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BOSSES PROVOKE DEFLATION FIGHT

BY ROYSTON BULL

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The combined effects of US deflation and the raising of the price of UK exports to America because of the fall in the value of the dollar will hit British industry hard. One-fifth of all exports go to the United States.

With the artificial consumer boom also running out of steam at home and the relentless inflation making profitable trading more and more hazardous, the ruling class has decided to take the offensive against the trade unions before it is put on the defensive.

Big business chiefs know that when they finally have to put an end to the inflationary 'boom' out of fear of causing an enormous credit crisis—in addition to undermining the share values—they will have to face a very angry working class.

The rapid spread of closures and short-time working as the deflationary screws are tightened will inevitably lead to a spate of occupations and factory take-overs in a period when, because of the ever-sharpening trade war, the employers will in fact be looking for greater speed-up.

With the ending of the 'boom', 'normal' production is no longer of any use to the employers. If they cannot turn out a far cheaper product in order to hold their own in the trade war with countries like Japan, Spain, Hong Kong and other sweated-labour centres, then they will be better off not producing at all.

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Already, an attempted massive speed-up has begun in motor cars and other industries, causing a new upsurge of industrial conflict. The attack is meeting considerable resistance as can be seen at Garrard's (Swindon), Pressed Steel Fisher (Swindon) and British-Leyland (Cowley, Oxford).

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to announce permanent closure and move out of Britain altogether to cheap-labour, police-state countries.

If they manage to take on the unions and defeat them, managements will then be in a position to enforce massive speed-up and wage-cutting, and thus achieve the same effect by driving British workers' conditions down to Spanish standards. This is in line with the original Tory strategy for Common Market entry.

Even companies which have no prospects of switching production to cheaper labour countries might not be displeased if the speed-up offensive led to long strikes.

With the almost instant cutting off of the American market a distinct possibility, a strike at the right time would enable them to clear goods in the pipeline and also avoid the need to announce sudden lay-offs and re-

dundancies with possibly damaging consequences.

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everyone at Ryton' to the latest attacks on their 'appalling record'.

But there is a general offensive by the employers, as noted by Chrysler AUEW convenor Ken Walton: 'Even our officials tell us there's a tightening-up by employers in the area as a whole. I don't think you would be far out if you were to say there's a concerted attack by the employers in the Coventry district.'

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All these issues of the speed-up and the attack on trade union rights will be taken up at the mass anti-Tory rally on July 1 at Belle Vue, Manchester, organized by the All Trades Unions Alliance.

Thousands of trade unionists will attend this rally to debate the way forward for the working class.

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Car plants at a standstill



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£100,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

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WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY JUNE 11, 1973 ● No 1095 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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WHAT WE THINK

Corporatism accepted

THE LABOUR PARTY's much-publicized policy document leaves out the essential basis for the construction of a socialist society—the nationalization of all major industries, land, the banks and finance houses without compensation and under workers' control.

Neither does it pledge immediate repeal of all the Tory government's repressive anti-working-class legislation.

Indeed, it forecasts the implementation of similar measures by a Labour government—including a standing Royal Commission with statutory powers to investigate the conditions and pay of particular groups of workers.

And it calls for a 'voluntary' incomes policy worked out with the TUC and which the TUC would help to implement.

It was precisely such a policy under the last Labour government which led to the proposed anti-trade union 'In Place of Strife' and opened the door for a Tory victory in 1970.

Despite vague talk of 'the extension of public ownership', Harold Wilson has made it clear that a future Labour government would decide its policy unhampered by party policy statements, and decisions of either the NEC or the Party conference.

This document is not a programme for socialism.

Precisely for this reason it was welcomed in last Friday's 'Morning Star'. The Stalinist daily claims that Labour's programme 'contains many radical proposals advanced by the left'.

All that is wrong, according to the 'Star', is that it contains 'ambiguities' and 'loopholes'

for the right wing to prevent or delay its implementation.

The 'Star' applauds the alleged steps to 'extension of public ownership' but, like the Labourites, it leaves out the key aspects of workers' control and no compensation.

In fact, the Labour Party document calls not for nationalization but for 'control' and worker participation. This is not socialist nationalization but its opposite—corporatism.

Taken together with state commissions on pay and TUC-supervised wage control, it amounts to proposing that the working class subordinate itself to the ruling class in running capitalism.

Such 'co-determination', so warmly advocated by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, is not a step to the left but by implication a move to the right.

That is why it is also warmly welcomed by 'Tribune'. Michael Foot's lead article in this 'left' journal waxes lyrical about Labour's 'first-class, far-reaching statement', which he describes as 'a socialist strategy'.

It goes a long way to meet 'Tribune's' demands, Foot says, for 'a bold acceptance of public ownership, in a fresh and imaginative style'.

In the same article, this 'left' excuses his vote against naming companies for nationalization. The new programme is preferable without clear commitments, he says, because it is 'not designed to trundle old-fashioned fundamentalist ideas onto the political stage'.

The 'lefts' and the Stalinists join with the Tory Press in presenting the Labourites' programme as a left-wing statement be-

cause they fear, above all, the mobilization of the working class around a real socialist programme to force the Tory government to resign.

Their task is to keep the leadership safely in the hands of Harold Wilson.

For the Stalinists, this is the 'parliamentary road to socialism' in practice. It involves getting as close as possible to the reformists, as the economic and political crisis of capitalism accelerates every day.

The task of the Socialist Labour League is precisely to break the working class from reformism by demanding that the Labour Party take power committed to specific socialist policies, centred on the nationalization of all basic industries, land, banks and finance houses without compensation and under workers' control.

As Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Programme adopted at the founding conference of the Fourth International ('The Death Agony of Capitalism'): 'It is impossible to take a single serious step in the struggle against monopolistic despotism and capitalist anarchy—which supplement one another in their work of destruction—if the commanding posts of banks are left in the hands of predatory capitalists.'

A Labour government returned to office by the mobilization of the working-class committing it to such demands would be rapidly exposed. In this way the working class could be broken from the grip of reformist leadership and the way opened for a rapid development of the revolutionary party in Britain.

Key Nixon speech today?

PRESIDENT NIXON spent the weekend in the isolation of his island residence at Key Biscayne, Florida, with reports from his economic advisers urging him to take action against inflation immediately.

He was generally expected to announce his decision on this vital question early this week—perhaps even today—but his Press under-secretary, Gerald Warren, refused to name a day for the announcement.

Price increase figures for May show a rise in wholesale prices equivalent to a 24 per cent annual rate; farm prices are going up at over 49 per cent a year and industrial prices 14.4 per cent.

Pressure for action against the inflation—which means cutting the living standards of the organized working class—is mounting in Congress as well as outside.

Senator Henry Jackson, a Democrat from Washington State, said he would propose legislation this week that would

impose a mandatory freeze on wages and prices.

In Orlando, Florida, on Saturday Nixon said that the government would act on inflation whenever action seemed responsible and effective. Demands for tough action have been reinforced by the rise in the US discount (bank) rate.

This was lifted on Friday from 6 per cent to 6½ per cent—its highest level since 1921. In announcing the move the federal reserve board said it was in recognition of rises in other short-term interest rates and the general price level.

The rise is undoubtedly intended to force Nixon's hand over the imposition of wage controls—for many days his administration has been in a state of semi-paralysis as the impact of Watergate spreads.

Saigon spoils Kissinger plan

OBJECTIONS from the Saigon puppet government may have been behind the failure of the US-North Vietnamese talks on the ceasefire in Indo-China held in Paris last week.

President Nixon's national security adviser Dr Henry Kissinger returned empty-handed to Washington on Saturday after talks with Hanoi's representative Le Duc Tho.

According to American observers the main obstacle to a deal was not Hanoi but Saigon. The failure to reach agreement on strengthening the ceasefire was a blow to Kissinger who had publicly forecast that an accord would be reached last week.

Kissinger is to return to Paris tomorrow for further talks with Le Duc Tho, who is remaining in the French capital. But the White House has declined to predict what will be the outcome of these talks.

Before leaving Paris, Kissinger said: 'American officials have sometimes been mistaken in their estimates of the length of time required to bring the Vietnamese parties to a common realization of the significance of words.'

But the issues involved are deeper than this evasive phrase would make it appear. Far from dying down after the signing of the ceasefire treaty, fighting has flared up all over South Vietnam and in Laos and Cambodia.

One of the key points of disagreement at the talks concerned the designation of areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Saigon wants the liberated areas to be considered as temporary areas of purely military control.

This is essential if the puppet regime is to retain the slightest claim to legitimacy under the treaty. The signing of the treaty has opened up a new stage of civil war in the Vietnamese countryside.

Across the border in Cambodia the situation of the Lon Nol puppet regime is even more precarious. The US is still bombing the liberation armies and the peasant population who support them, despite the Senate decision to cut off funds for further bombing.

It is generally agreed that the Lon Nol regime survives entirely because of American air support. But when Lon Nol is overthrown the position of the Saigon puppets will become almost completely untenable—and the regime is terrified that the famous Domino Theory will operate in reverse.

Aide denies plan for fire-bomb burglary

PRESIDENT Nixon's former special counsel Charles Colson yesterday denied a report that he suggested a burglary and fire-bombing mission by a special White House undercover squad.

The 'Washington Post' said he suggested the squad enter the office at the Brookings Research Institute of Dr Morton Halperin and disguise the burglary as a fire-bombing. Dr Halperin is an associate of Dr Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the Pentagon Papers.

The newspaper reported for the first time the existence of a second White House operations group, forerunner of the squad known as 'plumbers', responsible for the bugging of the Watergate Democratic Party headquarters and for breaking into the offices of Dr Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

The 'Post' said that John Caulfield, who was reported to have headed a White House 'espionage' group, and John Dean, President Nixon's dismissed White House Counsel, had told Federal investigators that Colson had suggested the raid in 1971.

According to the newspaper, Caulfield immediately rejected the proposal as 'totally insane'.

Colson denied it all. 'I absolutely made no such statement or suggestion,' he said. 'It is ludicrous . . . a flight of fancy, the outer limits. This has gone too far.'

Caulfield has told Federal investigators he was involved in about 20 undercover espionage missions for John Ehrlichman while Ehrlichman was the President's top domestic adviser, the newspaper said.

According to sources it quoted, Caulfield's undercover group was supplanted in 1971 by 'the plumbers'.

Oman liberation fight anniversary picket



Spain's new PM starts to reshuffle

THE NEW premier of fascist Spain, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, plans to announce a major cabinet reshuffle today, according to Madrid sources.

The admiral (70), who was sworn in on Saturday as Prime Minister of Spain, the post occupied by General Franco for more than 30 years, is expected to make sweeping changes in the cabinet.

According to government sources, ten previous Ministers, including Foreign Minister Gregorio Lopez Bravo, are to lose their posts in the reshuffle.

General Franco, the 80-year-old fascist dictator, named Blanco as Prime Minister on Friday. Franco himself retains the posts of Chief-of-State, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and

head of the National Movement—Spain's only permitted political party.

Admiral Blanco is known as an extreme hard-line fascist who has faithfully supported Franco for many years. His appointment signals the intention of tightening police repression against the workers' movement as Franco prepares to leave the scene.

Lopez Bravo, a leading member of the pro-Common Market Catholic secret society Opus Dei, is to be replaced by another Opus Dei member, Lopez Rodo.

But overall, the cabinet is likely to contain a larger proportion of Falangist elements than previously.

Tocuata Fernandez Miranda, a Falangist, is to replace Carrero Blanco in the key post of vice-president.

SUPPORTERS of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) picketed the Oman embassy in London on Saturday to mark the eighth anniversary of the start of armed struggle against the British-backed sultanate.

The army of the Sultan fighting against the liberation movement is officered by British mercenaries and supplemented by troops from Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Jordan and India.

Control of Muscat and Oman—which dominates the entrance to the Arabian Gulf with its vast oil resources—is regarded as vital by the imperialists and their client states in the area.

TOWN FLATS FOR THE RICH

BY PHILIP WADE

Property developers have themselves confirmed that vast sums of public money set aside for improvements to old houses have instead done nothing more than enhance their profit margins.

A number of developers have depicted in some detail how large grants made under Labour's 1969 Housing Act helped push up profit rates to between 20 and 25 per cent.

And they have admitted that the houses—which once provided accommodation for working-class families—were never re-let once modernized.

Instead, the properties were gutted and converted into small flats. These were then sold on long leases to the middle-class rich seeking a 'flat in town'.

This process of gentrification has been going on in the big towns—especially in central London where the housing situation is desperate—almost from the day Labour's now notorious aid-to-landlords Act was passed in 1969.

Eventually Labour councils like Hammersmith in west London realized they had been caught in a reformist trap of their party's own making. Property developers were lapping up the grants and simply making off with the loot.

And there was nothing in the Act that said modernized properties had to be re-let at regulated rents.

These councils began a hue-and-cry over the 'excesses' by developers. In parliament, the Labour leadership, the instigators of this wretched Act, hatched the inevitable 'remedy': an inquiry!

Of course the Tories rapidly acquiesced. What harm could one of those revered inquiries do? And if it helped ensure further collaboration from the Labour benches, so much the better.

All the inquiry has done is to confirm what everyone already knew. This was the case when property developers operating in Hammersmith among other places recently gave evidence.

What they said was blatant, to say the least, as the minutes reveal.

A committee member put a question to a director of Greenberry Developments Ltd:

'If you were selling one of these flats for, let us say £10,000, and if your input costs, leaving aside the improvement grant, had been £6,000, you would make a profit of £4,000.'

'Presumably if you had received an improvement grant of X pounds it would simply have had the effect of increasing your profit margin in the case?'

The answer was swift and sure: 'In that case, yes.'

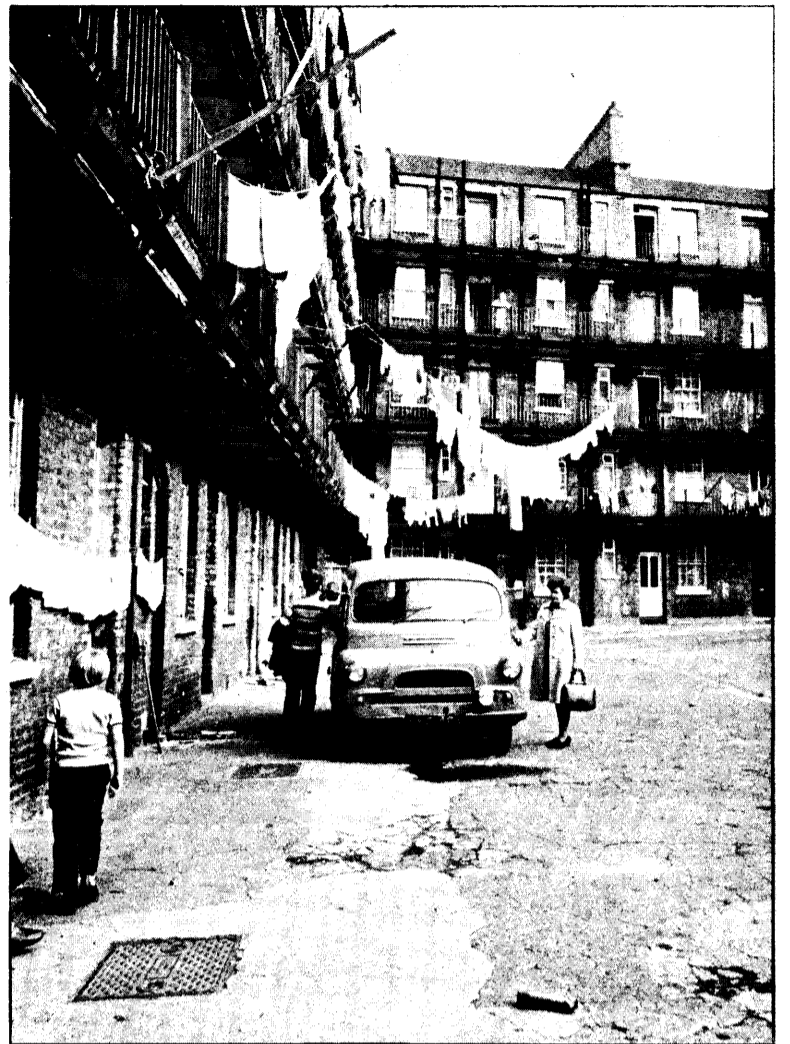
Unfurnished tenants'

Yet he was not taking any more grants. Why was that? 'They [the council] wanted unfurnished tenants to occupy the premises at rents set aside by the rent officer. That is uneconomic as far as I'm concerned.'

Without the grants, he told the committee, anyone wanting to buy a flat would have to pay that much more. He wouldn't lose out.

Directors of Limerston Securities Ltd—who said they had received up to £130,000 in grants since 1969—explained what a beneficial effect the Act had had on the company's operations.

'We buy old houses, often in a state of disrepair. We completely gut them—all the plaster comes out, windows and so on. When the improvement grants came out, we decided



Left: Modernization in progress. Right: Overcrowded council flats in Stepney. Lack of alternative accommodation makes it hard to move out.

we would take a step further. Before then we used to do about 80 per cent of that. Now we gut everything,' said a director explaining how progress took place.

Where tenants existed in the old properties some had been 'offered cash sums to move out and purchase their own properties,' he added. Some had been moved to other accommodation where the rents were no longer controlled and therefore were much higher.

Grants had often gone on extra things like 'double glazing and fully-fitted kitchens.' Of course, such 'extras' simply raised the market price of the flats.

The directors of St. Petersburg Properties were frank and to the point—as the minutes of the evidence taken illuminatingly reveal:

'Let me put this to you and see if you agree. Getting a £1,000 improvement grant simply increases your profit by £1,000? Is that not the case? —Yes.'

Asked to give examples of the crucial nature of the grant to profit margins, a director explained:

'When we started, there was a development on which without the improvement grants an outlay of some £20,000 would have made £3,000 . . . With improvement grants it was about £8,000.'

What rate of return did he look for? 'In a normal time (!), as I suppose it might be at the moment, somewhere around 20 per cent, or 25 per cent.'

Like his fellow developers, he had found the climate in Hammersmith deteriorating as the council tried to impose conditions on grants, specifying that properties be re-let to unfurnished tenants.

This had not deterred his company. 'We have moved out to where the atmosphere is a little less electric.' In other words, Hammersmith was just one authority. There were others where grants were still easy to obtain.

In any case, as one developer explained, the grants had made the initial drive towards high prices for new flats that much more dynamic. Inflation had now taken over and massive profits could be made

without the grants. They had done their work for the first few years after 1969.

'No politics, no councillors'

This use of public money to aid profiteering and the destruction of cheap rented accommodation was made blatantly clear by Mr L. Garvin, a director of Central London Residential Properties Ltd.

He declared he would not bother applying for grants if there was a return to the pre-1969 position where grant-aided developments could not be sold for three years. When asked what sort of grants system he would like to see, Mr Garvin had no trouble in presenting the clearest of pictures.

'No politics, no public health inspector, no councillors breathing down your neck because you have made a pro-

fit,' was his vivid description of the property developers' Utopia.

Labour brought in the 1969 Act as a miserable substitute for a decent house building programme and the municipalization of old rented accommodation neglected by absentee landlords.

But extracts from even a tame Commons inquiry shows what untold misery such concessions to big landlords and property developers can bring for workers.

Old tenants have been 'persuaded' to go. Meanwhile, any young worker looking for a flat has to turn up with something in the region of £30,000.

Millions of pounds have been spent on so-called improvement grants. Apart from the proportion taken up by local councils themselves, the remainder—some say 50 per cent—has been pure profit for developers.

And figures for this year

show that in the first quarter applications for grants at over 85,000 are 22,700 up on 1972 levels.

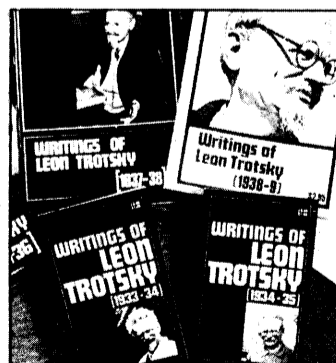
The next Labour government must not be allowed to repeat a programme of concessions to developers and big landlords. Instead it must be forced to carry out a socialist housing programme.

This must include the nationalization of the land, building societies, banks and building industry under workers' control and without compensation.

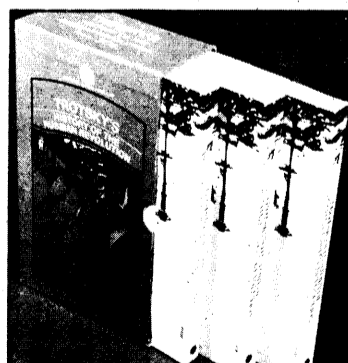
Big landlords must be expropriated and their dilapidated properties taken under control.

All empty properties—there are at least 100,000 in London alone—must be used to provide emergency help to workers needing decent homes while a crash public house-building programme is embarked upon.

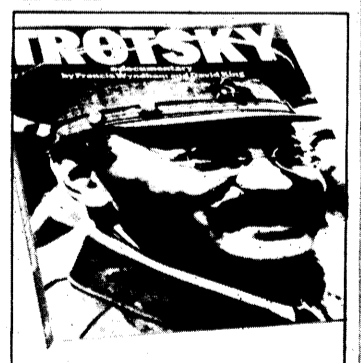
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TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY



At a mass meeting last Friday dockers from Tilbury docks voted to take a stand against the supplementary register of 'casual' dockers. The supplementary would undermine conditions maintained by the National Dock Labour Scheme. NASD member George Warren says: 'The erosion of the scheme is the biggest thing that's ever happened in dockland.'

THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

'What you get one day they take back off you the next'

George Warren is a member of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, working at Millwall dock, London. He said:

I tended to think that every price increase was wanted until I saw it pointed out in the Workers Press how much profit these people

make. It made me aware that the whole question of prices revolves around politics.

You think: 'How can I fight it?' You think you can't. You want a lead from someone. That's what it amounts to.

I've got two old aunts. They've been working all their lives and they've retired now. But they've got to go out and do office cleaning. It makes you think there's something wrong with the whole system.

But when you think about the League, you think to yourself: 'Am I doing the right thing?' People say to me: 'Would you like to live in Russia?' You've got to answer 'No' haven't you?

It's difficult to visualize that it's going to be different from Russia under socialist state.

Russia started off as pure Marxist, but somewhere along the road it has gone wrong. How do you convince people

this won't happen again?

There are a lot of little problems for new people coming towards the League, but you've got to say to yourself there's something wrong with the system and unless we do something to alter it it's going to carry on in the same old way.

I've been won over very gradually from a right-wing Labour position to practically the far left, but I've still got little problems which are holding me back from swinging all the way.

Once you get interested in politics you realize you've been conned over the years by the traditional leaders.

I've always thought when you saw certain Labour MPs getting big directorships 'How on earth can they be supporting the working class?'

They should be winning a better standard of living for us because we haven't got it. We're going backwards in

fact, under a capitalist system you can't have a better standard of living. What you get one day they take off you the next.

It's beyond me how people getting £25 a week can survive. I suppose I've always been sitting back and saying: 'These people must fight first.' But once you start getting involved in politics you can see its a fight for all—not just one section of the community.

The dock workers used to be the most militant section going at one time. But they just seem to be shutting their eyes to what's happening today. The most scandalous thing, to my mind, is the unregistered ports.

I don't think we should have gone back in the last dispute we had until we got these ports registered. If we're not careful there's going to come a time when we just won't have the power.

The erosion of the dock

labour scheme is the biggest thing that's ever happened in dockland.

It was this sort of thing that kept me turning leftwards. You haven't got to look far to see that what the Workers Press has said was right.

Until people realize that there is an alternative system, we're going to jog on as we've been going. Win a little bit one day—they take it back the next. It's going to be a vicious circle.

I think it's going to be very hard to expand the League until the crunch comes and workers realize they are up against it. A lot of the time if you say you're a communist they turn their backs on you. Until six months ago I was like that.

I have a lot to learn about Marxism, but to have a leadership pointing out what the capitalists are doing and looking to the future is very important.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Y PARTY

'Labour bureaucracy exposed, a big step forward'

London office worker and USDAW member Roana Geddes (23) said:

I've got a child and I can't afford to eat meat. It's difficult enough to feed a child never mind yourself.

I don't have any clothes that I've bought first hand. Everything I've got has been given to me.

The prices are just phenomenal.

Things have got a lot worse in the last two or three years. We were living in a boom before and everything seemed so much better, food and clothes were cheap.

In the last two years it has become really intense. Before, you could ignore it, but now it's impossible to ignore what's going on.

You notice the change in other people when you go out canvassing. They are either very pro or very anti. They are no longer negative at all.

Politics has begun to affect people's daily lives. It isn't just a question of a big international crisis that doesn't affect them at all. They can see when they go to buy food that things are wrong. I think they are getting angry about it now.

I think people are beginning to realize that it's not going to get any better. And they are also realizing that nobody is going to do anything about it in the TUC and the Labour Party.

They've got nice cushy jobs and they don't care. If they took a revolutionary stand, they would put at risk their situation and they don't want to risk what they have.

I think it's also because they are reformists and it's time people realized reformism is corrupt and won't really get anywhere.

I especially like the democratic basis of the League. I've seen it in practice. People can get up at meetings and say exactly what they think. I'd read 'Animal Farm' and it was this sort of thing that worried me about the Communist Party. I never really considered joining them. I knew something of the treachery of Stalinism.

I don't think the Stalinists are democratic at all. It must be because they can't risk a democratic basis, whereas the League can. The League has nothing to hide.

The League doesn't avoid issues. It looks at them straight in the face. It seems to me you've got to do this if you're talking seriously about revolution. You have to have a very firm foundation.

At the moment I think the League is the only hope for the working class and socialism is the only hope for humanity.

If the League isn't transformed into a party and built up, the working class will be completely betrayed because there is no other honest alternative that is a genuine working-class movement.

The IS and the IMG are just a bunch of ineffectual liberals.



'If we can expose the Labour bureaucracy, it will be a big step forward.' Above: Harold Wilson, Labour Party chief, with his trade union counterpart, TUC head, Victor Feather.

I think they are just playing at revolution. I'm sure these middle-class intellectuals are really afraid to take a stand. This is why they move to the centre politically.

I think it's only the League which has the interests of the working class at heart and genuinely wants a socialist revolution. The League isn't just sitting around, it's really working for it.

The ruling class have total fascism in store for the working class. They have to totally smash the democratic rights of the working class in order to save their system. Their money has no value at all and the only way to put value back into it is to take it out of the hides of the working class.

You can't reform capitalism. The whole system is evil. It's based on the completely oppressive theory that it's right

to have a mass of workers rights, but the Pageant at the supplying parasitical layers at the top. It's wrong and completely illogical. The whole system has been lurching from decade to decade like a drunk liable to fall on his face at any moment.

It will depend on the League how quickly workers break from bourgeois ideology. If we can expose the Labour bureaucracy, it will be a big step forward.

Any struggle you take up against capitalism must be on a firm foundation and Marxism is the firmest foundation of all.

I think the point the British working class are at today is the realization that working within the system, reformism is useless. All the rights they've won over 200 years are being taken away.

Most people imagine they were just born with these

Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 11 showed how they had to be fought for. I think it's important to push home these truths to workers and show them their history, because this has been more or less suppressed.

I think one of the problems in the League is the tendency toward bourgeois thinking. There's a tendency to be a little too fond of theory. Someone got up at the conference and said there was a danger of the new cadres coming into the party diluting Marxist theory.

I don't think that's where the danger is at all. I think it comes from people like himself. Those coming into the party now are coming in from the crisis. They are being driven. And when you are driven you develop much more quickly.

Things are happening so quickly today. The situation is changing at a phenomenal rate. Some of those who are coming into the movement today could go ahead of people who have been in the League for years.

I don't like this middle-class attitude about dilution. It seems to me to be quite patronizing and dangerous to the League. I think the League is strong enough to train and educate new people who come in quite quickly—especially with the speeding up of the crisis.

When you first enter the League, it seems a mess because you don't understand dialectical materialism and the importance of the conflict. I don't understand it completely, intellectually, but I understand it from the point of view of its effectiveness in practice.



COD WAR: A POLICY FOR TRAWLERMEN

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

When fish were a cheap source of protein for people who lived off the sea, the problem of conservation did not arise. They were hunted for immediate consumption and the effort made no serious impact on stocks.

The development of capitalism and the application of modern techniques to fishing altered this relatively harmonious relationship between man and the sea.

Fish became a commodity caught by firms not for immediate consumption, but to sell for profit. One progressive result of this change was that the masses had access to fish—brought to them by the elaborate distribution network set up to connect the fish ports with the inland centres of population.

Inevitably enormous contradiction arose. The trawling interests paid little or no atten-

tion to the general development of this important supply of food. In the scramble for the largest and most profitable catches, rich areas of the oceans became fished-out.

This was not a result of stupidity or oversight. Indeed the plunder took place against a background of concern and protest about the danger of overfishing.

But no single capitalist could call a halt to the destructive process. To do so would have been to court bankruptcy, so leaving the field open to more rapacious rivals.

As we saw in part three of this series, published last Friday, the development of monopoly increased the pressure to catch fish and fight for a larger share of the ocean as possible.

These antagonisms now work entirely against the interests of the vast majority of the people. On the one hand monopoly is a check on the development of completely new techniques, like fish-farming, on the other it threatened the exterminations of certain important species—the herring, for example, has all but disappeared

from Icelandic waters.

It can be predicted with certainty, therefore, that the capitalist nations, who hold many conferences on sea law as it affects trawling, will find no solution to the crisis of overfishing. Governments respond primarily to the requirements of the interests which own the trawling industries.

Conservation, therefore, raises the question of transforming society from one where natural resources are exploited for profit in the interests of a minority, to one where human need is paramount. In other words it poses the transformation from capitalism to socialism.

But the present conflict with Iceland presents socialists and the working class with much more concrete and immediate issues.

Socialism is not a dream in the mind of man. It is embodied in a fight within the real world by the most advanced representatives of the oppressed classes for a revolutionary change in society.

Class struggle does not assume ideal forms—particularly the smooth and co-

ordinated uprising of workers throughout the world behind identical demands and programmes.

The struggle of Iceland to control its most valuable natural resource—fish—is a concrete example. The 'cod war' demonstrates the contradictory struggle of class forces and their often deceptive appearance.

Iceland finds herself caught in a web of international and largely imperialist exploitation. It is hypocritical in the extreme to talk of independence and self-determination for nations if this does not involve genuine freedom from the fetters of economic slavery.

Without control of her own fish, Iceland would be independent in name only.

The further prospect would be total ruination if the scramble for cod continues and stocks are fished-out. And, as we saw in part two, this prospect is by no means alarmist.

There are those who might argue for a neutral position. Considering that both sides in the conflict are equally to blame for the threat to fish life within the 50-mile limit

around the island.

All wars and conflict, they might say, are reactionary in the epoch of imperialism. The responsibility of socialists is merely to raise the 'greater issue' of a revolutionary transformation of society.

But such a position is to ignore the development of the anti-imperialist struggle in favour of empty phrases and sophistry.

Lenin campaigned against such arguments in his polemic on the national question and the right of self-determination of nations during the first great imperialist war of 1914-1918.

In his reply to the 'Junius' pamphlet (written by Rosa Luxemburg) Lenin congratulates the authoress on her steadfast rejection of all the nationalist sentiment of the Social Democrats who joined in with their own ruling class in the clamour for victory. But he attacks sharply claims that all national wars were reactionary in the epoch of imperialism.

'The only mistake,' Lenin wrote against 'Junius' ('Collected Works', Vol. 22), 'would be to exaggerate this truth, to depart from the Marxist requirement of concreteness, to apply the appraisal of this war the first World War to all wars possible, under imperialism. The sole argument in defence of the thesis, "national wars are no longer possible" is that





Above left: Fishing goes on 18 hours a day—that means working well into the night—and in winter in Arctic waters, constant darkness prevails. Above: Packing fish at Hull docks.

the world has been divided among a small group of "great" imperialist powers.

'And for that reason, any war, even if it starts as a national war, is transformed into an imperialist war involving the interests of one of the imperialist powers or coalitions.'

Lenin continues: 'The fallacy of this argument is obvious. That all dividing lines, both in nature and society, are conventional and dynamic, and that every phenomenon might, under certain conditions be transformed into its opposite, is, of course the basic proposition of Marxist dialectics. A national war might be transformed into an imperialist war and vice versa. Here is an example: the wars of the Great French Revolution began as national wars and indeed were such. They were revolutionary wars—the defence of the great revolution . . . against . . . monarchies.

'But when Napoleon founded the French Empire and subjugated a number of big, viable and long-established national European states, these national wars of the French became imperialist wars and in turn led to wars of national liberation against Napoleonic imperialism.

'Only a sophist can disregard the difference between an imperialist war and a national war on the grounds

that one might develop into the other. Not infrequently have dialectics served . . . as a bridge to sophistry. But we remain dialecticians and we combat sophistry not by denying the possibility of transformations in general but by analysing the given phenomenon in its concrete setting and development.'

Lenin's reference to dialectics is, of course, no accident on this question. International relations and the international development of imperialism and the forces which struggle against imperialism must raise the question of dialectics, since struggle is revealed vividly in the international arena as not smooth, pre-planned or even predictable, but contradictory process.

Development and protection of natural resources and harmony between nations presupposes the expropriation of imperialism by the working class. But this very struggle does not emerge in a 'perfect form' but in the concrete—in this case the cod war and the popular desire for economic independence in Iceland.

The fight by Iceland for her fish resources has raised the feeling and support of the people. The decision to declare the 50-mile limit is a popular one, it runs counter to the interests of the main imperialist nations and must be supported unconditionally by socialists.

The question of whether Icelandic capitalists will conserve the fish is secondary, but it does raise another important issue.

The struggle for the emancipation of the working class is never subordinated to the national struggle.

Capitalist interests in Iceland will not be capable of developing fish resources—they will largely fall prey to the same contradictions that bedevil the British and German trawler-owners described in part three. The further demand, therefore, for the nationalization of the Icelandic fleet under workers' control is posed therefore.

But what of the British long-distance trawlermen? They fear for their jobs if they are banned from the Icelandic grounds.

A 50-mile limit around Iceland would spell the end for many of Britain's side-trawlers. Outside this perimeter the water gets too deep for successful fishing. The owners would sell or scrap their boats rather than bear the higher costs of fishing more remote grounds.

Does justice for Iceland therefore mean mass unemployment for deep-sea fishermen and workers employed in the industries that depend on the deep-sea catch?

If the owners had their way the answer would be yes. But

workers have an absolute right to resist all redundancies in the industry.

The problems of the trawling industry are not the fault of the deck-hands and skippers. They fish under orders, or at least in the full knowledge that poor catches mean poor wages, and in the case of the skipper, even the sack. The so-called 'individualism' of the industry is a vicious system of reward and punishment designed to drive men to the limits of their energy. It is the employers' greatest weapon.

The trawlermen should demand no sackings. The profits of the big companies should be used to pay wages while the industry is restructured.

This demand poses the long overdue step of nationalization of the industry under workers' control. Under a socialist structure in trawling friendly negotiations with Iceland could be reopened to see if her waters could be fished without the risk of destroying stocks.

Another important area of advance is in the North Sea. With proper protection and cultivation, fish stocks in this area could be returned to their former thriving state. In private hands the trawling industry has almost entirely neglected any investigation of fish-farming and other methods of developing stocks—preferring quick returns to research into future supplies.

The most immediate requirement is for the trawlermen to put a black on fishing around Iceland. Why should they risk their lives oppressing another nation in a war they neither benefit from nor control?

They must also campaign in their own union, the Transport and General Workers, for a reversal of the pro-employers policy in the cod war. Immediate contact must be made with trawling unions in other nations, including Iceland, to put forward joint demands that both reflect the need for nationalizing the industry and the right of Iceland to control fishing in her waters.

This is the only way forward. Trawlermen face a massive attack on their rights, with or without a cod war.

The side-trawler is a dying class of ship. The owners are preparing a massive rationalization programme based on the larger freezer vessels.

The tendency to monopoly in the industry will continue and this will mean fewer jobs with more intensive exploitation of labour at sea.

Fishermen must decide their own destiny and not be pawns in the war of greed launched on the seas.

REVISIONIONISTS EXPOSED BY ECONOMIC CRISIS

Part four Mandel's record on the monetary crisis

BY PETER JEFFRIES

Mandel's second excursion into the monetary crisis came at the time of the November 1967 14 per cent sterling devaluation.

Once more his analysis stood up just as well to subsequent developments as did his comments on the gold standard (which we exposed in Saturday's article)! 'In the international domain, the capitalist countries were happy over Wilson's "moderation"; if he had devalued by 30 per cent it would have shaken their markets.'

It did much more than 'shake their markets'! Within a few months, as the SLL said it would at the time, it shook the entire world capitalist monetary system to the very point of collapse.

March 1968 with its run on gold and the creation of the 'two-tier' system flowed directly from the sterling devaluation at the end of the previous year. The crisis for the pound opened up a crisis for the dollar.

Yet not only was Mandel happy at Wilson's 'moderation'; he could declare: '... the other imperialist moneys, are, to say the least, technically [?] solid.' And on the very eve of the dollar crisis!

Not that Mandel learned anything from the next few weeks in the build-up to this dollar crisis. Writing in January 1968 this 'Marxist theoretician' once more ruled out the return to gold. But even when the crisis did break, Mandel was unrepentant.

'Will the dollar follow the pound?' was the question he placed before his worried readers. No, Mandel assured them: 'The apparent parallel between the pound and the dollar should not deceive us.'

The lack of confidence in the dollar, which even Mandel began dimly to perceive as a fact of economic life, 'arises from US government expenditure abroad'. This, in turn, Mandel told us, came from 'financing the Vietnam war; granting military aid to reactionary and dictatorial regimes in many countries... It is these dollars which account for the constant flow of gold from the United States; it is these dollars that created the recent panic'.

Once more, the SLL never failed to recognize the impact of the Vietnam war. Indeed our latest statement on the crisis (A Marxist Analysis of the Crisis—statement by the SLL Central Committee) specifically draws attention to this factor.

But for us it has never been the major source of the dollar crisis. Mandel utterly ignores the vast pile-up of dollars in the 'Euro-dollar market'. These represent the accumulated capital exports of the post-war



Sir Douglas Allen, Sir Leslie O'Brien, of the Bank of England, and Chancellor Anthony Barber at economic talks July 1972, just after the announcement of the decision to float the pound which put an end to any hope of European monetary integration.

period, capital exports which in turn reflected a desperate attempt to preserve social and economic stability in western Europe as well as to overcome the contradictions associated with the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

Mandel ended his piece with the statement 'the plans to create a world currency detached from gold have slight chance of success'. Here we see the 'theory' which the centrists such as Mandel indulge in: nothing clearly stated, with the attempt to create lingering illusions in the stability of the system.

For the plain fact is, as everyone who has studied 'Capital' knows, there was no



Nixon: Mandel greeted his August 15 measures as the beginning of 'a long cycle of much slower growth'...

chance whatsoever of such a currency. Gold alone is, and always was, the only 'universal money'. The dollar, even in the boom, and sterling, even in the heyday of capitalism, could never dislodge it.

At the end of 1968 Mandel was still holding out the possibility of such a 'solution' to the crisis, however 'slight'. He

then thought that 'raising the price of gold', creating a 'central bank currency'; pooling all the exchange reserves of west European countries into a 'Eurofranc' were all 'theoretically possible' solutions 'in the context of the international capitalist economy'. 'None of them would undermine the foundations of the capitalist mode of production.'

Of course all this was gibberish. The only 'solution' was a steep increase in the price of gold, a 'solution' as we continually stressed, which would mean the final end of Bretton Woods and the opening of a period of intense and general capitalist crisis.

How far away Mandel and his revisionist friends were from such conclusions.

'The future of the system created at Bretton Woods is more than sombre,' Mandel told his readers in 'Intercontinental Press', December 9, 1968.

Far from being 'sombre', Bretton Woods had been all but killed off by the two-tier system introduced the previous March, whereby the US agreed that only 'official' (government) dollar holders could switch their money into gold. August 15, 1971, merely finished off the operation in this sense.

As we saw from our first article, Mandel's aim throughout is deliberately to underplay the revolutionary implications of the present crisis. This was nowhere more clearly seen than in his response to the Nixon August 15 measures.

For the SLL this announcement represented the most decisive turning point of all. Nixon, on behalf of the American ruling class, had declared war on the rest of the capitalist world. The main lines of division were drawn: Europe against America.

How did Mandel and his revisionist movement react? 'The international capitalist system as a whole has emerged from a long cycle of expansion to begin a long cycle of much slower growth [emphasis added] and many more crises... The merry-go-round has only begun. The long cycles last on the average 20 to 25 years [emphasis added].'

In other words; in plain language; August 15 opened a period in which for the next 25 years there would be much 'slower growth' and 'many more' crises.

The struggle for power, the preparation for decisive confrontation between the classes throughout western Europe and America was utterly alien to Mandel's thinking.

The previous May ('Intercontinental Press', May 24, 1971) he had ended his analysis of the dollar crisis with the pathetic plea: 'The worsening international monetary crisis is a serious invitation [!] to meet the international speculations of the capitalists with an international workers' struggle.'

In Mandel's polite, petty-bourgeois world the class struggle occurs 'by invitation' only it would seem.

Reading Mandel's pronouncements on the crisis, one can only conclude that the more it deepens, the more optimistic he becomes about the future of the capitalist system.

At the time of the Smithsonian talks (December 1971) he asserted with great confidence: 'The system born in Washington will not survive a decade.' ('Intercontinental Press', January 1972.) A decade? In point of fact, the Washington arrangements did not 'survive' ten months let alone ten years.

By June 1972, the pound was floating and any hope of

European monetary integration which only a little while earlier Mandel had seen as a 'theoretically possible' solution was killed stone dead. Such is the power of Mandel's perspectives. So closely tuned is his analysis to the tempo of capitalist development!

This is not a series of 'mistakes' which Mandel can correct at the 'final hour', as it were. For as we insisted in starting these articles, the analysis made by the Pabloites of the economic crisis flowed directly from their politics.

While he was doing his best to play down the oncoming capitalist crisis from the mid-1960s onwards, Mandel and his followers were at the same time peddling every possible anti-Marxist policy amongst their middle-class supporters: 'student power', 'pupil power', 'womens' power', anything but the struggle to prepare the working class for the battles which it now faces, battles which will decide the entire fate of humanity.

The economic analysis which the SLL and the International Committee of the Fourth International has made throughout the development of the present crisis has been possible only because we have been engaged in a continual political fight against all forms of revisionism.

It is this struggle against revisionism which has been at the backbone of the preparations for the founding of the revolutionary party. Mandel can rest assured that its launching later this year will only serve to open up a new and even sharper period of struggle against the politics and method which he and his fellow renegades from Trotskyism represent.

CONCLUDED



GERMAN BOSSES LICK THEIR LIPS

The recent visit of Leonid Brezhnev to West Germany was as much to meet the bosses of the big monopolies as it was to discuss politics with Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Brezhnev told them of the Soviet Union's readiness for long-term economic co-operation in the exploitation of natural resources and in the field of fuel and power.

He whetted the appetite of the German monopolists with an outline of the Soviet Union's great potential in timber, electric power, copper and nickel. He suggested 30 to 50 years as a suitable period for long-term co-operation.

German business does not have such a lengthy time horizon; it wants some immediate prospects of making profits. Your trade with us at present is no greater than what we do with Norway, a Krupps man told a disconcerted Brezhnev.

The West German Industrial Institute has also raised some difficult problems arising from joint production projects by West German firms operating in the Soviet Union. In particular, it wants to know what will be the consequence of the different forms of property in the two countries.

What it presumably wants to know is whether foreign capitalists will be able to have an ownership stake in industries set up in the Soviet Union.

It also wants assurances about the transfer of profits, taxation, customs regulations and state guarantees for particular projects. In other words, the industrialists want assured profits without risks and intend to drive a hard bargain, if necessary breaking through

Soviet foreign trade monopoly.

A series of contracts has already been concluded. The electrical giants, Siemens and AEG are to construct six nuclear power stations in the Soviet Union, in return for which it is to supply West Germany with enriched uranium.

About 30 West German firms will be supplying machinery, equipment and tools for the giant Kama truck works. The firm of Konde is to design three plants to be built in the Soviet Union to manufacture concrete pipes and reinforced concrete structures for house-building. The firm of Ferro-Leukophosphit is working with a Soviet institute on a new metal-reduction process.

Krupps are to investigate the possibility of joint development of Siberian mineral resources in which American and Japanese enterprises are already interested.

The bureaucracy is opening the way for imperialism to exploit the immense natural resources of the Soviet Union.

It does so on the basis that there are no grounds for the extension of the revolution and that 'socialism in one country' means 'socialism' nowhere else.

The bureaucracy is opening the way for imperialism to exploit the immense natural resources of the Soviet Union. Its 'policy of 'socialism in one country' threatens the very basis of the workers' states and assumes a peaceful division of the world with the capitalists.

German capitalists are obviously licking their lips at the prospects before them; they intend to drive a hard bargain, forcing the bureaucracy to make still further concessions. At the end of the road which the bureaucracy is now treading lays the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.



Brezhnev and West German businessmen on an inspection tour of offices and industrial plant. Above: Brandt with Brezhnev—they discussed particularly the enlargement of trade links between the Soviet Union and West Germany.

London. In announcing that he was going to the Liberals Wilson made clear that it was not because he hadn't been found a safe Labour seat! Asked about the loss of the great man to the Liberals, a Labour Party voice said: 'We hope Mr Jeremy Thorpe and his friends are very happy with their new colleague.'

STARVATION

The other night police in East Dulwich, south London, went to a day nursery after an alarm bell had been triggered. They found a man on the premises. He admitted entering the premises with intent to steal. He had climbed through a toilet window.

In court the next day he told the magistrate: 'My uncle and I are starving and I was hoping to find food.'

* Another chapter is recorded in Heath's 'A Better Tomorrow'.

STRANGE COURSE OF JUSTICE

There is an interesting item in the latest report from the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board. A youth aged 17 and his friend were assaulted in the street by a gang. The assailants were convicted of wounding with intent and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The boy's friend received £2,500 compensation for the loss of an eye.

But the boy himself subsequently was convicted for assaults, including one conviction for assaulting three policemen. And when his case came before the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board it was ruled that although he had been assaulted through no fault of his own, his character since the incident made it inappropriate that he should receive any compensation.

LATIN AMERICA

MYSTERY MAN WAS FROM CIA

Until April 28 Sacha Volman was stationed in the Dominican Republic as the labour adviser of the nickel mining concern known as Falcondo. On that day he was arrested and the Chief of Immigration in person saw that he was placed on a plane leaving for Puerto Rico.

What led to Volman's arrest and deportation? Who is this 'mystery man' whose presence became an embarrassment to the Dominican government?

In World War II Volman worked for the US espionage outfit known as the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. After the war he became a CIA man stationed in the Caribbean.

His special assignment was spying on the labour movement and planting CIA men in it. To this end he set up a body called the International Institute for Labour Research. It was financed with CIA funds through the J. M. Kaplan Foundation whose secretary was Norman Thomas, one-time Socialist Party secretary and presidential candidate in the 1930s.

With the support of AFL-CIO (American TUC) bureaucrats and the co-operation of one Jay Lovestone, once a leader of the Communist Party's right wing, he set up shop in Costa Rica.

There CIA funds were used to establish another high-sounding organization, the Costa Rican Political Education Institute, followed up by a Centre for Social Studies and Documentation which had its headquarters in Mexico.

The exiled Dominican leader, Juan Bosch, was approached by Volman and taught courses for the Political Education Institute. When Bosch ran for president in 1962, Volman went on ahead to set up the campaign.

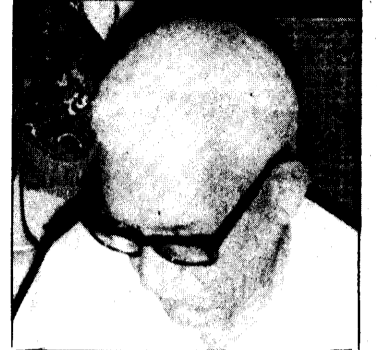
Doubtless Bosch did not know that the affable Volman and his Institute were part of the CIA thrust against the working class movement in Latin America.

In the Dominican Republic, Volman organized a mass peasant movement which contributed to Bosch's election victory. The CIA man then became his closest adviser, this time heading a newly-founded CIA front, the Centre for Social Studies Research.

Shortly before Bosch's overthrow, Volman left the coun-

try, after dissolving the peasant organization and the Centre. Presumably, while pretending to be Bosch's friend, he had prepared the ground for him to be defeated and discredited.

Whatever the truth, Volman turned up again in Santo Domingo after the election of Joaquin Balaguer to the presidency in 1970. He worked for a while as a Planning Officer until he joined the Fal-



Juan Bosch: ex-president

condo mining corporation, nominally as labour adviser.

The Balaguer regime apparently feared that Volman was up to his old tricks and hastily removed him from the scene. But the end of the story remains as mysterious as the personage upon which it centres.

BRAZIL BUYS COFFEE TO SELL

In the 1930s Brazil could not sell its coffee and burnt it instead. This year the world's biggest coffee producer is having to buy it from other producers in order to meet its contracts.

The deficit amounts to between 10 and 12 million bags. The situation arises from government policy to hold back coffee production, the result of a secret agreement between the Brazilian government and the US National Coffee Association.

This organization is controlled by General Foods, which accounts for about 54 per cent of the US coffee market. In Brazil it has joined hands with Nestlé and Tenneco (a subsidiary of Coca-Cola) to monopolize the trade in green coffee.

American coffee purchasers were thus able to buy a substantial part of Brazil's output at a price one third less than the Brazilian domestic price. It gives them a stranglehold over the market for green coffee used for making soluble coffee. It also cuts Brazil out from access to the international market for green coffee.

Many traditional coffee producers have turned their land over to other crops or to pasture.

The government has decreed a big increase in the prices of bean coffee to compensate producers, making coffee a luxury in Brazil.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

HOPE FOR HAPPINESS

Wilson has left the Labour Party and joined the Liberal Party. Not Harold. I mean Des—D. Wilson, the erstwhile leader of Shelter, the national campaign for the homeless. Since leaving Shelter, Wilson has joined the 'Observer' as a sort of Mr Lonely Hearts columnist on behalf of the down-trodden.

A couple of years ago he was very anxious to get a Labour seat and go into politics. He was keenly interested in one or two seats which became vacant in north and west

BOOKS BY TROTSKY

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Corporatist threat to actors in 'approved closed shop'

THE COUNCIL of Equity, the performers' trade union, has recently circulated the membership with a summary of the Commission of Industrial Relations report No 40, recommending an 'approved closed shop' for the union.

This was greeted by council member Richard Briers, a 'progressive' according to the London 'Evening Standard', as a great step forward. Mr Briers makes no secret of his views. His election address—the ballot for the new Council election closes on June 15—is brief and to the point.

'I find all militant political views destructive and dangerous to our kind of union. I am only concerned with the protection of the actor against exploitation and improving his welfare in a highly-competitive and often cruel profession.'

His proposer, Nigel Patrick, is of the same opinion: 'There should be no political involvement in the deliberations and discussion of the Council.'

His seconder, Peter Honri, considers that the majority of members think that the new West End contract 'marks the start of a new era: yet it is still systematically denigrated by our strike-in-breach-of-contract brigade'. He was a member of the negotiating team which accepted from the outset the managers' stipulation that the era in question should be at least five years and that the West End contract, whose conditions include a 48-hour rehearsal week and no right to holidays, should not be renegotiated until 1977.

All three, together with Marius Goring—'In the beginning was our profession . . . We formed our union to help it . . . We joined the TUC to help our union . . . Our loyalties should follow in that order . . .—and others have taken advertising space in the 'Stage' to warn members only to vote for non-political candidates in the elec-

tion. All these candidates support registration and the union's application for an 'approved closed-shop'.

But the CIR's report confirms what the leadership has consistently tried to deny, namely that the 'approved closed-shop' is not a closed-shop at all. It is one in which workers 'shall be, or shall become a member of the union, or—by special exemption—pay an appropriate contribution to an agreed charity'. Moreover only the employer can enforce union membership, and under such conditions that in a vast number of cases the job would have finished before he would have to do so.

It is in the section headed 'Discipline', however, that the corporatist essence of the approved closed-shop emerges. 'Disciplinary sanctions', it says, are not always 'practicable' in the entertainment industry. Sacking actors might involve employers in the costly business of re-filming or re-rehearsing a production.

Until now the union leaders have come to the rescue of employers in this dilemma by carrying out their discipline for them by means of fines or suspension.

'Equity's willingness and ability to discipline its members is a major factor contributing to the stability of the industry.' An approved closed-shop, guaranteeing that all performers—except the 'conscientious objectors' who obviously don't need it—are subject to the union's discipline, is necessary if Equity is to perform this service in the new situation.

It is not, of course, the closed-shop which laid the foundations for 'stability' in the industry. On the contrary a closed-shop was the vital precondition for

all such gains as have been won over the years. 'Stability' was the undertaking given by the leadership in 1935, and included in all contracts ever since, that in return for the right to operate a closed-shop they would not 'impede the course of a production', i.e. call a strike.

The threat to stability in the new situation comes from the crisis of the capitalist system itself, forcing the Tory government to attack the basic democratic rights of trade unionists, to cut their wages, to make them work harder and faster in order that employers can extract more profit from their labour.

Equity members were among the first to feel this crisis in its most direct form—a wage-cut imposed by the government in January this year, and then to see their leaders ignore their decision at a mass meeting to strike, to deregister and to defy the state pay laws.

'Stability' now, therefore, requires much more than a tame reformist leadership. What is needed if the employers are to solve their crisis is a corporate structure in which the union leaders have absolute duties and obligations and the means to impose the employers' requirements on every level and section of the membership; to regulate their conduct, to whip them into line. The 'approved closed-shop' provides a blueprint for this.

The lesson of this report to Equity members is clear, and very much in line with the tasks of the All Trades Unions Alliance conference at Belle Vue. To break the chains which the Tories and their agents in the trade union bureaucracy are seeking to impose on all trade unionists, a new leadership is required. Only a revolutionary leadership can now defend the trade unions.

TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

9.38 Schools. 11.25 Cricket. England v New Zealand. 1.30 Joe. 1.45 News. Weather. 1.55 Mae gen i air! 2.25 Schools. 3.10 Cricket. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Adventurers of Marco Polo. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 Man dog. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.50 TELEVISION TOP OF THE FORM.

7.15 Z CARS. Mother and Child.

8.00 PANORAMA.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'Edward G—Like the Filmstar.' By John Harvey-Flint. With Robert Lang, Anne Reid, Judy Parfitt.

10.40 THE MOVIE QUIZ.

11.10 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.15 MAN IN HIS PLACE. Boom Town. Coventry.

11.40 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 World War I (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Up and down, in and out, roundabout man. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Melody inn. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Jokers wild. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 International lawn tennis. John Player tournament. 4.25 Clapperboard. 4.50 Tomorrow people. 5.20 Thirty minutes Worth. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.40 DAVID NIXON SHOW. Guests Deryck Gaylor, The Black Abbotts.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 MY GOOD WOMAN.

8.30 WORLD IN ACTION.

9.00 HUNTER'S WALK. Local Knowledge.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 THE WILD, WILD WEST. The Night of the Deadly Bubble.

11.30 TENNIS. John Player tournament.

12.15 WORLD WAR I.

12.40 PLAYING AT WAR.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.30 Cricket.

6.40 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

7.05 PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 THIS STORY IS TRUE. An investigation by Don Taylor into the Derbyshire village of Ryam.

8.00 THE HIGH CHAPARRAL. The Brothers Cannon.

8.50 FACE THE MUSIC.

9.25 SHOW OF THE WEEK: THE TWO RONNIES. Ronnie Barker and Ronnie Corbett with guests Alan Price and Georgie Fame.

10.10 DOCUMENTARY: 'The Fight Game.' Is it sport—or war? Boxing.

11.00 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

11.30 OPEN DOOR. Birmingham poets ask where is poetry, what is poetry.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Survival. 6.45 London. 10.33 Stanley Baxter. 11.00 Towards the year 2000. 11.30 London. 12.15 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 11.00 Happiness business. 12.10 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 Dick Van Dyke. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.05 Odd couple. 11.30 London. 12.15 Farm progress. 12.40 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 1.00-2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 The enemy on the beach. 11.30 London. 12.15 Weather.

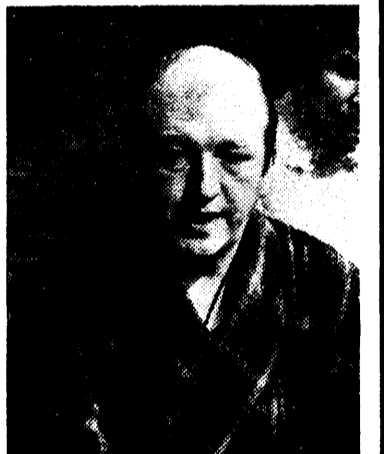
HIV Cymru/Wales as above except: 2.30-3.00 Hamdden. 6.01-6.22 Y dydd. 8.30-9.00 Yr wythnos.

HIV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Gardening. 11.00 Primus. 11.30 London. 12.15 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Man in a suitcase. 11.30 London. 12.15 Epilogue. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Please don't eat the daisies. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.40 Theatre. 11.30 London.



Robert Lang plays Edward in BBC 1's Play for Today at 9.25.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 London. 6.00 Calendar. 11.55 Tennis. 12.40 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 Yoga. 2.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Avengers. 11.30 London.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 4.25 Superman. 4.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoons. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.35 To see ourselves. 11.00 Songs for your delight. 11.30 London.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Strictly Scottish. 6.40 London. 10.30 Romantic v Classical Art. 11.00 University challenge. 12.30 London. 12.15 Meditation.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Monday June 11 (please note date change), 8 p.m. Adeyfield Hall, Queen's Square. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

EAST LONDON: Monday June 11, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E.3. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

BERMONDSEY: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Havelock Arms', Balclava Street. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

CAMDEN: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Trade unions and the revolutionary party'.

DUNDEE: Tuesday June 12, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Constitution Road. 'Forward to the Belle Vue conference'.

HARROW: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall (Small Hall), Masons Avenue, Wealdstone. 'Forward to ATUA conference'.

LEAMINGTON: Tuesday, June 12, 7.30 p.m. The Commonwealth Club, Church Street. 'The Tory government and the trade unions'.

PADDINGTON: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', Harrow Road, corner of Western Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

TOOTING: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

WALTON-ON-THAMES: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. The Kiwi, New Zealand Ave., Walton. 'Building the Revolutionary Party'.

WANDSWORTH: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Foresters', All Farthing Lane. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

ABERDEEN: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. The Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi. 'Forward to the Belle Vue conference'.

HULL (Special meeting of engineers' section): Wednesday, June 13, 8 p.m. 'The Windmill Hotel', Witham.

SLOUGH: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

SALFORD: Wednesday, June 13, 8 p.m. 'Kings Arms', Whit Lane. 'Forward to the ATUA Belle Vue conference'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. 'Crooked Billel', North Circular Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burage Road. 'TUC and Stalinists—supporters of corporatism'.

GLASGOW: Wednesday June 13, 7.30 p.m. Woodside Halls, St George's Cross.

WYTHENSHAW (Manchester): Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. 'Cock o' th' North, Portway. 'Forward to the Belle Vue Conference'.

BASILDON: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'Make the Tories resign. Force a Labour government to carry out socialist policies'.

CROYDON: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

FELTHAM: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', High Street. 'Labour to power, pledged to socialist policies of nationalization of land and property'.

LUTON: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

SHEFFIELD: Thursday June 14, 7.30 p.m. 'The Hallamshire', West Street. 'End talks with the Tories'.

WILLESDEN: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Brent Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, N.W.10. 'Force the Tory government to resign'.

TONBRIDGE: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. 'The Foresters', Quarry Hill. 'Full support for the Belle Vue ATUA conference'.

CENTRAL LONDON: Sunday June 17, 7.15 p.m. Holborn Council Chambers, Holborn Town Hall, 197 High Holborn. 'The case for one big entertainment union.' Chairman Roy Battersby and a panel of speakers from the relevant unions.

ACTON: Monday June 18, 8 p.m. 'Six Bells', High Street, W.3. 'Build the revolutionary party. Defend democratic rights'.

LEWISHAM: Monday June 18, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'TUC must break off Phase Three talks'.

CRAWLEY: Monday June 18, 8 p.m. Council for Social Services Hall, 19 Station Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. A Labour government must nationalize major industries'.

BATTERSEA: Tuesday June 19, 8 p.m. 'Nag's Head', Wandsworth Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

BRIXTON: Tuesday June 19, 8 p.m. Training Centre, Control Room. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 19, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Force the Tories to resign. A Labour government must nationalize major industries'.

CLYDEBANK: Tuesday June 19, 7.30 p.m. Co-op Hall, Hume Street, Clydebank. 'Fight the rent Act. Throw the Tories out.'

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

Barnsley

Given by Gerry Healy
National Secretary
of the
Socialist Labour League

Sunday June 17

The materialist conception of History

Sunday June 24

Dialectical Materialism—a Marxist theory of knowledge.

Sunday July 8

Theory and Practise of Marxism

Sunday July 15

Role of the Revolutionary Party

at

The Red Lion
Worsborough
Near Barnsley

7.30 p.m.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE MEETING

BLACKBURN

'The Peel Hotel'
(Town Centre)

Monday June 25, 8 p.m.
(Please note date change)

'Build the Revolutionary Party'

NEWSDESK

01-720 2000

CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

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. Newsdesk: 01-720 2000. Circulation: 01-622 7029.

Lobby poses key to grants fight

BY DAVID MAUDE

THE NATIONAL Union of Students' special grants conference, held in London at the weekend declared 'totally unsatisfactory' the Tories' recent announcement of a £20 increase in grants next year. 800 delegates, from colleges and universities all over the country, decided to continue the campaign for further increases to help students meet the cost of inflation.

In opposition to the predominantly right wing and Stalinist leadership of the union, the conference decided to continue, over the summer vacation if possible, the rent strikes which have been employed in some colleges against the high and rising cost of student accommodation.

But a move to force the NUS executive to accept responsibility for lack of progress in the grants campaign, and to make the majority of executive members resign, was heavily defeated.

Efforts to commit the executive to 'a week of action and explanation', involving occupations, strikes and leafleting of factory gates for support, were lost by about five to one.

A bid to provide the grants campaign with a political perspective—action alongside the labour movement to force the Tories to resign—also failed.

Yet the removal of the Tories and their replacement by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, was the key issue facing the conference.

An impressive lobby of delegates, organized by Young Socialist Student Societies in colleges in most areas of the country, insisted that without such a perspective there could be no defeat of the Heath government's bid to make the working-class pay for capitalism's crisis.

By the end of the day, some of the platform party were openly encouraging a reactionary, anti-political clique in their efforts to howl down or ridicule speakers who stressed the fight to kick out the Tories.

Outgoing president and Communist Party member Digby Jacks' keynote speech to the conference was an extremely half-hearted defence of the politics of protest to and pressure on the Tories.

The £20, he said, was 'totally inadequate'. In order to meet the consequences of inflation students needed at least another £70 a year. What was more, the government had to be forced 'to take a decision' on the issue they had ignored in their March 15 announcement—local authorities' powers to make smaller, discretionary awards to non-university students.

Delegates rebuffed an attempt to obtain blanket endorsement for the executive's line by refusing to vote immediately on its report assessing perspectives.

Narrow vote to return at Harland and Wolff yard

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN BELFAST

OVER 2,000 Belfast boilermakers return to work at the Harland and Wolff shipyard today still determined, after a ten-week dispute, to fight for justice on pay and conditions.

Immediately after their vote on Saturday to go back, convenor Sandy Scott warned: 'The mood is extremely bitter. Ulster workers have a long memory. We will be proved right. Justice has still to be done in the yard.'

Mr Scott and the strike committee opposed Boilermakers' Society president Danny McGarvey when he told a mass meeting on Saturday to return to work

on terms dictated by the Tory government's Pay Board.

But after a long harangue McGarvey won the day. His 'victory', however, was less than satisfactory. With under half the boilermakers voting the majority to return to work was small: 566 in favour to 360 against.

Terms of the settlement include:

- The Tory £1 plus 4 per cent pay award, plus a 63p bonus (instead of the £3.50 increase in bonus demanded by the men).
- A lump sum of £20.90 compensation for accepting dilutees.
- A further £50 lump sum award, for loss of produc-

tivity through management redevelopment plans. The union is opposing this and taking the issue to court.

Another point of fierce controversy is the productivity strings attached to the return. McGarvey maintains that concessions like time-study, Methods-Time Measurement, job-evaluation and compulsory night-shift working have not been accepted because a key clause, Clause 1, was dropped from the agreement.

But shop stewards pointed out that Clause 4 contained even more specific pledges on these issues. They say they will not accept an agreement on this basis.

The Harland and Wolff dispute, which involved the

backbone of Belfast's Protestant Working class, has been one of the most decisive industrial struggles in Ulster since the war.

It has shattered the illusion that in Tory Britain Protestant workers in Ulster will be given wage parity with their English and Scottish counterparts—a concession hinted at in the Tory White Paper on Northern Ireland.

It has proved that the government is as ruthless towards Protestant workers as to Catholic—the Harland and Wolff men were kicked onto the dole and denied Social Security.

Finally it has established again that workers can only keep their rights and conditions by fighting to kick out the Tory government and build a trade union leadership prepared to do this.

'Great bitterness' says leading steward



Convenor Sandy Scott

SANDY SCOTT, boilermakers' convenor, commented yesterday:

Like other British workers we have been trapped by the Pay Board. The other trap is the failure of Hoppe [yard chief Ivor Hoppe] to honour agreements with the men.

This is a source of great bitterness, and it will be remembered for a long, long time.

Ulster workers have memories that go back to 1690, and we won't forget this one easily.

We feel we have acted as honourable people, and fought for what we thought was right.

But it was hardship and suffering that drove us back in the end.

One cannot be but disappointed with the attitude of the union leadership. If they had taken a forthright stand on this issue it would have enormously strengthened the men, but this was not forthcoming.

Bobby Johnson, a leading steward, commented on the decision not to pay the boilermakers social security.

It was the management and Hoppe who precipitated this

dispute by putting men on to the streets.

The company should also be required to suffer for the decision. Social Security is raised by the nation, not for the exclusive benefit of the employers.

Trade unionists and politicians everywhere should be alerted to this misuse of public funds.

We can see that similar tactics will be used elsewhere after this example. It has already started in England at places like Perkins Diesel, where the men are being treated in the same ruthless manner.

JUNE FUND REACHES £176.50

WE ARE now getting close towards halfway through the month. We therefore need to give our Fund a boost as it has begun to lag behind.

Of course, we realize, dear readers, that you are going all out to complete the first stage of our Party Development Fund. It is a magnificent effort. But we must keep our June Fund in sight.

The developments in the car industry, the constant rising prices—in fact every aspect of this capitalist crisis—are driving thousands of workers into action against the Tory government.

Workers Press is needed more than ever to provide a political lead for this fight. So let's go into action right away. Don't waste a moment in the campaign to raise this month's Fund. Give something more if you can. Post all your donations to:

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

BERNADETTE McALISKEY — formerly Devlin—claimed in a letter to William Whitelaw at the weekend that British troops offered a man £800 for information to help the army 'get' a Republican candidate in Ulster's local elections.

Proper surveys would have saved miners

BY IAN YEATS

says NUM leader

THE LIVES of seven men at Lofthouse colliery could have been saved if Coal Board officials had heeded danger signs at the face and carried out a proper geological survey.

The tragedy could have been avoided, Mr Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire president of the National Union of Mineworkers, said at the weekend at the end of the eight-day inquiry at Wakefield.

The crux of the matter, he said, was that the National Coal Board had changed their system of research in 1967.

Until then the Institute of Geological Science at Leeds had undertaken a specialized and thorough examination of conditions in the region of all new developments.

'I have failed completely to obtain any satisfactory answer for the change,' Mr Scargill said yesterday.

He accused Coal Board

officials of misreading and misinterpreting references in the Victorian historian A. H. Green's field notebooks and in Tillson and White's journal.

In his final submission to the inquiry Mr Scargill submitted that there may have been a breach of section 75 of the Coal Mines Act which places a duty on owners and managers to seek all possible information on the proximity of old shafts and water bearing strata.

He said it was clear that all those responsible for giving the go-ahead to the death face S9B had relied on the information given them by the senior surveyor, but had A. H. Green's notes been made available 'every one of the signatories would have taken a very different view of the project'.

In addition to their failure to search for and examine professionally all available evidence concerning old workings in the vicinity of S9B, Mr Scargill accused the Board's officials of ignoring persistent warnings

from men at the face about abnormal conditions.

He said: 'For example, we are told by a number of witnesses of a very foul smell, similar to rotten eggs, being present on the face for some weeks before the incident. We know that this information regarding the smell was reported to the deputy and the overman.'

'We know that the under-manager, the manager and the planning and surveying staff also knew of this peculiar smell. This I suggest was something which should have caused not only concern, but an intensive investigation as to its cause.'

Earlier the inquiry had been told of the appearance of water on the face two or three weeks before the inrush of water which killed the seven miners.

He said: 'Why was no action taken, in view of the evidence available, the rumours that were circulating and the apparent apprehension on the part of the men working in the district? Why was no test boring undertaken on south 9B unit?'

Although inadequate planning was the cause of the disaster, Mr Scargill said in his 25-point submission that the telephone system in the division was poor and that proper emergency notices showing alternative routes out of the face were not posted.

He called for monthly inspections in areas where old shafts are known to exist and aerial surveys to help locate them. All old shafts should be treated with suspicion he said.

He called for a systematic exploratory boring programme to probe the ground ahead of coal faces and a specialist team should be set up to investigate old shafts and test bore them to prove their depth.

Mine water should be analysed to determine its source and abnormal water conditions should be investigated immediately.

The inquiry has now ended and its findings are expected to be made known in about six weeks.

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference: To discuss defence of democratic rights

BELLE VUE

Kings Hall: Belle Vue Zoo Park: Manchester—Sunday July 1: 3 p.m.—9 p.m.

Special showing of the Pageant film 'THE ROAD TO WORKERS POWER' and songs and scenes from history

Tickets £1: Available from R. Smith, 60 Wellington Street West, Salford 7, Manchester.