasons which I will go into later, the workers at that plant evicted the management and began their sit-in.

I would like now, Brother Chairman, if I may, for the benefit of everybody here, so that they may have a clear understanding of our situation, to give you a brief history of the CAV factory to date.

In April of 1960, the then War Department announced its intention to close down the Royal Ordnance Factory at Fazakerley and to make its labour force of 1,750 workers redundant.

During that year after much speculation and negotiation the following piece appeared in the local newspaper. It read:

'A firm of manufacturers are prepared to take over the Fazakerley Royal Ordnance Factory, and to employ between 2,500 and 3,000 people there. They are prepared to offer full employment to all the people working there now.'

The factory was taken over by the Joseph Lucas concern who promised to employ between 2,500 and 3,000 men.

In May 1961 the Lucas company started production on that site in a limited way and a few months later CAV, a subsidiary of the Lucas company, also began production.

Whether or not there was a government grant involved in the actual takeover of the site by Lucas from the War Department we have been unable to find out. But one thing is sure and certain, that huge sums of government money have been pouring into that site for the last 11 years. So much so that about 75 per cent of the machinery there is less than five years old and is of the most sophisticated and technologically-advanced type and is worth millions of pounds. **THIS BRINGS us to the question—why does a company who claim they are losing millions of pounds spend so much money on new machinery? Why does a company go to all the trouble to equip a plant with the latest machinery and then close it down?**

To try to explain this I would like to read you extracts of a statement released to the national Press by the CAV management on April 9, 1970. I must add here that this was a lengthy document which I have cut ruthlessly for reasons of time.

'A £13.5m expansion programme is now being undertaken by CAV. When complete it will increase the company's total production capacity by more than 50 per cent.

'A member of the Joseph Lucas group, CAV and its affiliated companies employ 14,000 people at eight factories in the UK.

'The expansion will ensure that the company—now strengthened by the addition of Simms Motor Units—will keep ahead of requirements of the international diesel engine market over the next five years.

'Spread over the next five years, the main programme will include a 200,000 sq ft single-storey factory on a 35 acre site at Gillingham, Kent; an extension to provide a 25 per cent increase in capacity at the Roto Diesel (French) factory and a 30 per cent increase in production at the Condiesel, Spanish factory.'

The factory at Gillingham was to come into being in two phases, phase one to be completed by January 1971—there was no mention in the statement of when

We fight for the right to work

John Howe, member of the occupation committee at the sit-in at CAV, Fazakerley, Liverpool, spoke at the All Trades Unions Alliance national conference at Birmingham last Sunday. Workers Press here reproduces a complete transcript of his speech.



Left: John Howe speaking in Birmingham at the weekend. Below left: Inside the plant



phase two was to be completed.

Perhaps stage two of the Gillingham factory, which is not in a development area and where new plant would not qualify for government grants, would be to move the subsidized plant from Fazakerley to that factory, thereby saving the company quite a fair sum of cash.

BUT THEN this brings the question why the move away from Liverpool to the south. And here again the company's statement makes it clear that they intend to intensify their activities in the south east of England and on the continent.

To find a possible reason for this we need look no further than the remarks of Mr Kenneth Corley, the company chairman, who in his report for the employees in 1971, stated:

'With the advent of Britain's entry into the Common Market, we are preparing ourselves

diligently for the changing patterns of trade that may develop and our existing interests there will be of undoubted advantage.

'It is the accepted belief of the British motor industry that entry is a pre-requisite for equal opportunity to participate in the steadily expanding European market, and we are working even more closely with our European partners and customers to this end.'

And here, quite clearly stated is the real reason for the closure of the CAV factory.

The continental market is much more easily and cheaply satisfied from the southern-based plants in terms of transport and transportation costs than is the case from Liverpool. But much more important is the development of the Spanish factory, with all the advantages for the employing classes that exist in that country.

The restrictions on trade unions and workers' organizations and the effect that these restrictions have had on working conditions and wages are a temptation that even the most nationalistic of employers cannot resist.

A top paid skilled fitter for instance, is on £12 a week in Condiesel, the Spanish subsidiary of CAV.

Last Wednesday the company told a group of Liverpool MPs that the reason for the closure was because of the poor industrial relations on that site and because of consistently heavy losses. They also stated that the Spanish factory is only a very small concern hardly capable of producing more than ten pumps a day.

On the question of industrial relations, there have been militant traditions at that factory and long struggles have been fought for improved

wages and conditions, for which we make no apologies.

When Lucas came to Liverpool they thought they had cheap labour—we've changed their minds over the years.

However, just on the purely academic side of it, Fazakerley is way down on the list in terms of days lost due to disputes in 1969-1970 in comparison with some other factories in the group.

So here again it cannot be claimed that it was the cause of the closure. However, the claim that the company made about this little firm in Spain being hardly capable of producing ten pumps a day is an absolute lie.

We have documented evidence that in 1970 the Spanish firm was capable of producing 40 pumps a day and incidentally during a nine weeks' strike at Fazakerley in 1970, Condiesel supplied British-Leyland with a large quantity of pumps.

The management's feeble explanation for this was that Condiesel had done a deal behind their backs direct with British-Leyland and they were most annoyed.

And so you see, brothers and sisters, the employer who can no longer get his product on the cheap in this country is moving to Spain where he can and this is basically our situation.

On Monday October 9, 1972, because of the action of the management in operating voluntary redundancies and closing down certain shifts before any discussion had taken place with the stewards, the workers evicted the management and began the occupation.

We immediately set up various committees to deal with all the different aspects of the occupation.

THE MORALE of the workers has never been higher and it is remarkable how well the workers are responding to the absolutely necessary rules and regulations that have had to be laid down by the committees.

The shop stewards' committee has never been more united and I think I should say here that it is fantastic how some stewards and many members have developed and taken positions of leadership in the past fortnight which one would never have thought possible a month or two ago.

I'd like to wind up now, brothers and sisters, but before I do, I would just like to read you a final extract from a statement made by our company chairman in 1971 when he was commenting on the huge improvements in profits for that year:

The results for the year 1970-1971 show a welcome improvement over the very inadequate achievement of the previous year. This improvement, although helped considerably by a better level of working in the motor industry in the last four months of the year, would not have been possible, without practising throughout the group, the most stringent and often inpalatable economies, which have included the unavoidable closure of some of our factories and, to my very great personal regret, the need to reduce the number of people in our employment.'

What he blatantly said was that increased profit was achieved and could only be achieved by throwing workers on to the dole.

At CAV we are not going to be thrown on to the dole.

We are calling on the working class to come to our aid. We are fighting for the most basic and fundamental right of the working class and that is the right to work.

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THE BEN BARKA AFFAIR

By Tom Kemp. The Story of a Political Murder

PART ONE: THE VICTIM

The appearance in Paris of a film called 'L'Attentat' ('The Outrage') loosely based on the kidnapping and murder of the Moroccan left-wing nationalist leader, Mehdi Ben Barka, re-opens one of the murkiest political scandals in the history of the Fifth Republic.

Whatever the merits of the film, and some have called it an outrage to the memory of Ben Barka, it comes at a time when the Fifth Republic is wallowing in a rising tide of scandal and corruption. An evocation of this affair dating

from 1965, when General de Gaulle himself was in power, is timely.

On October 29, 1965 a small, dark man in his mid-forties moved briskly through the gates at the Paris-Orly airport after arriving on the 9 a.m. plane from Geneva. He traveled under an assumed name with an Algerian diplomatic passport but his departure from Geneva, where he divided his time with Cairo where his family lived, had been notified instantly to the French police by their Swiss colleagues.

The inconspicuous man who seemed quite at home in Paris was, in fact, on the political danger-list. An exile from his own country since July 1963, his movements were watched by the police and secret services of several countries.

After leaving his baggage with some friends, Ben Barka went to the Champs-Elysée where he was to meet a

Moroccan student, El Azemmouri, at the famous Drug-Store, recently destroyed by fire, at 11 a.m. Later, he was to meet a number of people who had contacted him earlier in the year and had proposed the making of a film dealing with decolonization.

The Moroccan leader was also concerned with the organization of the Tricontinental Congress which was to be held in Havana in three months time. However, he was no revolutionary and in fact he had had talks in the previous April with Prince Moulay Ali, cousin of King Hassan II, with a view to returning to Morocco as leader of a loyal opposition. He had once been the young Prince Hassan's private tutor—before turning to politics he had been a teacher of mathematics.

But it was to discuss the film that Ben Barka had made the trip. He was to see, in par-

ticular, the journalist Philippe Bernier who had worked on Stalinist and fellow-travelling papers and whom he trusted as a friend of ten years' standing. He was also to see Georges Figon—a character with a criminal past which he could not know about—through whom funds for the film were to be provided.

Before going on to meet these individuals, with whom he was due to lunch at the Brasserie Lip, a favourite haunt of well-heeled 'lefts', Ben Barka discussed some aspects of the project with El Azemmouri. They took a taxi to St Germain-des-Pres and it was while standing outside another Drug-Store that they were approached by two men who showed their police cards and asked the older man to accompany them.

Apparently satisfied that he was only wanted for a routine check, Ben Barka was driven

off in a car belonging to the Paris police. His companion was told to make himself scarce. In fact he was terrified, went into hiding and it was some hours before anyone learned that Ben Barka had been 'arrested'.

The policemen were genuine enough. Louis Souchon was head of the Paris drug squad and also had a part share in a hotel in Montparnasse frequented by pimps and prostitutes. Roger Voitet, one of his young assistants, had simply been told that it was a routine check.

Sitting in the front seat of the car was Antoine Lopez, traffic officer at Orly airport and an important official of the secret service agency known by its initials SDECE, later to become well known for the alleged implication of some of its officers in drug-smuggling to the USA.

But the car did not head for the Prefecture of Police, but for one of the outer suburbs, Fontenay-le-Vicomte, where it stopped at the villa of a French resident in Morocco, Georges Boucheseiche, then engaged in negotiating with Hassan's government for the extension of his chain of brothels. He was also a former Gestapo agent, a police informer, a retired gangster and a man said to be able to dispose expeditiously of unwanted bodies.

Lopez and Boucheseiche, the respectable Orly official and secret agent and the one-time lieutenant of underworld boss Pierrrot-le-Fou, were boyhood friends and had grown up together in the European colony in Casablanca. They had villas in the same suburb and they were both on friendly terms with General Oufkir, hero of the French army in Italy and Indo-China, and now boss of the Moroccan police and Interior Minister.

Also present at the villa were Pierre Dubail, ex-bodyguard of a notorious gangster chief, Jo Attia, and Jean Balisse, a former Gestapo agent condemned for collaboration. They were also on the pay-roll of SDECE, for whom they did the odd job—presumably beating people up or killing them.

Once at the villa Lopez tried to contact Oufkir by phone. He failed to do this straight away, but two other Moroccans arrived at the villa, including a police inspector, to interrogate Ben Barka.

That night Oufkir telephoned Lopez at his villa at Ormy and arrangements were made for him to meet the air traffic controller at Orly airport on a flight arriving at 2.30 a.m. Oufkir was not on the plane and did not arrive in Paris until 5 p.m. He was met by Lopez and left at once for Boucheseiche's villa.

Although the facts so far were revealed at the official French inquiry, what happened next is not known for certain. According to a 'confession' which Fignon made to a newspaper, Oufkir proceeded to torture Ben Barka with a dagger . . . This was too much even for Boucheseiche who protested. Ben Barka was then taken to Lopez's villa.

Whether he was then burned in the furnace, killed and buried in some remote spot or taken by plane, dead or alive, to Morocco is not certain. At any rate he was never seen alive again—or dead either.

While this was going on some of Ben Barka's friends, who had expected to see him during his visit, became worried. El Azemmouri's wife gave the alarm and anxiety began to grow for his safety. At 9.30 a.m. on October 30 one of Ben Barka's Moroccan friends informed General de Gaulle, then President of the Republic. The lawyer, Gisèle Halimi, also informed Roger Frey, Minister of the Interior. The afternoon edition of 'Le Monde' announced that Ben Barka had been arrested in Paris.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

PROPERTY MEN ON THE MOVE INTO EUROPE

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

British property developers were urged to push ahead with projects in Europe before their continental rivals could catch up with them by Julian Markham, boss of Reamhurst Properties, at a recent conference on 'Building in the EEC'.

He implied that they could still make the smart grab and take advantage of out-of-date conditions before their rivals woke up to the opportunities. Though he did not put it in quite those terms.

What he was suggesting was that the type of speculative development which has pushed up land values and spoiled the urban view all over Britain should now be carried into European cities.

He was not talking about building houses to satisfy real needs or to improve the conditions of life of workers in Europe's overcrowded, slum-ridden cities. By 'development', he means building office blocks for business firms and luxury flats for the rich.

Markham sketched out some dos and don'ts for the intending speculator.

Those drawn to Paris should be cautious—the opportunities are running out and the market is an artificial one. Because of over-building, rents and prices might begin to come down.

Perhaps wisely he did not mention the financial and political scandals behind much building development in the Paris area.

The key to making money in the property business is having an eye for the main chance. Move into areas which are due for rapid growth, then wait for land values to spiral and the haul will be rich indeed.

The thing is to get into the places where the Europeans have been slow off the mark. Pick up land at prices before they begin to soar and erect offices which can be sold or rented at a huge profit.

Brussels, too, seems to suffer from an excess of office space, but new buildings are going up all the time and British firms are already deeply involved.

'Indeed,' Markham said 'the seemingly easy route to overseas status via Brussels could prove more of a nightmare than a dream.'

The Dutch, the oldest speculators in the world going back to the 'tulip mania' of the 17th century, are more ready to welcome foreigners than the French. British developers are already active in the main Dutch cities turning many an honest guildler.

Markham told his hearers to be poised for an invasion of the German market. With the experience already acquired in other Continental countries developers should, as he put it, attack in force.

In fact you do not have to urge many of these City gents to 'go into Europe'. They are already there with the deeds of the land ripest for development in their pockets.

British property investment in Europe is already conservatively estimated at around £500m.

MAO'S MEN TALK TRADE WITH THEIR JAILERS

When the Brazilian military removed President Janio Goulart in the 1964 coup, they also filled the jails with every shade of opposition from liberal intellectuals to socialist trade unionists.

These oppositionists were joined in prison by trade and Press representatives of the People's Republic of China who had been operating a trade mission under the Goulart regime.

Until recently, the 'People's Daily' has been condemning President Medici for his imperialist policies and organization of 'electoral farces'.

However, last week, a five-man trade delegation headed by Gaulite Coutinho, President of the Brazilian Exporters' Association, arrived in Peking

for the Canton Export Fair.

After discussions with Chou Hua Min, vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and Wang Wen Lin, vice-President of the Council for the promotion of World Trade, Coutinho announced that a large mission of businessmen will visit China to sign contracts next year.

He hopes Brazil will exchange their sugar, cotton, machinery and synthetic fibres for Chinese coke and chemicals.

The Chinese Stalinists have short memories. They have forgotten the 1964 arrests and the Brazilian vote against Chinese entry into the UN, which cost instant coffee magnate, Horacio Coimbra, a \$1m deal last year with Peking.

In fact, since entry into the UN, Mao's men have been talking trade with fascists from Brazil, Spain and Greece.



Monsieur Henri Modiano who has been pushed out of the Gaullist party during the recent scandals.

MONSIEUR MODIANO FALLS FROM FAVOUR

A Gaullist deputy, Henri Modiano, who sits for the 13th district of Paris, has been drummed out of the UDR (Union for the Defence of the Republic), the Gaullist party.

Accused of complicity in a financial scandal, he was urged by party secretary Alain Peyrefitte and a former deputy for his own constituency, Hubert Germain, to leave the country immediately. They claimed that if he stayed to face a court he would bring discredit on the party.

While many deputies have been involved in one way or another in the scandals which have shaken the regime over the past 18 months, only Modiano has been singled out for exemplary treatment.

Modiano was one of the whizz-kids of Gaullism with one foot in politics and another in business. He began in the Rothschild bank under Pompidou and later became an executive of the nationalized Renault car concern.

Having served his apprenticeship, he launched out into other deals—and it was these which landed him in trouble. He was associated with a firm called France-Elevage which went bankrupt after three years.

Then he became the managing director of the French subsidiary of a German firm, Mannesmann-Silos, which wanted to open a branch plant. A building permit was required



'What's up, mon ami, can't you get it off either?'

to build a factory and the firm believed that Modiano could procure one. He did, quite quickly...

After the revelations of Gabriel Aranda, a former civil servant in the department concerned with issuing permits, anyone who has obtained one, especially with little delay, is under suspicion of having used influence.

But Modiano also became embroiled in a dispute with Mannesmann over his attempts to re-sell the factory. One firm which had tried to buy it claims that Modiano also made them pay for a building permit. A case is now pending before the courts.

Modiano became a deputy after the May-June 1968 events as a tough Gaullist after a tightly-fought contest with

veteran fellow-traveller Pierre Cot.

From the time of the franc devaluation in August 1969, which he opposed, Modiano came into conflict with the party bosses. He claims that unfounded suspicions about his business methods are now being used to put him out of political harm's way by expelling him from the party.

By getting rid of Modiano, the UDR chiefs hope to assuage the public demand that some heads should roll while leaving the real villains to get away unscathed.

At present he is still fighting back, mainly to defend his own record, but also is attacking Giscard d'Estaing's financial policy and has won a certain amount of public sympathy.

Journalists face the biggest crisis in the history of their profession. Jobs are vanishing at a record rate, censorship of news and views becomes more severe everyday. Here a special correspondent investigates the capitalist grip on the British press.

THE MYTH OF THE 'FREE PRESS'

Newspaper publication is a monopoly industry. Huge amounts of capital are required to compete. In a recession, the struggle to survive is fought out on a colossal scale and the consequences of failure are drastic—especially for the workers in the industry.

The Press barons of Fleet Street are the essence of big business. The service they provide for the cause of monopoly capitalism is an integral part of their own existence as big monopolists. Consider some examples.

Viscount Rothermere and the Harmsworth family have effective control of the Associated Newspapers Group which has a £60m annual turnover and includes the 'Daily Mail', the London 'Evening News', the 'Weekend', about 50 local newspapers and specialist magazines, and other interests in printing, computers, television (37.5 per cent ownership of Southern Television), oil and transport.

The group closed the 'Daily Sketch' last year, causing hundreds of redundancies, because capital was being tied up unprofitably. Newspaper sites by the Thames off Fleet Street could be more lucratively developed for hotels or other forms of property speculation.

The Thomson Organization ('The Sunday Times', 'The Times', a string of provincial papers, Scottish Television, printing and other interests, and a major travel company) is twice the size of Associated in turnover but is 78 per cent owned by Thomson Scottish Associates, a company fully-controlled by Lord Thomson and his family interests.

Beaverbrook Newspapers ('Sunday Express', 'Daily Express', 'London Evening Standard', and 13 other companies) is much smaller with only £10m turnover (and therefore much more vulnerable) but is even further under the control of its proprietor with Sir Max Aitken and the Beaverbrook family owning 79 per cent of the voting shares and 10 per cent of the non-voting shares.

Even more interestingly, the Beaverbrook group had all of its three major newspapers editors on its ten-man board of directors in the recent period.

Whatever liberal illusions are held about it, 'The Guardian' group is little different from its capitalist colleagues. It has a £10m annual turnover from a group of 17 companies ranging from the Manchester 'Evening News' and Anglia Television to printing, newsgagents and property interests. Both its main

editors are on the board of directors and control in the hands of a trust fund dominated by the Scott family interests.

Competition between the nine major newspaper groups is savage. The sharpening economic crisis makes it impossible for them all to survive. There will be financial crashes and further newspaper closures. This time, the redundancies among production workers and journalists will run into thousands, many of whom will be permanently out of a job.

In the 1930s, the battle for circulation was fought out by means of late editions and special editions to meet unexpected news breaks. This was extremely costly in manpower requiring highly-skilled and highly-paid production teams to stand around just waiting for something to happen.

The monopolists competed with each other by bidding up the manning requirements and the rates for the most highly-skilled operators. But in doing this, they created a mighty rod for their own backs.

For today, the heavily-staffed production teams are still manning the presses at a time when part of the competition between the monopolists has turned into a race to introduce the latest printing technologies like colour supplements, web off-set, tape and photo type-setting, etc.

Printing is highly capital-intensive and machines go out of date quickly. To get a good return on such expensive equipment, it is essential above all for the monopolists to get rid of large numbers of operators for good.

Satisfactory profits cannot be achieved to finance the new machinery all the time the wages bills remain too high, especially in the face of the long-term declining rate of profit plus the immediate difficulties of the rapidly worsening economic crisis.

It means men must be sacked on a large scale. But with a million already unemployed, any redundancies will be fought all the way. Operators must end up fighting the introduction of new technology because it will cost them their jobs. But the monopolists need to introduce these new machines if they are to survive the latest round of competitive struggle. The contradiction is antagonistic and irreconcilable.

The pace is beginning to hot up already. The 'Sketch' has gone. The next London newspaper casualty is imminent. The colour supplement war has broken out and the Mirror group suffered a £3m loss from trying to keep up with Thomsons.

plement is all loss to the publisher which he must recoup from the advertisements placed in it. In a recession, the competition for these ads grows more fierce and some runners will not break even.

At the same time, a grim struggle is going on for the small ads and 'shopportunity' columns which are the bread and butter for the Saturday and Sunday newspapers. Advertising space salesmen are locked in a keen contest to win for their groups a sufficient share of this highly unstable market.

As the economic conditions for the industry deteriorate along with the general decline in capitalist trading, so the accompanying political crisis creates a further source of antagonism between the proprietors and the people who produce the newspapers—particularly the journalists.

The new generation of young, mainly university-educated journalists have the natural ambition to develop their craft as far as they can, which is bound to mean bigger and better exposures of the more glaring examples of corruption and inequality in society.

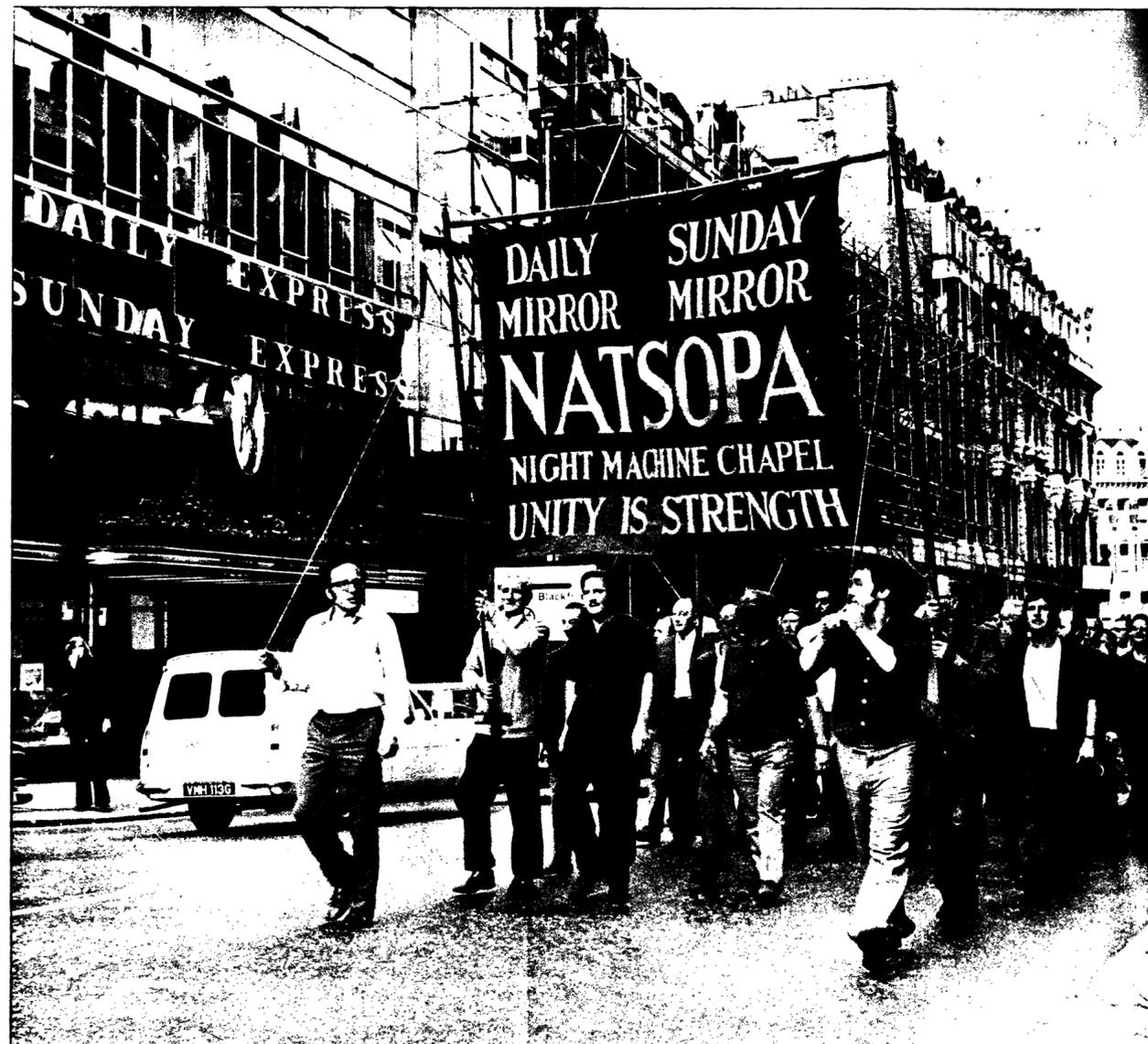
POWERFUL MEDIUM

But as the political climate changes from the carefree government-bashing days of the Labour administration to the mortal fight between capital and the trade unions over who is to be defeated in the resolution of the deepening crisis, the monopoly capitalist press barons begin to adopt agitated concern about how their powerful propaganda medium is used.

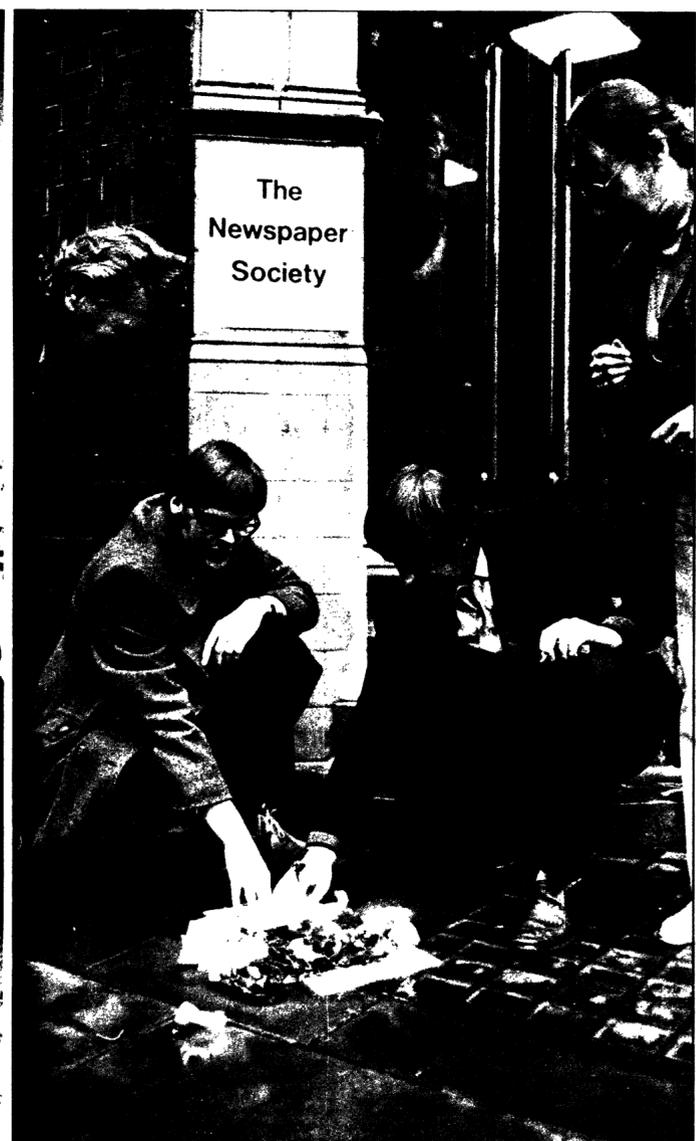
The blatant censorship on reporting of events in Northern Ireland, which has affected both Press and television, is not a chance issue or a special exception at all. It is the essential expression of the establishment's vital interest in keeping from the working class all evidence of successful revolt against the capitalist system and the methods the state machine will use to suppress it.

Bitter rows have broken out between journalists and management at the BBC, ITV, 'The Guardian', 'The Observer', and 'The Sunday Times' because of deliberate suppression of news from Ireland. Whole television films and massive newspaper investigative probes have been completely spiked because they revealed too much of the British government's repressive hand in Ulster's crisis.

Particularly suppressed has been evidence of special



Above left: Printing workers march down Fleet Street, the home of the giant Press barons, to demand the freeing of the jailed dockers. Above right: December last year—journalists burn employers' letters containing 'scab-or-be-sacked' threats.



British army and police assassination squads at work in Ireland and the appalling reign of torture and concentration camp terror being used to eliminate dangerous political opponents of the capitalist state.

Another very sensitive area is the provocative role of British agents in fomenting communal strife in a bid to keep the working class of Ireland divided and also the treacherous deals being prepared between the Tory state and bourgeois interests throughout Ireland to sell out the working class and preserve capitalism, despite all the rottenness of the present establishment.

A massive protest meeting of television and Press journalists was held last year following a particularly severe period of news censorship which tried to pretend that items were being withdrawn in the interests of 'balance'. BBC, ITN, and the independent television companies were all involved.

'The Observer' withdrew Mary Holland from Ireland because of their uneasiness at her coverage of events there, in spite of the fact that the previous year, it had won her the 'Journalist of the Year' award. 'The Guardian' later forced John O'Callaghan to resign because of a ban placed on his reporting anything to do with the Irish question.

Finally, 'The Sunday Times' insight team almost revolted en masse after their probe into the Derry massacre, which indicated Tory government complicity in a deliberate plot to kill workers, was spiked. And

a 'Times' reporter was reprimanded for reporting the comments of officers at a British Army training school which was making a close study of the pickets' actions during the miners' strike.

All of these features of Press censorship will be repeated wholesale when the conflict finally breaks out in earnest between the British state machine and workers in England, Scotland and Wales, which cannot be far away.

News of police brutality and provocations against strikers and large-scale arrests and internment will be vigorously suppressed, as will evidence of torture of prisoners for forcing information about working-class organizations.

SELF-CENSORSHIP

Unless the more class-conscious journalists unite with the production workers to take charge of the presses, they will be able to do nothing about it.

Large numbers of them will not want to. The profession as a whole is stuffily middle-class in outlook. For all their loud talk, many journalists are the most pathetic supporters of the establishment. And almost all of them are affected by the occupational disease of capitalist newspaper reporters—self-censorship.

To make any progress up the ladder, or just to lead a quiet life without too many

fruitless rows with the news-desk, or even just to survive in one's job, all journalists learn, early on—and for many it becomes an unconscious habit of a lifetime—to avoid stating political realities in their stories, which they know will be unpopular with the editor, and instead stick entirely to such unexceptionable 'facts' as will conform with popular prejudice.

Thus a strike is always a strike, but a management lock-out is considered too emotive a term and is better described as a temporary closure forced on management by impossible union demands. Angry demonstrations by workers are always given massive coverage, but the reasons for that anger appear, if at all, in very small print.

Conscientious journalists see through this easily enough, but they still fall for the illusion that by a careful selection of the 'facts' they will highlight in their story, they are able to con the management and put over a piece that will tell the workers' side of the struggle.

Such efforts are worth making, and there is good and bad coverage, but the overall effect of any capitalist newspaper is always bound to be to reinforce every prejudice that its readers have about the world—if it is not in fact alienating them by its blatant bias and hypocrisy.

Because the assumptions it makes in every article is that within the system, every problem is being looked at or dealt with. Whereas the real problem is the system itself—

including the capitalist Press, whether liberal or right reactionary.

In such a situation, as the political pressure begins to mount, the Workers Press performs an absolutely vital role. Only by having in view a paper which can act as the completely uninhibited voice for the development of a revolutionary party can progressive journalists orientate themselves to fight as best they can from within the bourgeois media.

At the same time as the jobs crisis gets worse, the establishment and the newspaper industry employers are launching an unprecedented attack on the working class by force down real wages by means of runaway inflation plus crippling the unions' ability to fight back through the legal restraints of the Industrial Relations Act.

All this is necessary as part of the general war being waged in every capitalist country by the ruling class against workers to force down wage rates in order that that particular country's industries may survive the growing export competition and trade war that will accompany the slump which will result from the collapse of America's credit position and the crisis of over-production.

Britain's monopolists are driving the working class into the furnace of Common Market competition in order to derive collective strength from the combined EEC monopolists' assault on wage rates and trade union strength.

In the face of this onslaught,

the unions in the printing industry, no less than in other industries, are faced with near paralysis. They hesitate to go along with the employers' wage-cutting for fear of the angry memberships standing behind them, but they fear much more the giddy heights of standing up and opposing the capitalist class in their offensive.

Eventually, they sell out their members by signing long-term pay deals which will go nowhere near meeting the cost of inflation over the coming period and by opposing the Industrial Relations Act in words but raising no real fight against it in practice through challenging the government's use of the Act.

The National Union of Journalists' leadership recently concluded a Fleet Street pay award which gave a rise of under 7 per cent a year over 18 months. This 10-per cent increase nowhere near compensated for the rise in the cost of living in the 18 months since the previous wage award and will be completely inadequate to combat the inflation that is still to come, especially after Britain joins the Common Market.

Previous to this, the NUJ leaders sold out even on the soft-line TUC stand against the Industrial Relations Act by putting the de-registration issue to a referendum which predictably went in favour of the Tory pro-registers.

And yet despite this treachery, the militant elements within the NUJ have shown an enormous capacity and readiness to fight both in

reversing the referendum decision at annual conference and at a subsequent special conference, and in coming within an inch of defeating the Fleet Street pay award in a ballot.

WORKERS CONTROL

Journalists, like other printing workers, have shown a willingness to go into action against the employing class and the establishment. Given proper leadership, they would undoubtedly be able to play a full and valuable part in a united printworkers' movement to end the private ownership system and take over the whole publishing industry in the only way it can be done to solve the problems of the economic crisis—by nationalizing the property without any compensation and under workers' control.

To bring this about, the crisis of the current leadership must be resolved by exposing their bankrupt reformism which previously gave them their credibility in struggle, removing them from office and electing new leaders prepared to prosecute the struggle to its final and only conclusion—the ending of private ownership over the means of production for ever.

The best solution the Labour Party could offer at its recent conference was a pathetic proposal, which never even got debated, for a National Print-

ing Corporation which would allow left-wing journals to publish.

They plan to leave the real wealth of the industry accumulated from the labour of the workers in it, the multi-million poundsworth of capital in buildings and machinery along Fleet Street which is already in over-capacity, firmly in the hands of the robber Press barons

The other tendencies on the left all favour one or other of the forms of 'workers' control' or 'workers' participation', which is meant eventually to lead to a slow creeping-up-on-the-capitalist-from-behind and taking over their plant that way.

It can be stated categorically that the capitalist class will never agree to be taken over—slowly or in any other way. They will have to be forcibly taken over. And since that has to be the end result, far better to be clear about it from the very beginning and not confuse workers with the illusion of 'creeping participation'.

Any solution to the enormous problems which this greatest-ever crisis of capitalism will throw up in the next few years will of necessity require the ending of private ownership of production.

To begin this drive towards workers' power, the first step must be the mobilization of the working class to force the Tory government to resign and its replacement by a Labour government forced to give pledges to carry out socialist policies.

'Parliamentary reform' and the working class, by Jane Brown

HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

PART TWELVE

In 1911, the payment of MPs was introduced by Lloyd George, as a sop to the financial problems of the Labour Party. But this measure did nothing to restore the position as far as the trade unions were concerned. Indeed, it tended to alienate the trade union rank and file from the Parliamentary Labour Party.

At the ILP conference of 1912, the central question was brought into the foreground by Jowett's resolution in favour of a complete break with the Liberal Party, as the only possible means of establishing the class nature and independence of the Labour Party and turning it into a socialist organization.

The careerism of Labour MPs is revealed in the opposition to this proposal by Keir Hardie (it 'reduced parliamentary government to absurdity') and by Philip Snowden ('Politics means compromise').

These so-called socialist leaders had been sucked up into the parliamentary machine. They owed their loyalties to its bankrupt bourgeois traditions, not to the working class. Yet, as Lenin commented: 'The class struggle is becoming tremendously intensified, and along with this the foundations of opportunism are being undermined...'

The extent of the social reforms carried out by the Liberals, for so long the opponents of 'government interference', is testimony to this fact. The spontaneous, militant resistance by workers to attacks on their living standards could be restrained by neither Labour nor TUC leaders. Belief that the country could be ruled directly by the trade unions, after a 'general expropriatory strike', was being formed into a new doctrine of syndicalism, already spreading across European countries.

1910-1914 saw the greatest strike wave which had ever occurred in Britain. Beginning with lock-outs against boiler-makers, railwaymen, and Welsh miners in 1910, it extended almost to General Strike proportions in Southampton and Manchester in 1911, then to a general transport workers' strike in London.

A National Federation of Women Workers was founded by Mary MacArthur and brought its members out in support of the transport workers. A national railway strike soon paralysed the country. Taking advantage of the TUC's obvious reluctance to assume responsibility for these struggles, the Liberal Home Secretary, Winston Churchill, crushed the strike with military force, shooting dead a number of Welsh strikers.

1912 brought a lock-out of Lancashire weavers; then a

national miners' strike for a legal minimum wage. Over 500,000 miners on strike amounted to a challenge for power, in a country much more dependent on coal than it is today.

A Minimum Wages Act was rushed through parliament. This victory naturally encouraged the London dock strike later in the year, and the 1913 Dublin transport workers' strike.

This latter strike, led by the socialist James Larkin, was of enormous political importance, for its success would have irrevocably undermined the government's Home Rule tactics. Larkin visited England and pressed Keir Hardie and the TUC into giving some support. But the TUC refused to mobilize the British labour movement behind the Irish workers, thus eventually making it possible for their employers to starve them back to work.

'VOTES FOR WOMEN!'

Out of this experience came an agreement by railmen, other transport workers and miners, to support each others' strikes in the future. This 'Triple Alliance' was sanctioned by the TUC (they had little option). Only the outbreak of World War I made it possible for the trade union leaders to evade their obligations, which would undoubtedly have resulted in a complete General Strike within 12 months.

Another movement of enormous militancy in the pre-war years, which gained no satisfaction from either Liberal or Labour parliamentary parties, was the fight for 'Votes for Women!'

The demand had been put forward mainly by middle-class socialists in the 19th century, but it was now taken up in an anti-socialist manner by the upper- and middle-class women organized in the Womens' Political Suffrage Union.

For all their violent demonstrations, hunger strikes, arson etc., these women represented the crisis of the bourgeoisie, trapped in the general social upheaval, rather than the resistance of workers to capitalist oppression.

Christabel Pankhurst was the 'Germaine Greer' of the movement, feminist first, and a 'suffragette' only second. Her social snobbery was complemented by the apolitical anarchism of Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst—'The argument of the broken window pane is the most valuable argument in modern politics' (February, 1912).

Both women pinned their faith on striking a bargain with the Liberal Prime Minister, Asquith. In August 1914, though their political demands were unfulfilled, they gave him full support in 'war work'.

The demand for female suffrage, of course, was of major importance, since women were the largest single group still excluded from the vote. Labour MPs supported it only



Above: arrested suffragettes after a violent assault on Buckingham Palace. These women represented the crisis of the bourgeoisie, trapped in the general social upheaval.

in an individual capacity (e.g. Lansbury), though Sylvia Pankhurst demonstrated the need to turn in into a working-class demand, instead of a feminist crusade.

She worked as a socialist as well as a 'suffragette', in the East End, establishing contact with the National Federation of Women Workers. In 1913 she spoke publicly in support of the Dublin transport strike. The result—her ostracization by the WPSU—shows the reactionary nature of the latter. After the war, when women had been granted the vote, she was to be found for a time among the early British communists.

The 1918 Parliamentary Reform Act was a product of the crisis of imperialism in decay. The Tories in 1918, like the Liberals in 1914, were in so precarious a position that they were prepared to grant almost any measure of 'reform' in order to quell the upsurge of the working class.

They abolished all property qualifications for voting, leaving only the age restrictions of 21 (for men) and 30 (for women). Eight million new voters were enrolled. Such apparent recklessness, compared with earlier haggling over and opposition to Reform Bills, is a measure of ruling-class fears. But it is also a measure of their confidence in the Labour Party's and trade unions' willingness to keep their members loyal to capitalism. They had done so very ably during the war, by agreeing to the virtual abolition of trade union rights in the interests of the 'war effort'.

But the trade union rank and file were not so docile.

During the war, unofficial shop stewards' committees sprang up in all the main industrial areas in defence of living and working standards. Strikes were organized and labour newspapers appeared, though both were illegal. Much political confusion remained in the aftermath of syndicalism. But the success of the 1917 Russian Revolution gave tremendous impetus to the various Marxist groups which formed the basis, in 1920, for the launching of a united Communist Party, affiliated to the Third International.

Lenin played an important

role in launching this party, warning against the dangers of sectarianism and dogmatism. Such trends were understandable in a new movement determined not to follow the reformist role of the 'compromisers' in the Labour Party. But it could only prevent the new Communist Party putting down roots deep into the labour movement. It was necessary to understand, rather than merely condemn, the political weaknesses of the trade unions and the inadequacies of the existing parliamentary system as a vehicle for social revolution.

Lenin's book "Left-Wing" Communism, written in 1920 to assist the young communist parties springing up all over the world in the wake of the imperialist war, is most valuable reading for revolutionaries today.

Marxists now have an opportunity to comprehend the degeneration of the Labour Party and of the Stalinist communist parties, at a deeper level than ever before. We are once again living in an era of acute capitalist crisis. The world working class is on the move, and in Britain it resists the attacks of the employers and the Tory government with a vigour which has not been equalled since the period in which Lenin and Trotsky wrote about this country.

'Correct revolutionary theory . . . is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement.'

PRINCIPLE AND TACTICS

It is the responsibility of Marxists to bring all their understanding of the past into the present struggle to build such a mass revolutionary party in Britain. This task requires not merely historical knowledge of the 'facts' of how workers won the vote, and how the Labour and Communist parties became tools of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, but also the firmness of principle and flexibility of tactics practised and described by Lenin.

In 1920 he warned: 'We can (and must) begin to build

socialism, not with abstract human material . . . but with the human material bequeathed to us by capitalism. True, that is no easy matter, but no other approach is serious enough to warrant discussion.'

As the economic crisis deepens, reformists of all shades are thrown into disarray by the militancy of the working class they profess to 'lead'.

The petty-bourgeois 'leftism' of revisionists such as the International Marxist Group and the anti-communist International Socialists is merely another side of this bankruptcy of reformism.

They have no confidence in the ability of the British working class to take power, so their approach to building the revolutionary party is naturally not at all 'serious'. This disregard for Marxist philosophy and economics is only equalled by their philistine disregard of history.

For the Socialist Labour League, on the other hand, historical study means study of 'the human material bequeathed to us by capitalism'. We must study it closely, not in order to help us to perpetuate existing confidence in parliamentary democracy and reformism, but in order that we may develop the correct strategy for attacking the political weaknesses of the working class, exposing the reformist traitors among its leaders, and founding a Marxist revolutionary party in Britain.

Forcing the Tories out and the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is a necessary political experience for the mass of the working class.

It is necessary in order to demonstrate, in more than a propaganda sense, that both the Labour Party and parliament are 'historically obsolete'.

The depth of the economic crisis makes it certain that this exposure, consciously fought for by Marxists, can break through 'the weight of ideas and prejudices which have been handed down from generation to generation'. For the economic crisis is a fact: and, as Trotsky wrote: 'Living facts are more powerful than dead ideas.'

CONCLUDED

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

ORANGE ORDER THE SHY MAN

The reactionary Orange Order always seeks to divide the working class along religious lines, trying all the time to obscure the real revolutionary struggles of Irish workers.

In Edinburgh they have just joined with local Tories to prevent the erection of a memorial to the socialist James Connolly who was shot by the British army in 1916.

According to local records Connolly was in fact born in Cowgate, Edinburgh, in 1868. Before he went to Ireland as a young man, Connolly was involved in the city's socialist and trade union activities and, like his brother, was a delegate to Edinburgh Trades Council.

When Labour councillor Ron Brown put down a motion to erect a plaque, he immediately provoked a storm of outrage from the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland.

'I wanted to remind workers of their revolutionary heritage,' he told Workers Press. Precisely for that reason the local Press joined the Orange Order in screaming about 'murderers engaged in an abominable campaign of murder and wholesale terror . . . in Northern Ireland.'

So when the motion came to committee the Tories managed to vote the proposal down. Their friends in the Orange Order had won the day.

NO PARKING

The police are breaking the law 'with impunity' West Ham Labour MP Arthur Lewis said at the weekend.

'It looks very much like one law for the police and another for the rest of us,' he said.

Lewis claims that policemen park their private cars in banned areas of Cannon Row and outside other police stations and traffic wardens do nothing about it.

He said: 'The practice is to leave a Metropolitan police memo form in the windscreen bearing the name and rank of the driver. In the back you can see a helmet or some other piece of police uniform so that the traffic warden is in no doubt that the car belongs to a policeman and he takes no action.'

'The police are breaking the law with impunity with their private cars which they are not entitled to do.'

'Yet they will rigorously impose the law against private motorists. I've raised the matter with the Commissioner of Police and given him details of numbers and times, but he just doesn't want to know.'

If a member of the IRA says he is willing to kill, the capitalist Press loses no time in branding him as a brutal, nihilistic, murderer.

But listen to the London 'Evening News' commenting on Vanguard leader William Craig's 'I will kill' outburst which he made at a meeting of the right-wing Monday Club.

'Bill Craig is a shy man by nature, not given to stirring oratory like Ian Paisley,' wrote John Jackson.

'His elevation into such prominence in Ulster's brutal politics is as much a surprise to him as to anyone who knows him.'

We are tempted to ask: Can this be the same Craig who got himself sacked from the Unionist government on a matter of firm principle, the man who consciously and as a result of the same principles formed the extremist Vanguard Movement and the man who today stands up and says brazenly that he is prepared to use terror and death to achieve his ends?

Jackson and Craig's hosts in the Monday Club both apologized for Craig, but neither condemned him.

Said Jackson: 'He lives with death as his constant companion. Earlier this month he survived an assassination attempt.'



'Bill Craig has courage. Night after night before the shootings and bombings began he hit the campaign trail in every Orange Hall and Unionist backroom meeting he could attend.'

'His platform appearances are nearly always low-key, delivered deadpan and not likely to rouse the passions of even volatile Protestant audiences.'

'Though sustained by a charming German-born wife, Doris, and two young sons, the strain on him personally has been immense.'

McGOVERN'S FRIENDS IN THE US 'LEFT'

US ROUND-UP BY JACK GALE

The revisionist Socialist Workers' Party is now openly aligned with the Communist Party Stalinists on the Vietnam war and against the struggle for a Labour Party in the United States.

Both find themselves in the same camp as union leaders like United Auto Workers' President Leonard Woodcock who has urged continued support for 'liberal Democrats' like George McGovern, despite McGovern's anti-labour record.

Woodcock recently told a reporter from the 'Bulletin', weekly paper of the Workers' League:

'I'm opposed to a Labour Party. I think we can do everything through the Democratic Party; we don't need a Labour Party like in other countries. If we had a Labour Party it would kill all the liberal Democrats.'

Leaders like Woodcock desperately seek shelter behind McGovern as American big business consolidates its forces around the Republican Party to take on the trade unions. These same leaders are unable to fight against wage restriction, unemployment and speed-up.

The threats facing American workers are illustrated by such measures as Proposition 22 which would outlaw farm-workers' strikes in California, and by the attacks on United Farm Workers' headquarters by armed fascist groups.

Meanwhile, the UAW leadership is struggling desperately to prevent a nationwide strike against General Motors Assembly Division's attempts to introduce a back-breaking speed-up.

GMAD's 8,600 workers at the St Louis plant were recently ordered back to work on the basis of Woodcock's strategy of selected token 'warning' strikes.

Yet Woodcock and company are, of course, enthusiastically supported by the Stalinists in their efforts to hold back the American working class and keep it tied in behind the Democratic Party.

A recent issue of the US Communist Party's 'People's World' reported the General Motors struggle without a single criticism of Woodcock and urged on this labour traitor in his efforts to capture 'blue-collar' votes for McGovern.

The Stalinists seek to present McGovern as a 'progressive' on the Vietnam war.

They used the seven-point peace programme of the PRG (Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam) to turn their youth anti-war marches of October 14 into pro-McGovern rallies.

The central demand of this programme is for a coalition government to include representatives of the Thieu regime.

This has not prevented the revisionists of the Socialist Workers' Party from going over to the Stalinists on Vietnam. The SWP prefers to seek closer relations with the CP rather than fight for a Labour Party and for a revolutionary lead in the anti-war movement.

The October 13 issue of 'Militant'—the SWP's weekly paper—makes a parallel between the Stalinists' efforts to conclude a Vietnam deal and



Top: Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Workers Union, urges continued support for 'liberal Democrats' like George McGovern above.

the Brest-Litovsk treaty with German imperialism concluded by the Bolsheviks in 1918.

This is a political obscenity. The SWP revisionists equate Bolshevism with Stalinism.

In 1918 the Bolsheviks made it clear that they were forced to make concessions because of the enormous weakness of the Soviet Union and the immense superiority of the German armed forces. And every detail of the negotiations was made public.

There is no comparison between this and the secret dealings of the Stalinists in Vietnam, where American imperialism has been unable to secure a military victory and has a demoralized army on its hands.

Yet the SWP—lacking all confidence in the revolutionary strength of both the Vietnamese masses and the American working class—places all its emphasis on relations with the Stalinists.

At a recent meeting at Brooklyn College, Fred Hal-

stead, a leading member of the Young Socialist Alliance (the SWP's youth movement) spoke on the history of the Vietnam war without once mentioning Stalinism. Instead, he declared: 'We could not tell the Vietnamese people what type of government they should have.'

Yet Trotskyism came into existence to fight against the betrayals and crimes of Stalinism which are central to the struggles of the Vietnamese people, and of the American working class as well.

Thus, the fight to break the American labour movement from the Democratic Party involves a struggle against both the Stalinists and the SWP revisionists.

This fight in the United States is undertaken only by the Workers' League and the Young Socialists.

And the 'Chicago Conference for a Labour Party Now', held last weekend, was an important step in the struggle.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Report back from ATUA conference

ABERDEEN: Wednesday October 25, 8 p.m. Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opposite New Cross Station.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.

WANDSWORTH: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Tooting Broadway.

WILLESDEN: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW10.

CENTRAL LONDON (Press and entertainments section): Sunday October 29, 7.30 p.m. London Film School, Langley Street entrance, WC2. Speaker: David Calder.

ACTON: Monday October 30, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road.

CROYDON: Monday October 30, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, nr South Croydon Station.

SOUTHALL: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Road.

WOOLWICH: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage Road.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street Market, E14.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday November 2, 8 p.m. Bricklayers' Arms, Tottenham High Road (nr White Hart Lane).

BRACKNELL: Monday November 6, 8 p.m. Priestwood Community Centre. 'Councils of Action'.

Socialist Labour League

Leeds

LECTURES

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Given by Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee member)

Building the revolutionary party Monday November 6

GUILDFORD HOTEL The Headrow, 8 p.m.

TV

BBC 1

9.15 Schools. 12.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 1.45-2.00 Made in Britain. 2.05 Schools. 2.50 Racing from Ascot. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 The aeronauts. 5.20 Search. 5.45 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Mucho Mouse.

7.00 ANIMAL STARS. Bears.

7.25 MISSION IMPOSSIBLE. Nerves.

8.10 SOFTLY, SOFTLY: TASK FORCE. The Witness.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 TILL DEATH US DO PART.

9.55 SPORTSNIGHT. Features European Cup-tie action.

10.45 MIDWEEK. The case of Patrick Murphy. Is the wrong man in jail for murder?

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.35 BELLAMY ON BOTANY. In the Mire.

12.00 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Scotch corner. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 Harriett's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Looks familiar. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Lift off with Ayshea. 4.50 Ace of wands. 5.20 University challenge. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THE SMITH FAMILY. Rogue Cop.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 THE BENNY HILL SHOW.

9.00 PLAYHOUSE: 'A MAN WITHOUT FRIENDS'. Tom Bell, Peter Vaughan.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 TONY BENNETT. At the Talk of the Town.

11.00 TRAPPED. Chez Madame Thompson. Beryl Reid, Laurence Naismith, Leigh Lawson.

11.30 FILM: 'SWEET, SWEET RACHEL'. Alex Dreier, Stefanie Powers. Thriller.

12.50 INTERNATIONAL BOOK YEAR.



Tom Bell plays Marcus Wayne in tonight's Playhouse production 'A Man Without Friends' on Independent channels. The friends he needs must provide an alibi for his movements the night a woman was murdered.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.

7.05 MAN AT WORK. The Pay Battle.

7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.

8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED. Joan Bakewell talks with the widow of Oscar Deutsch, founder of the Odeon cinemas.

8.10 MUSIC ON 2. The orchestra is Alive and Well. Bernard Keffe with the New Philharmonia Orchestra.

9.15 PLUMB-LOCO. The death of a steam loco.

9.25 WAUGH ON CRIME. In which Inspector Waugh knows the criminal but not the crime.

9.55 MAN ALIVE. Stars in their Eyes. Models in London.

10.45 WAYS OF SEEING. John Berger analyses the images of advertising.

11.15 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-11.35 London. 1.10 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Open house. 3.00 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 F troop. 6.35 London. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 11.30 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.25 Wonder boy. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 11.28 News, weather. 11.31 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 11.30 What the papers say. 11.45 News. 11.55 Guideline. 12.00 Shirley's world. 12.30 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 3.25 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.20 Gustavus. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 On the buses. 7.30 London. 10.30 Stanley Baxter. 11.00 London. 11.30 Cinema. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except: 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd. 10.30 Bro. 11.15 Theatre. 11.45 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 3.30 Odd couple. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 11.30 UFO.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Please sir. 7.30 London. 10.30 Julia. 11.00 London. 11.30 Stories worth telling. 11.35 O'Hara. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.32 News. 11.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 4.23 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Dick Van Dyke. 7.30 London. 11.30 World War I.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 10.30 Blue light. 11.00 London. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.55 Looks familiar. 3.25 Ugliest girl in town. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. What's on. 6.30 Crown court. 7.00 On the buses. 7.30 London. 10.30 Chicago teddy bears. 11.00 London. 11.30 What the papers say. 11.45 Kreskin.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31. London. 3.25 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 London. 10.30 Chicago teddy bears. 11.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.45 Mod squad. 12.35 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Hogan's heroes. 7.30 London. 11.30 What the papers say. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 Love American style.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriet's back in town. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 7.00 Me and the chimp. 7.30 London. 11.30 Police news. 11.35 Hawaii five-o. 12.30 Meditation.

'Pressure' politics against Scottish sackings

SHIPYARD WORKERS in north-east Scotland—the centre of the so-called 'oil boom'—are being threatened with major redundancies.

About 70 men—mainly from the steel trades—are to be paid off by Hall, Russell & Co, Aberdeen. Also Caledon Shipyard in Dundee—where unemployment is already running at one of the highest rates in the country—have announced their intention of paying off 30 per cent of the labour force.

In Dundee an emergency meeting of the local Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and Caledon shop stewards is to be held this week.

Caledon convenor, Communist Party member Harry McLevy, demanded that the Tory government intervene to provide government contracts for the yard.

A similar, reformist campaign has been launched in Aberdeen. The local Confederation has set up a North Sea Oil Action Committee to pressurize government departments to see that priority is given to British companies in work connected with North Sea oil exploration and production.

The action committee is to go through the usual rigmarole of lobbying the local authorities, the Tory government and all Scottish MPs. Its policy flows from the reformist and Stalinist line that the only problem with capitalist industry in Britain is 'unfair' foreign competition.

Jim McCartney, boilermakers' convenor at Hall, Russell, and leading local CP member, protested that the yards on Scotland's east coast were well equipped to build supply ships. US subsidies were keeping the orders away from Britain, he said.

McCartney said the point of the present campaign was to expose the attitude of American oilmen in Britain. He stressed that the action committee was non-political and that its aim was to pressurize the Tory government into getting the oil companies to make greater use of British industry, so that the British people will benefit from the 'oil boom'.

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Manchester tenants meet

MANCHESTER tenants' action group has decided to give delegate and voting rights to members of political organizations.

Members of the International Socialists initially opposed this move. But it was carried at a meeting on Monday night after the delegate from Manchester and Salford Trades Council and other tenants' leaders argued that the tenants needed as much help as they could get in their struggle.

International Socialists later participated in a move to stipulate that only private or council tenants could hold office in the action group, even though speeches from the floor called for those that worked hardest for the tenants and working class to be allowed to stand regardless of their type of home.

This excludes not only trade unionists but also activists such as Mrs Constance Fahey, former group secretary, who is an owner-occupier paying a mortgage.

A resolution was passed addressed to an engineers' union delegates meeting in Manchester this Sunday, called to discuss the tenants' dispute. It asked the trade unionists to pledge support including industrial action in defence of any tenants threatened with eviction.

Stockbrokers warn of class-war confrontation

BY PHILIP WADE

IN A confidential, internal memorandum a leading London firm of stockbrokers has warned big business and finance to prepare for an inevitable, all-out confrontation with the working class this winter.

The firm, Buckmaster and Moore, members of the Stock Exchange, tell their clients in their October investment review that they 'believe that this government will not lose their nerve in the face of such a confrontation'.

At the same time the document reflects the pessimism in the ruling class about the prospects for the economy and the dangers of uncontrollable inflation. Government boasts about any real growth in the economy next year are cynically written off by Buckmaster and Moore.

Discussing the inevitable resistance in the working class to any

agreement on a wage plan by the TUC with the Tories, the brokers warn share buyers that 'at this stage they should recognize the dangers of a confrontation with organized labour'.

Feeling the momentum building up in the working class for an all-out fight with the government, they say the wages plan has 'not unexpectedly, provoked a storm of protest... and could be seen by the more militant sections [of the unions] as an opportunity to bring down the government'.

Then also seeing that the trade union bureaucracy will not find it so easy to carry the day on the Tory plan, the brokers tell their clients in industry and finance that the 'question is whether such an agreement could ever be enforced in practice'.

'The evident difficulty of enforcing the law against them in the case of even the most flagrant violations (e.g. the dockers) will apply equally to any agreement restricting wage increases.'

At this point in their analysis,

which follows a meeting of all the firm's partners, they make it clear to clients that the middle class, disguised as 'public opinion', will have to be mobilized against workers, to isolate and, hopefully, defeat them.

'It may be that before any progress can be made in this direction [of enforcing the wage plan], public opinion will have to become much more thoroughly alarmed than it has been so far by the threats of union violence.'

In other words, Buckmaster and Moore, and the leading counting houses of British capitalism have thrown their weight in behind Home Secretary Robert Carr's suggestion that picketing is violent and unlawful and requires the use of riot squads.

And if the wage plan should be made unworkable, 'the outcome may be a General Election if the government feel they have the support of public opinion against the unions'.

As far as the economic situation goes, the brokers appear extremely nervous about pros-

pects, considering the clash that has to take place with the working class.

Seeing the abolition of bank rate as an attempt to curb the money supply, it is cynical about claims that the economy will grow. The stockbrokers write: 'The government has committed itself (for what this may be worth) to a policy aimed at 5 per cent growth in real terms during the next 12 months.'

Losing their cool at the implications of what they have been saying, Buckmaster and Moore, warn sharebuyers that 'at this stage they should recognize the dangers of a confrontation with organized labour'.

'We believe [but they are not quite certain] that this government will not lose their nerve in the face of such a confrontation, but its possible effect on market prices is quite unpredictable.'

And after all this they recommend 'caution' in the purchasing of gilt-edged shares, which are government stocks themselves!

'Left' talk fails to fool Greenwich tenants

TENANTS on rent strike in south London have just experienced the treachery of the 'left' talkers in the trade union leadership who, when it comes to the crunch with the Tories, are really prepared to do absolutely nothing.

On Monday night over 200 of them were treated to a long bluster at Woolwich town hall from Bob Wright, executive councilman of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

But eventually he had to admit — to groans from the audience of 200 tenants — that he was in favour of continuing the talks with the Tories on their plan for state pay control and was opposed to calling industrial action to bring down the Heath government.

Wright's first contribution was militant enough to confuse most of the tenants. 'Rent, interest and profit were the foundation stones of the Tory party,' he told them.

'Rachmanism has now been made legal by the Housing Finance Act. Therefore we must see the need to unite as trade unionists, tenants, Labour Party members or supporters of other socialist parties — forget our differences to fight injustice.'

He explained how the Common Market would raise prices by up to 30 per cent over the next three years.

Tory policy was to use the Industrial Relations Act to disarm the trade unions, and to create 'a subservient leadership' and 'responsible trade unions' responding to the dictates of the law.

Wright appeared to attack the pay plan. 'My union has no doubt where it stands if the government believes the current discussions are intended to place the burden of so-called inflation on the backs of workers.'

The AUEW, he said, would not accept £2 or £3 unless the government withdrew the 'fair rents' Act and other policies, and even then they were not 'prepared for the government to determine the wages of our members'.

Wright called for the nationalization of urban land without compensation by the next Labour government, the repeal of the Housing Finance Act and so on.

'The leadership has got to defeat the Tory government and the Act. I am confident with your solid support we can force a General Election and get rid of the Tories and their rotten policies,' he finished to strong applause.



Bob Wright addresses Monday's meeting

But within ten minutes the audience had fallen silent when he replied to a question from a tenant who was also a member of the AUEW. Wright was asked if considering his call for an election he would break off talks with the Tories and fight for industrial action to bring them down.

'The talks the TUC are having with the government should take place,' he answered, to surprised murmurings from the tenants who had gathered the impression he was in favour of ending them.

In trying to apologize for this position, the AUEW leader said the unions had faced a 'vicious campaign in the Press' blaming the unions for inflation. Although this was a 'distinct betrayal of truth', the unions should not refuse to talk with the Tories.

'Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon represent the true voice of the trade unions at the talks,' said Wright. They would force the Tories, not the unions, to break off the talks.

Wright conveniently omitted to mention Jones' actual advice to the Tories who were worried any 'ceiling' figure agreed in the talks would go onto basic rates and influence other earnings. (It was Jones who suggested the wage plan figure should be tacked on to wage packets as a

'government bonus' so as to prevent the 'wages drift' the employers fear.)

On the question of industrial action to bring down the Tories, Wright was even more apologetic.

'Industrial action must come from the workers themselves and can never be directed from the top,' explained Wright, in one stroke abdicating all responsibility for leadership against the Tories.

He said the union leaders will not stand in the way of our members' if they wanted such action.

Wright's apologies were an unsuccessful attempt to make up for the lack of leadership from the Greenwich Tenants' and Residents' Campaign Committee as a whole, made up as it is of Labour Party talkers, Communist Party members and the local vicar, Graham Swain.

Labour Party councillors only asked the tenants to keep the pressure on the local right wing in the council who had decided to implement the 'fair rents' Act. Repeated calls to withhold the rent were made to tenants who were clearly beginning to see that such action by itself would not stop the increases from going through.

The leadership of the campaign committee is opposed to

uniting with other workers to lead a campaign in the area to bring down the Tories and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

If the 1,000 Greenwich tenants not paying their £1 increase are not to be left isolated and demoralized at the end of the day, it is a matter of urgency that the political fight be taken up against the Tories. While the Tories remain in power, so does the 'fair rents' Act.

Contempt threat to transport union

THE Transport and General Workers' Union may face new contempt proceedings in the National Industrial Relations Court as a result of the continued blacking of a Liverpool transport firm at Liverpool docks.

A lorry owned by the firm, Howitt Transport Ltd, was turned away from the docks yesterday after being sent to test whether the black was still on.

Talks aimed at settling the dispute have broken down. Howitt's flatly rejected a union proposal that two men dismissed by the company be paid lump sums of £300 each.

It was the men's dismissal, which they claimed resulted from their striking in support of the five dockers jailed by the NIRC, which led to the blacking of the company.

In Hull yesterday docks stewards lifted their six-month black on Panalpina (Northern) Ltd, one of the firms which took the T&GWU to the NIRC earlier this year.

The black came off at 7 a.m. Panalpina has signed a document saying that in future it will send its groupage import containers to be handled by registered dockers at the new British Transport Docks Board depot at King George dock.

● Britain's second largest union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, may face a contempt action in the NIRC following the refusal of the union's Sudbury, Suffolk, branch to admit James Goad to its meeting last Friday night.

Goad, a Tory, is seeking legal aid to bring the case.

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Dockers will picket cold store 'forever'

REPORTS in Monday's 'Evening Standard' that picketing at Midland Cold Storage, Hackney, had been called off were vigorously denied by dockers on duty at the depot yesterday.

'We were a bit late arriving on Monday,' said one picket. 'But there has been no change of policy. As far as we are concerned we will be here for ever.'

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

SEVEN DAYS LEFT TO RAISE £1,049.18

WE KNOW we can push ahead faster than this for our October Fund. Our total at the moment stands at £700.82. This leaves us seven more days to raise the balance of our £1,750 target. So please don't waste a moment. Go all out today and help us change the situation around.

Power workers, now taking up the wages fight, find themselves forced into the forefront of the struggle against this Tory government and its plans for statutory control of wages.

Workers Press alone has prepared workers for the political nature of the struggle ahead. It is vital therefore that we use every opportunity to raise our Fund and keep our paper out in front.

We still have seven days. Let's make a major effort to pull our total right up. Wherever you can, try and raise extra amounts. Post all these immediately to:

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

One-hour strike no answer to fascists

ITALY'S three main trade union federations called out workers on a one-hour nationwide strike of protest yesterday.

The strike was in protest again the weekend bomb attacks on trains carrying trade unionists to a rally against unemployment in the southern town of Reggio Calabria.

This call was aimed at defusing the hatred building up in the Italian working class towards the Andreotti government, under whose wings the fascist movement is daily becoming bolder in its attacks on the organizations of the working class.

The Stalinists and the right-wing union leaders condemned 'the criminal behaviour' of the fascists and called on the government to take 'energetic measures to punish the fascist leaders.'

The Communist Party itself advised its members to get into contact with 'other democratic forces in order to oppose fascist provocation.'

It is this joint policy of dissipating working-class militancy through protest strikes and wooing the middle class with the demand for 'progressive democracy' which is enabling the fascists to recruit backward workers and sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

These sections which feel themselves crushed between monopoly capital and organized labour will have been pushed more to the right yesterday by the one-hour national strike.

Mr Fitt and Mr Craig

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE LATEST crisis in Northern Ireland—caused by the absence of revolutionary leadership and the growth of sectarian trends—has created havoc among Ulster politicians.

The Rev Ian Paisley will hold an emergency meeting with Tory premier Heath tomorrow. He is worried about being outflanked on the right by Ulster Vanguard leader William Craig.



Craig

Craig's declaration for a right-wing pogrom in the North has even caused panic within the ranks of his own movement.

The reactionary Orange Unionists, who have long oppressed both Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster, are terrified that Craig's call to arms will disrupt the close relationship they have always held with the British Tories and every capitalist and landowner in the north.

But nowhere is the confusion and fear greater than in that most miserable and cowardly group of reformists—the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Gerry Fitt, the SDLP's man in Westminster, is the best example of this. Fitt has always run from



Fitt

the great issues that face the Irish working class, particularly the Protestant section.

After the most recent violence in Belfast he is running faster. The direction is always towards the foulest kind of Tory reaction.

In his latest speech in the Republic of Ireland he made two very revealing admissions.

Firstly he abandoned the principles of Irish unity under the guise of attacking the 'Green' Tories in the south. Fitt said he would rather stay in the north than enter a Republic dominated by Fianna Fail—the Tory party of Eire.

Secondly he made overtures to Craig—undoubtedly Ireland's most reactionary and anti-working class politician.

Fitt said he would join with 'Bill' Craig and 'Ian' Paisley to resist any move towards unity. He ended with an appeal to build the Labour movement in the north.

So after years of devotion to a middle-class campaign to improve Catholics' civil rights, Fitt and the SDLP offer a deal to the Protestants. Not of course the Protestant working class, but its most reactionary Tory oppressors.

They also use the dominance of Toryism in the south, which is largely the result of a failure of the Irish reformists to challenge the Tory nationalists in any way, as an excuse for abandoning the key demand for a united Ireland.

Just exactly with whom, one might ask, is the Irish labour movement to be built?

Presumably with 'Bill' Craig

and 'Ian' Paisley? These men are the defenders of capitalist property in the north. They uphold the system that has made the workers in Ulster the most exploited section of the working class in the British Isles.

The issue that Fitt and his band of reformists have always ignored is the Tory government in Britain.

Never once have they called for the removal of the Heath regime. On the contrary they have co-operated with its imperialist manoeuvres at every stage of the Ulster crisis.

By doing this they also ignore the Protestant working class.

There is no other basis for working-class unity in the north outside a campaign to bring down the Tory government together with workers in Britain. With the Unionists, the SDLP have conspired to keep this truth from Irish workers.

Now Fitt has taken one more step along the road to reaction.

He is trying to stop a sectarian war by relying on imperialism and appeasing Craig. In doing this he is only ensuring the inevitability of such a conflict and the permanent division of the Ulster working class. This in turn will strengthen Toryism in Britain.

What is the answer to the politics of the SDLP?

Not more Republican terrorism but the building of a revolutionary party throughout Ireland, north and south. This would unite the Irish working class with the British workers to smash Toryism, withdraw the troops and construct a united Socialist Republic of Ireland.

Sit-in leaders 'astonished' by officials' move

THORNYCROFT engineering workers at Basingstoke, Hants, will this week again face attempts by trade union officials to call off their ten-week sit-in.

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' executive council yesterday decided to send Bill John down to the factory on Thursday.

He will try and force through British-Leyland proposals made at York two weeks ago. These were decisively thrown out on two occasions last week by the occupiers, the second time after a 90-minute plea from John.

The Thornycroft men remained firm in their opposition to Leyland's hiving-off deal with the Eaton Corporation.

Leyland's guarantees were considered to be of little worth considering that Eaton's only have a three-year lease on the factory.

Strike-committee member Tom Lewis said he was 'astonished' to hear that John would be bringing the same proposals down to Basingstoke again.

'It was a very decisive majority that turned them down at the last meeting. It's not as if it was a close vote,' he said.

TWO HUNDRED Hull Corporation workers are continuing their unofficial strike for a basic wage of £25 for labourers and £28 for craftsmen. The dispute is keeping Hull's bus fleet off the road.

At a meeting on Monday night officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers failed to get the men to agree to a return to work.

THE 100,000-strong National Graphical Association has voted by a majority of 2,000 in a national ballot not to de-register as a trade union under the Industrial Relations Act.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

'There's been no change since in the opposition of the membership here as far as I can tell, and I really can't see the proposals getting through on Thursday.'

Leyland's proposals 'guarantee' three years' work at the factory,

but they are conditional on such factors as the state of the market and economic trends.

Mr Lewis said the proposals were 'useless without some kind of monitoring from the trade union side'.

'As you were' pay offer to steelmen

CRAFT workers at the British Steel Corporation's Port Talbot plant are meeting today to consider a management pay offer almost identical to one rejected four weeks ago.

Then management offered a rise of £1.92 in return for national time conditions being worked. The workers rejected this and gave 28 days' notice of strike. That deadline falls due today.

Last Wednesday, the joint crafts' negotiating committee met the management after deciding without consulting their members to lift the strike notice.

The management made basically the same offer. The only difference was that they would accept a time average of 52 hours instead of the national time conditions average of 48

hours. But the pay rise still had come to £1.92.

But the negotiating committee did not reimpose the strike notice and today its chairman, Tal Lloyd, an official of the Engineers' Union, will attempt to get the men to accept this deal.

The only union body to reject the proposal is the AUEW shop stewards' committee.

But they have decided that the *status quo* shall operate, that the 28 days' strike notice be deferred and that the unions go back to negotiating a pay increase which does not include national time conditions.

This means that they have decided to drop the claim, put no opposition to the official trade union leadership and returned to the same conditions as they have been negotiating over the past six months.

TORIES AND THE POWER MEN'S CLAIM

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walk over the working class without great class battles. It is these battles which are decisive.

Even though the Tories won the last election, they could not have imposed the Industrial Relations Act, the 'fair' rents' Act and entry into the Common Market on the working class except through the collaboration of the Labour leaders.

And a few months ago when enormous working-class solidarity brought victory to the miners, the Tories were on the edge of collapse. They were saved by

Feather and his friends.

Now the Tory strategy is to cook up a 'voluntary' package deal with the TUC leaders, seek a repetition of 1970 with the power workers and frighten the middle class into line for an election.

The union leaders' retreats assist this Tory plan.

A united labour movement, rallying round the power workers, could pull large sections of the middle class into opposition to the Tories. In any case some middle-class groups, like the teachers, are themselves in conflict with the government over pay. The working class is more

powerful than the Tory government. It is held back only by its leaders.

The power workers' claim now poses the question: either united action to bring down the government or capitulation before the plans of big business.

This is the issue before today's meeting of the TUC General Council. It involves not just one wage claim but the whole question of wages, unemployment, rents, prices, trade union rights and the Common Market.

The working class is facing the gravest decision in a year of momentous struggle. A power workers' victory can mean the end of the Tory government.

Double backing for PA strike

A SECOND news agency may be hit by strike action at the weekend over the sacking of Press Association NATSOPA father of the clerical chapel, Mr John Lawrence.

And Central London National Union of Journalists' FOCs voted yesterday to instruct their members only to do journalistic work; not to do any work normally handled by NATSOPA and not to handle material officially blacked by NATSOPA.

It is understood they will work to prevent managements supplanting normal PA racing services from other sources. Some papers have been cutting details from the 'Sporting Chronicle' and advance racing cards.

The FOCs also passed a motion viewing Mr Lawrence's letter of dismissal as a case of victimization and called for his immediate reinstatement.

The PA workers struck a week ago over a pay claim. Mr Lawrence was sacked on Thursday for allegedly breaking his contract of employment.

Yesterday the PA workers rejected a move by supervisors to get them to return to work by 118-33.

'The majority yesterday was bigger than Monday,' said Mr Lawrence, 'and that is very encouraging.'