

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 13, 1972 ● No. 945 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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The circular reproduces the union policy decided at the last national conference which urges the leadership to 'develop a mass campaign at district and national level, including strike action if necessary, to defeat the Industrial Relations Act.'

It attacks the right wing which argues that the £55,000 penalty arising out of the Goad case should be paid to the Industrial Relations Court.

This argument, it says, 'ignores the most important principle of the trade union movement in general—and our own rule book in particular—namely that inviolate right of branches, subject to the approval of executive council, to

accept or reject applications for membership of the union'.

It warns against people spreading confusion in the ranks by persuading members to break the democratic policy of the union.

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It ends with an appeal to officials and members to take

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In BIRMINGHAM shop stewards

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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Apart from helping to isolate the Sudbury CAV workers the right wingers violate the principles of trade unionism.

Instead of fighting for the rights outlined in the AUEW circular, they prefer to run to the Tories and deliver their organization to the corporate state under which no worker or union will have the right to take independent action.

These men line up with the extreme right of the TUC, represented by Victor Feather, who on Monday made it clear he was ready to make his peace with the government if they made 'major changes' to the Industrial Relations Act.

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It is the principles of men like Goad the Tories and the NIRC want to establish in the trade union movement. Yet so far there has been complete silence from other union leaders over the battle the AUEW is facing.

Jack Jones' the so-called left-wing leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union has done nothing despite the fact that thousands of his members work alongside the engineers in industry. Jones and his executive were responsible for the historic retreat before the court when they collapsed in the face of a £50,000 fine.

ON FRIDAY the engineers will face the attempt by commissioners to seize funds or property if the fine is not paid. By then, however, many more workers may have come out on strike to defend their basic rights.

Workers everywhere must mobilize behind the engineers now. If £55,000 is taken from this union it will be a blow to the whole working class.

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President Thieu

## 'Peace' illusion hides new war moves

PRESIDENT Nguyen Van Thieu told the South Vietnam National Assembly yesterday the war in the south would continue. He maintained his stand against any US-North Vietnamese peace accord.

Thieu's speech was a further exposure of the fraudulent peace propaganda being churned out by the Americans and the Stalinists.

While the United States spins out the Paris talks the Thieu regime is being armed and supplied for a long war with the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam.

At the same time the bombing of the north is being cynically maintained and threats to the 200,000-300,000 political prisoners in Thieu's hands used to bludgeon concessions from the North Vietnamese.

In his speech Thieu proposed a Christmas truce and an exchange of prisoners. The truce period could be used for talks with the communists, he said. The South Vietnam president reiterated his demand for the withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops from the south as a precondition of any agreement.

The Thieu regime has been given ample time to prepare for a possible ceasefire in the south. Teams of Saigon counter-insurgency operatives are roaming the country warning that the death penalty will be rigorously applied to anyone who collaborates with the liberation forces.

Internationally, the Stalinists are peddling the illusion that 'pressure' on Nixon is required to 'force' him to sign an agreement.

In reality the US government has deliberately generated a phoney peace atmosphere in order to prepare the next stage of the counter-revolutionary war in Indo-China.

## MONEY WOR£D

# Big four put up lending rates

THE COST of investment was increased yesterday as the big four banks came into line and raised their lending rates by ½ per cent.

The move follows the decision by the Bank of England to raise its own lending rate. Base rates are expected to stabilize at 8 per cent, making the cost of new investment dearer.

The rate for 'blue-chip' industrial borrowers, big firms like ICI and Shell, is likely to go up to around 8½ per cent while individual customers will be paying between 9½ to 11½ per cent on overdrafts.

The higher cost of borrowing is in line with the attempt

to restrict the money supply and curb inflation, as well as to stop any speculative pressure against the £. But it conflicts directly with the promise of the Tory government to increase investment by 5 per cent during 1973.

CBI chiefs have warned that this rate of growth will turn out to be unrealistic because most existing investment is fed by inflation and deflationary policies will wipe this out.

Real investment is down 14 per cent in the first three

quarters of this year, and though the Bank of England bulletin notes there is an apparent increase in business confidence, it points out that such indications have turned out to be misleading in the past.

One other contradiction has been caused by the government's projected Budget deficit of £2,933m. This represents an enormous injection into the monetary supply and has forced these counter-measures on the Bank of England and the clearing banks.

## Students out

MOROCCAN students were forced out of Rabat university yesterday after the campus was surrounded by Moroccan troops and police in the early hours. No explanation was given to the 1,500 students.

The expulsion, from the New Mohammed V university campus, followed a similar dawn raid when 1,000 girl students were ordered out of their dormitories at the old campus, central Rabat.

Both campus areas were still surrounded by troops yesterday as the Moroccan National Students' Union ended a 72-hour strike. It was launched after troops broke up a demonstration last Friday by secondary school teachers and students outside the Education Ministry building in Rabat.

# Brandt faced with pay

# strike wave



German metalworkers at a giant Stuttgart rally during last year's strike.

UNIONS representing West Germany's railwaymen and public service workers yesterday joined the country's 4 million metal workers in demanding wage increases of about 11 per cent.

The 1.4 million members of the public service union range from bus drivers to postmen and dustmen, and the railway union represents about 430,000 workers.

The metal workers' union, IG Metall, announced its claim for an 11-per-cent wage increase last week and has since rejected as unrealistic an employers' offer of a 5.8 per cent increase.

The Federal Interior Minister, who negotiates with the public service workers, is expected to take a similar tough line to that of the metal employers. Less than a week ago five economic professors warned the government that the settlement reached with the public service workers would set the pace for a whole list of wage talks next year.

The public servants' claim is for increases of between 8 per cent and 14 per cent. According to the Federal Statistical Office, the cost of living increased by 0.5 per cent between October and November.

The annual rise in the cost of living is currently running at 6.4 per cent. The re-election of the Brandt government with an increased majority is a sign of growing militancy in the German working class, which voted solidly for the Social-Democrats.

Faced with mounting inflation, his government will try to place the burden of the problems of West German capitalism on the backs of the working class. But the workers are interpreting the election result as a sign of their strength against the employers.

# Bureaucracy's medals won't hide Stalin's crime against minority

TO MARK the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the Kremlin has awarded the 'October Revolution' decoration to the Chechen-Ingush nation of the Caucasus.

The order is awarded collectively to the 750,000 Chechen-Ingush people for helping to rout Nazi invasion forces in World War II. It is a crude attempt to whitewash Stalin's crimes against this nation.

In March 1944, on Stalin's orders, the Chechen-Ingush were accused of collaborating with the Nazis and deported en masse to the depths of Soviet Asia. There they were held in appalling conditions by the GPU until after Stalin's death. Thousands died.

The Chechen-Ingush were only one of a number of national minorities deported by Stalin, some of whom have been partially 'rehabilitated'. Others, like the Crimean Tartars, are

still barred from returning to their homelands, which have been 'Russified' by settlers from outside the area.

The Stalinists, who proclaim the 'success' of Soviet nationality policy, pass over in silence these criminal actions of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

'Pravda', for example, declares that the Chechen-Ingush have left poverty and backwardness behind and are achieving great successes with unbreakable friendship for the Soviet people.

# Day-to-day tactics weaken

# Paris dustmen's strike

BY JUAN GARCIA

COMMUNIST Party and Socialist Party members and left-Radicals who sit on the Paris Council have demanded that the Prefect begins negotiations with striking dustmen.

Although they condemned property speculation, which is rife in Paris, and called for more money to be devoted to collecting refuse and cleaning up Paris, they made no demand for the withdrawal of troops who are breaking the week-old strike.

Similarly the CGT leadership of the strike merely registered a feeble protest against the use of troops and called for negotiations to be resumed.



Marchais... Shared banker's platform.

Their weakness and vacillation are the explanation for the way the strike is being conducted.

There has yet to be a call for an all-out indefinite strike and support from other sections of the Paris working class.

Mass meetings of 2,000 strikers have been held

every day to decide on one-day extensions of the strike, given the lack of progress in negotiations.

This day-to-day approach is deliberately aimed at breaking the workers' militancy and forcing a return to work at the first sign of a concession.

Many of the dustmen are immigrant workers on temporary work-contracts and risk expulsion from France for struggling against their obligatory 55-hour week for a wage of £22.

The circles which the French CP leaders are cultivating in their broad electoral campaign are far removed from the vicious exploitation of immigrant workers.

CP general secretary Georges Marchais shared the platform at a recent

mass rally of the Union of the Left with the radical banker, Jean Filippi.

Filippi is president of the Louis-Dreyfus Bank, as well as a director of France-Investment and the European Mortgage Bank.

During the Nazi occupation, Filippi was general secretary for Economic Affairs in Pétain's collaborationist government.

● In an interview on radio Europe on Monday evening, Marchais said of Pompidou's visit to the USSR planned for January:

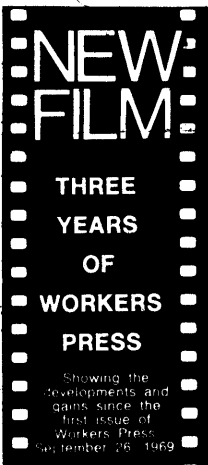
'We are in no way disturbed by this visit, we have always been in favour of co-operation with the USSR, politically, economically... when it's in our mutual interest, naturally.'

Socialist Labour League

## CELEBRATE

3RD ANNIVERSARY OF WORKERS PRESS

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



### GLASGOW

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 2 p.m. Woodside Halls St George's Cross

Speakers: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)

JOHN BARRIE (YS national committee)

WILLIE DOCHERTY (chairman Paisley Tenants' Action Committee. In personal capacity.)

### BIRMINGHAM

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 7 p.m. Assembly Hall Digbeth Civic Hall

Speakers: G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)

WILLIE AITKIN (YS national committee)

PETER SMITH (Rover shop steward. In personal capacity.) CORIN REDGRAVE (Equity. In a personal capacity.)

# Rent rebel: Labour Party stabbed us in the back

THE LABOUR leaders have now made it absolutely clear they will not back Labour councils fighting the Tory Housing Finance Act.

MEMBERS of the home policy committee are: Frank Allaun, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Tom Bradley, John Chalmers, Barbara Castle, Andrew Cunningham, Joe Gormley, Judith Hart, Denis Healey, Lena Jeger, Joan Lester, Ian Mikardo, Fred Mulley, Walter Padley, Shirley Williams, Renee Short. Ex-officio members are Bill Simpson, James Callaghan, Harold Wilson and Edward Short.

A meeting of the key home policy committee of the National Executive on Monday night decided it could not commit a future Labour govern-

By Our Housing Correspondent

ment to reimburse those councillors who might be surcharged for not putting rents up.

This treacherous decision completely reverses Labour Party policy adopted at the annual conference in October.

The day after Frank Allaun proposed a motion committing a future Labour government to nothing, rank-and-file delegates reversed that deci-

sion. A motion was passed calling on the Labour leaders to repay councillors fined or surcharged.

This latest betrayal of the national leadership comes at the end of a complete refusal at all times to back those councils—few as they are—who refuse to implement the Tory legislation.

Clay Cross, Derbyshire, council leader Arthur Wellon

yesterday condemned the home policy committee's decision:

'From what I can see they were arguing that conference did not commit them to anything. They said it was because we were being surcharged under the Local Government Act 1933 and not the Housing Finance Act 1972 which the motion referred to.

'But this is ridiculous and makes things a damn sight harder for us. It's a stab in the back for us.'

## Lanark county council to implement Act

LANARK county council, the second largest housing authority in Scotland defying the Tory Housing Finance Act has capitulated to the government and will implement rent increases.

The decision on Monday night was taken by a 23 to 22 vote

in the housing committee. On a previous occasion, the committee had voted 28 to 15, with five abstentions, not to implement.

Rents will now rise throughout Lanarkshire by 75p a week from next March.

The collapse at Lanark leaves the other big authority—Glasgow

—in a precarious position. Last week they voted to continue non-implementation by 53 to 48.

Glasgow leader, Cllr Richard Dynes said yesterday Lanark's decision could change that majority. 'This absolutely puts us out on a limb. We are now left with the smaller burghs,' he said.

## Fighting the Tories' rent Act

### Camden defies default order

BY PHILIP WADE

CAMDEN Labour council in north London is now certain to face a Housing Commissioner or a special audit of their accounts. The Tory government could also stop payment of £3m housing subsidies due at the end of this month.

Council officials say if this happens they would have to resort to enormous short-term borrowing, involving high interest rates. Such money would have to be balanced by a rate increase amounting to something like 25p in the pound.

Monday night's decision not to comply with a government default order and continue defying the 'fair rents' Act was made by a 28 to 24 majority.

At least nine Labourites voted with the Conservatives who tried to move implementation of the Housing Finance Act.

The default order issued at the end of last month gave Camden council 16 days to implement 85p rent increases for their 21,000 council tenants.

Now that there is no chance of that happening, the Tory government can have no alternative but to impose the penalties contained in the Act.

A Housing Commissioner can be appointed to assume the council's rent control functions, as has happened in Wales. Or an extraordinary audit with a view to surcharge can be made, as in the case of Clay Cross, Derbyshire, and Conisborough, Yorkshire, councils.

An audit would leave the Labour councillors opposing implementation liable to a bill of about £175,000.

After the meeting, Cllr Paddy O'Connor told Workers Press: 'This government is indulging in a vicious attack on the working class and we're not going to take part in it.'



## Coal 'bail-out' fraud must not halt miners' pay claim

By David Maude Our Industrial Correspondent

As Lawrence Daly, National Union of Mineworkers' secretary, pointed out at a Press conference on Monday night, the amounts of money involved are in any case far less than the £2,000m robbed from the industry by successive governments since nationalization in order to provide British capitalism with cheap coal.

It is also obvious that with membership of the European Coal and Steel Community just three weeks away the government could scarcely have spent less than it proposes to do.

The Bill's plans for subsidies on coking coal, grants towards stocking costs, maintaining the amount of coal currently burnt at power stations and meeting some of the social costs of pit closures are no more than the European industries have enjoyed for several years.

This was freely admitted on Monday by Derek Ezra, chairman of the National Coal Board. Thus there is no question, as yesterday's 'Morning Star' claimed, of the government being 'compelled to reverse its wrecking policy to a considerable extent'.

The Tories are always prepared to do business when they think there is a chance of undermining the conditions and living standards of the working class.

And there is plenty of evidence that union leaders—under the whip of more unemployment in the industry—are prepared to give them just such a chance in the mines.

In his parliamentary statement on the new Bill on Monday afternoon, Trade and Industry Secretary Peter Walker said that aid on the scale provided for could not be justified without 'effective and sustained efforts by all sides of industry to improve its competitive position, contain costs and re-establish viability'.

He seemed confident he would get it. And at a DTI Press conference later, Industry Minister Tom Boardman made clear that the only obstacle he sees are a few 'dissident voices' in the unions.

Lawrence Daly denied that this means there is a backstage deal between the union leaders, the NCB and the government over the size of the miners' wage claim.

There have only been informal discussions so far, he said. But he stressed that it was the unanimous view of the NUM executive that the industry's total costs would be taken into account during negotiations.

And Joe Crawford, the colliery overmen's leader who is this year's chairman of the TUC, said that because of the Counter-Inflation (Temporary Provisions) Act and the Tories' planned follow-up legislation on pay control, any discussion of the wages issue at present was 'just guess-work'.

Crawford's comment must be indicative of the mood among the right-wing union leaders in the industry on the eve of negotiations on the claim.

These have already been delayed several times—they are now expected to start formally on January 10—and the right wing has consistently maintained that the £5-£7 increases asked for at the NUM conference in July are 'subject to negotiation'.

Thursday's meeting will be a test of whether the 'lefts' and Communist Party members on the union executive go along with this deplorable and reactionary policy.

## BSA £8 lock-out

TECHNICIANS at the Herbert-BSA Edgwick Works, Coventry, claim they have been locked out by the company over their claim for an £8-a-week pay increase.

Members of the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the 150 men involved, have been picketing the gates of the works since last Wednesday afternoon.

The firm's highest offer was £2.40 after the end of the Tory government's pay-control legislation. This was rejected by the men, who imposed work sanctions to force an improvement.

Then, a TASS shop stewards' spokesman told Workers Press, the firm said that anyone carrying out sanctions was in breach of contract.

The threat was that if normal working was not resumed, the workers concerned would be taken off the clock for pay purposes. When one worker was taken off there was a sit-down strike.

Said the TASS spokesman: 'The firm withdrew all of us from the clock at 11 a.m. last Wednesday. This is why we regard it as a lock-out.'

● See TASS man's reinstatement fight, p.11.

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Richard Neville, the editor of 'OZ' and the underground freak that the bourgeois media loves, has issued a call for expatriate Australians to return home.

Why this sudden burst of patriotism from the commune of Notting Hill Gate? Neville believes that the election of the Labour government in Australia spells a new era of social reform and 'permissiveness'. In the closing paragraph of his column in the ultra-Tory Beaverbrook newspaper, the London 'Evening Standard', he says:

'If Whitlam's victory really has opened the door to permissiveness, then some may consider it their duty to go back and put their foot in it.'

Mr Neville is not new to putting his foot in it. Workers Press has previously drawn attention to his eulogies for James Reid, Communist Party leader of the UCS work-in.

He wrote in one of his Tory Press columns: 'I have occasionally been moved by political oratory such as by Jimmy Reid in Glasgow, but he was speaking not to me, but for me.'

In a previous column almost 18 months ago Neville said: 'Gone was the cheap left sectarianism and the dank rear-vision party bureaucracy. No trace of forelock wrenching, inferiority or the mystical belief that some people were born to rule. After 16 weeks . . . they have claimed to have shown not only that they can run an industry as well as the government but better . . .'

'It was difficult not to be swept along by the collective joy of the men and women in the audience. Especially as the crowd roared approval of Reid's closing declaration that it should be the intention of every one of them to make this earth as nearer to paradise as a human ingenuity will allow.'



Richard Neville: says that the election of a Labour government is 'tantamount to revolution.'

The 'paradise on earth' ended in Reid and his Stalinist colleague, James Airlie, signing a divisive deal with the Tory government and Marathon Manufacturing. The deal contains what amounts to a no-strike pledge and destroys traditional craft demarcations.

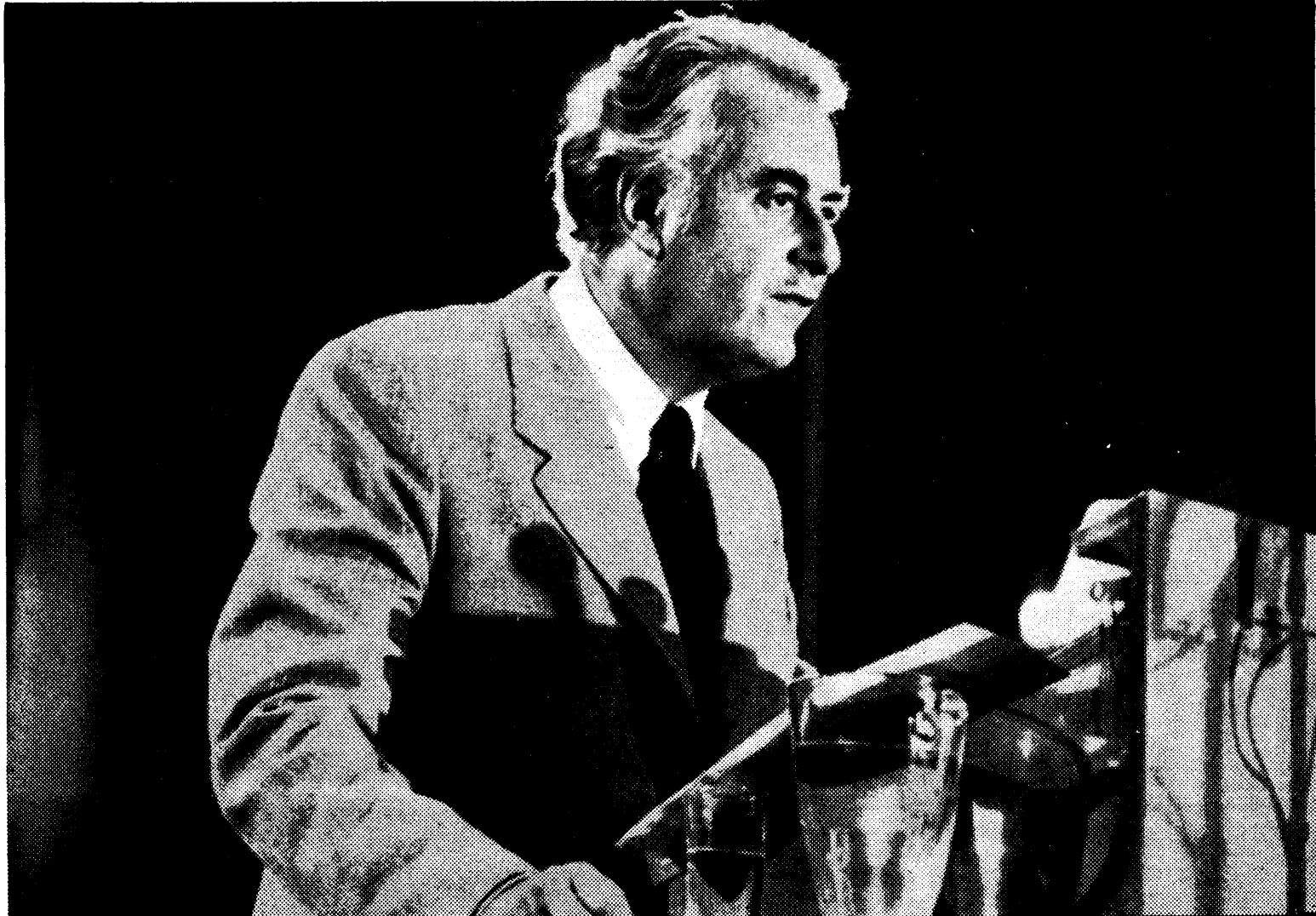
In the process more than 2,000 workers lost their jobs. Two thousand, Mr Neville! 'No trace of forelock wrenching'? Listen to Airlie on the birth of the Govan deal: 'In our opinion they [the Tory government] have lived up to their responsibility for this industry and also for the community as a whole.'

'Regardless of the differences we have had in the past we have to say the government has taken the correct decision and we welcome it and congratulate them.'

The aghast man from 'The Guardian' later said in his article that 'it must be one of the warmest comments ever passed by a communist on a Conservative government.'

The praise was so fulsome that at last year's Communist Party Congress one of the hacks used Neville's 'Evening Standard' remarks to boost morale!

# RICHARD NEVILLE: HOW FAR CAN A DROP-OUT DROP?



Neville's latest pin-up, Gough Whitlam, who is drawing up real plans for a showdown with the Australian working class.

Mr Neville has been busy since then. He's been to the Democratic Party convention in Miami where he enthused about the radical drift in US politics.

His latest pin-up is Gough Whitlam whose politics are about as radical as Roy Jenkins' and just as pompously middle class.

Not so, according to Mr Neville: 'In the context of the Australian political scene, this change of government represents something more than democracy's triennial list-posting of new house prefects. It is tantamount to revolution.' (Our emphasis.)

On what does he base this astonishing analysis? Within days of taking office Whitlam embarked on these assaults on capital:

- In line with decisions already taken by the Tory regimes in Britain, the US, and Japan, Whitlam is sending an ambassador to Peking.

- He has made Lionel Murphy, a Queen's Counsel, the new Attorney-General. Neville reports that Murphy was 'last heard of distributing leaflets outside local cinemas arguing the case against censorship'.

- Whitlam has endorsed the principle of abortion on demand.

- Mrs Whitlam is credited with forming a Women's Lib group. Neville reports that a 'scholarly friend' told him that Mrs Whitlam was 'possibly the most interesting and active wife of any politician in the world'.

Well, now, isn't that absolutely amazing. Isn't that a fighting charter for socialism!

Neville says it 'sounds like a communiqué from the Black Panthers.' (Our emphasis.)

Neville is talking utter political rubbish. He hasn't got

two thoughts of any substance to rub together.

He has built a spurious reputation for being 'progressive' and yet he has stumbled from one political misfortune to the next.

The former public schoolboy who comes from one of Sydney's wealthy, upper-class families was telling us only a couple of years ago that the 'in' thing was 'play power'. This was a new political development which rested on the thesis that if individuals played together and with each other more regularly they could somehow become liberated.

This inspired philosophy appears to have given way to old-style, fuddy duddy social democracy. Neville now asks his friends to stop playing with each other and pack themselves in boats to Down Under to join in the 'socialist revolution'.

His suggestion could be laughed out of court if it wasn't so serious. Neville's column is read and believed by people who are not fully acquainted with the real political developments in Australia as they reflect the international situation. And when he's talking about the Labour government, he's talking about the future of the working class.

We don't think these are questions which should be left to hippy careerists. They must be dealt with seriously and emphatically. In recent weeks there has been a world-wide movement to social democratic parties: West Germany, Holland, New Zealand, Australia and even a left swing in Japan.

This is a reflection of the rapidly-maturing economic crisis. This is a massive de-

monstration of opposition to the bourgeoisie and its plan to resolve the crisis at the expense of the working class and its standard of living.

Does this now mean that the social-democratic governments in these countries will come to the aid of the working class with the introduction of socialist policies?

Of course not! This is the hour of the greatest treachery of the social democrats. They are parties and leaderships which are bound hand and foot to capital and they will serve it implicitly.

Whitlam has not suggested one item of economic policy which could be remotely described as socialist. He is throwing scraps to the frustrated middle-class and the opportunist sections in the working class. Behind this carefully-gauged propaganda exercise Whitlam and his close friends in big business are drawing up the real plans for Australia: a showdown with the working class.

He inherits a country which is facing huge economic problems: unemployment, the effects of the world currency instability, the increasing trade war, inflation and rising prices.

There is poverty, slum housing and a deteriorating health and education system.

Not a word from Whitlam on these issues—but his wife is big on Women's Lib!

The working class in Australia makes none of the conclusions of Mr Neville. It sees the election of Labour after 23 years as a kick in the teeth for the employing class—which it is. Strengthened by this victory it comes forward with demands on the new government.

Within days of the election there were widespread strikes. Oil tanker drivers threatened a national strike unless they received a 100 per cent wage rise and a 35-hour week and more than 1,200 domestic airline pilots voted for a country-wide stoppage for a 35-per-cent increase.

Almost in the same breath the country's 32,000 building workers decided to down tools in support of two jailed union officials. They were imprisoned in Adelaide, South Australia, on contempt of court charges.

If Neville was in Australia he would no doubt be joining in the chorus of near-hysterical, reactionary demands by the Tory Press for 'industrial harmony'—a favourite concept of Jimmy Reid's.

In his 'Evening Standard' piece, Neville refers to the 'gifted leadership' of the trade unions. It is this same 'gifted leadership' under Bob Hawke, general secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) which is demanding that everyone go back to work at once.

We have caught Mr Neville precisely where we want him—in the camp of the bourgeoisie, tied to the coat-tails of reformism.

For all his shrill cries about being 'the alternative voice' and the spokesman for 'counter culture', Mr Neville is what he is: a part-time subscriber to the Tory Press and television. He's one of them. So much for the Labour 'revolution' described by Mr Neville. In the week following the election, prices on the stock exchanges 'rose'. This would indicate that the Australian ruling class does not fear imminent expropriation!

# THE GERM WAR GOES ON

On October 18, 1971, US President Nixon flew to Fort Detrick, Maryland, and announced that the biological warfare facilities there would be converted into a cancer research unit.

Just over a year later the US army is still conducting what it describes as 'defensive' biological warfare research at Fort Detrick. The US Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID) occupies a massive modern concrete building there and its annual budget has jumped 50 per cent to \$6.1 billion.

Indeed, according to a recent article in 'New Scientist', research in the United States on all types of lethal chemical weapons has nearly doubled in the three years since Nixon first publicly disavowed their use.

The President originally promised to 'destroy existing stocks of bacteriological weapons' and the White House still talks about 'dismantling biological warfare facilities'.

But, says the 'New Scientist', 'it is now clear that the phrases are being interpreted as narrowly as possible'.

The huge germ-breeding plant at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, for example, has been sealed-off—but not dismantled.

And the United States forces still maintain stockpiles of lethal nerve gas doses at military bases around the world.

A statement released recently by Senator Mike Gravel revealed that spending on lethal chemicals has jumped from \$4.3m to \$8m in just over two years.

While the US is continuing

its chemical and biological warfare research it is also avoiding international agreements on chemical and biological warfare.

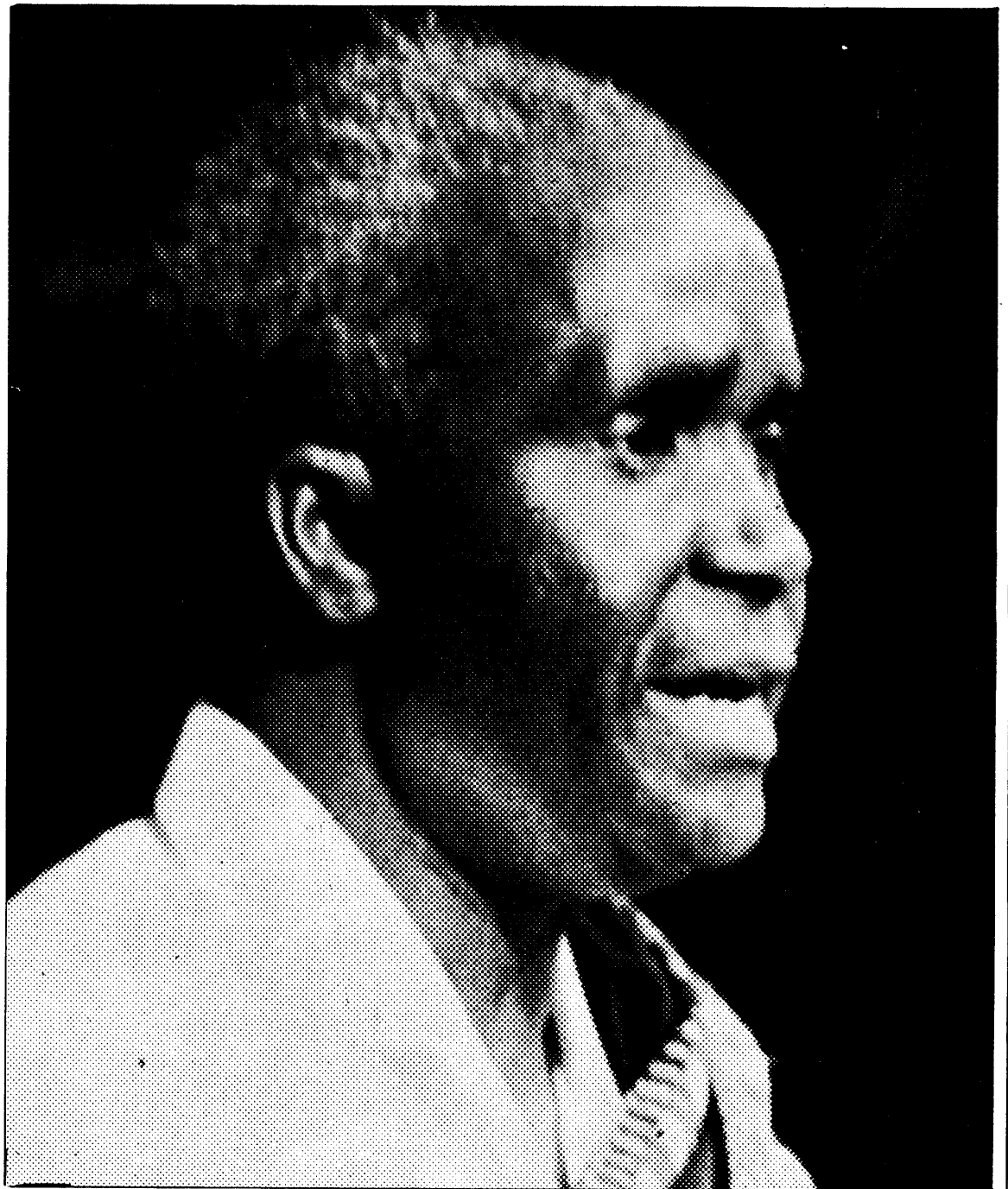
Just how useless these agreements are is shown by the fact that when the US—after a delay of some 15 years—finally placed before the Senate the 1952 Geneva Protocol prohibiting first use of 'asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases', Nixon calmly announced that it did not apply to herbicides and riot control gases.

This was made even more ludicrous this year when the United Nations' Conference Committee on Disarmament approved a ban on the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons. Ninety nations, including the United States, signed the convention to this effect. The Americans then declared that it did not apply to 'defensive' research and the maintenance of production facilities.

This is extremely convenient because—as 'New Scientist' points out—to devise a defence against a potential germ warfare agent it is necessary to know how to produce, stabilize and disseminate it. So the Americans simply devise new agents . . . in order to know how to defend themselves against them!

Meanwhile the US army continues to instruct military personnel from other countries in the techniques of chemical warfare at its Fort McClellan Chemical Centre and School. Army spokesmen say there is no contradiction between this and President Nixon's frequent public utterances about abandoning research and production in this field.

Below: Stockpiles of nerve gas artillery shells at an army plant in Indiana.



## KAUNDA MOVES TO A ONE-PARTY STATE

BY TOM KEMP

**Independence in Africa almost always signalled a drift towards a one-party state controlled by a tiny clique, themselves well into the pocket of imperialism.**

Zambia, led by Kenneth Kaunda, the darling of the British Fabians, is no exception.

Under the guise of 'democratizing the state institutions' Kaunda recently pushed legislation through parliament which outlaws all opposition and institutes a regime suitable to the big British, South African and European monopolies that rule the country.

The 17-strong opposition walked out of the parliamentary house in Lusaka after standing orders had been suspended to allow the second and third reading of the Bill to be taken in the same day.

Commented one oppositionist: 'They did not want to listen to us there. This is the only way we can register our protest.'

The legislation, called the Constitution Amendment Bill, follows Kaunda's ban on the main opposition party, the United Progressive Party and the arrest of 123 leaders.

Under the constitution 'mark two' Kaunda retains all his powers and will be allowed to stand for an unlimited number of terms.

The National Assembly will be increased in membership, but nearly half of the additional seats will be controlled directly by the President—he will appoint the deputies and the Speaker. The Prime Minister will also be appointed

by Kaunda to handle government administration, and a Secretary General will be Party administrator.

Kaunda got quite ecstatic over the new Zambia. He recently told a rally: 'Zambia within the next ten years—if you and I maintain peace, stability and love—is going to be a paradise on earth.'

Despite the new proposals, which he calls 'participatory democracy', Kaunda will find his hopes hard to realize. The root of the country's crisis lies in the economy and particularly its dependence on copper and the world price of copper, now at a record low.

A staggering 95 per cent of Zambian exports are in copper and the economy depends on the commodity. The rest of enterprise is jointly controlled by big monopolies like Unilever, Barclays and Standard Bank, Fiat and the Italian consortium ENI.

The government's share in industry was part of the much-vaunted 'nationalization' plan. In fact Kaunda paid for any part taken over and has made it clear that the enterprises will be run on strictly capitalist lines.

The drive towards dictatorial powers has therefore continued apace with a growing militancy among the working class and students who have discovered that independence does not equal liberation.

Kaunda banned the African National Congress Party in February 1970. When this bourgeois opposition re-emerged as the UPP, he acted again, made it illegal and eventually arrested its organizers, including the UPP leader, and Kaunda's old

Above: Kaunda who has brought in anti-strike laws and legislation to eliminate opposition in parliament.

school friend, Simon Kapwepwe.

However a much more serious threat has come from the working class.

Kaunda has introduced his own version of the Industrial Relations Act to make unofficial strikes illegal (needless to say the leaders of the unions are clients of the president, and perhaps even more hostile than he to the rebellious rank and file).

Says Kaunda: 'While all strikes are not prohibited in Zambia, union leaders must ensure that good industrial relations exist without resorting to strikes.'

An example of the kind of thing Kaunda was talking about occurred in April when strikes flared on the copper belt over appalling safety conditions which led to the death of a miner.

Then men were told they would be disciplined under the new regulations, that is, their ring-leaders would be sacked if they did not immediately call off the strike.

Kaunda's Labour Minister, Wilson Chakulya, made an emergency speech on the issue: 'It is all very well having constitutional rights under which a group of workers is entitled to strike for a just cause, but when they abuse that privilege, they don't deserve to have it.'

With these kind of statements and the new proposals it would seem the Zambian ruling clique has very little to learn from the British Tories.



## TROUBLE IN UKRAINE

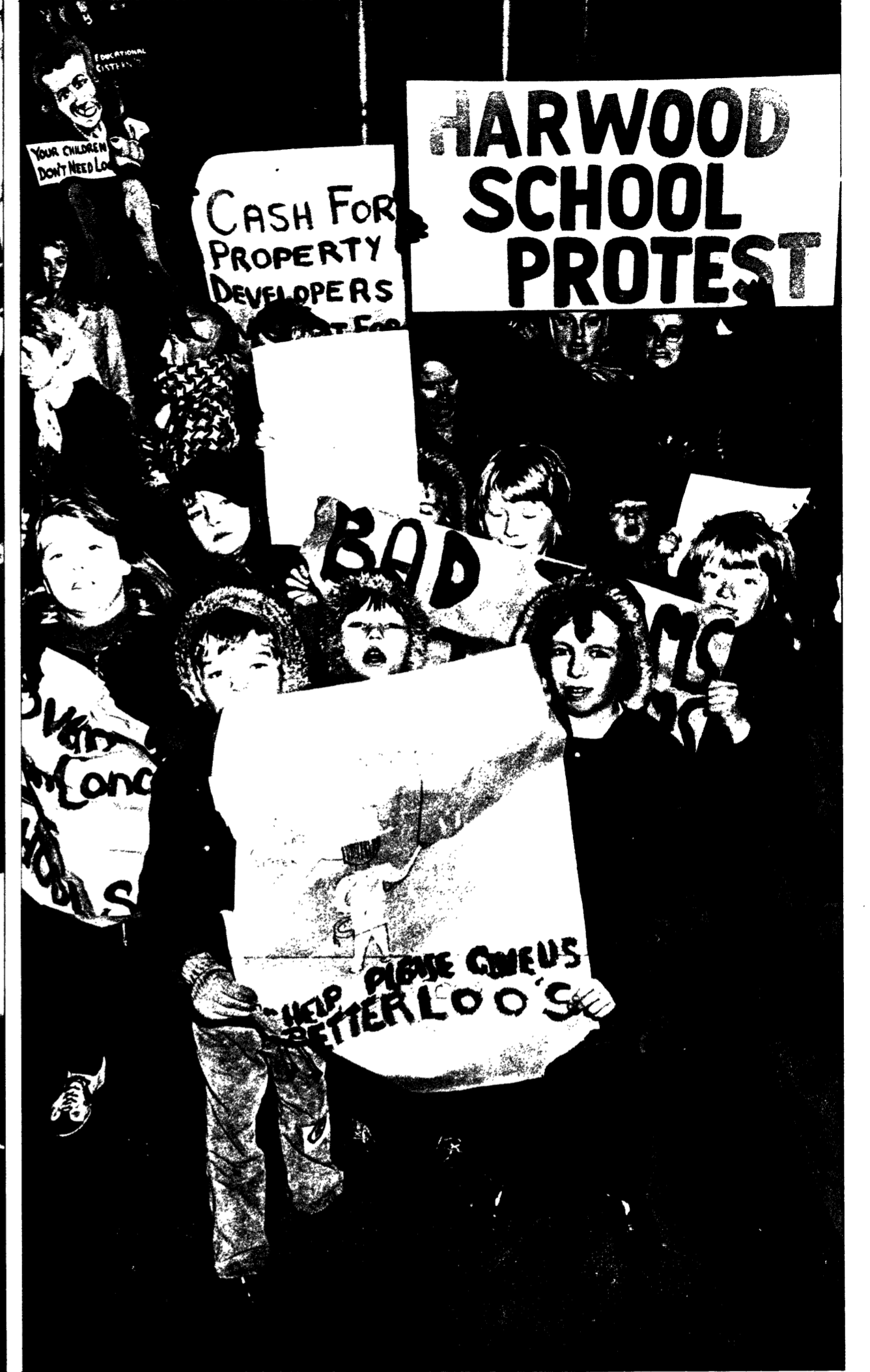
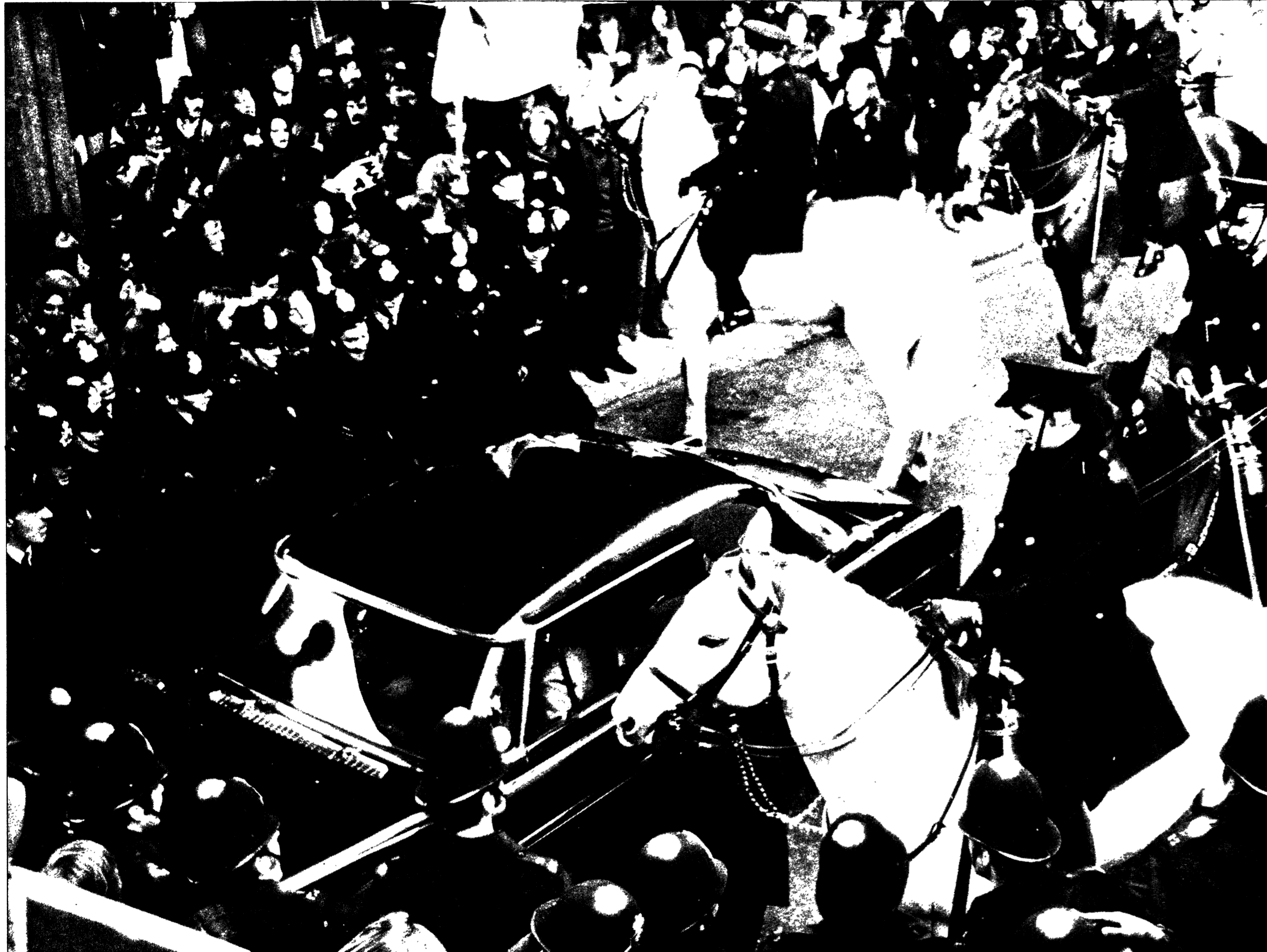
Important shortcomings in Ukrainian industry are pointed out in a recent editorial in the Kiev paper, 'Radyanska Ukrayina'.

Criticism is directed particularly against the heavy industry of the region, much of which is working well below capacity. Over 30 blast furnaces and some open hearth furnaces and rolling mills have not yet reached the planned level of output. A number of coal mines are also working below capacity.

Technical shortcomings

have been revealed in the course of the construction of new plant. Designers and mechanical engineers are blamed for most of the shortcomings.

The paper calls for greater control by the ministries over the designing of new projects. It does not see that the shortcomings of which it complains are inseparable from the rule of bureaucracy, which is not subject to any control and is responsible for gigantic errors and mismanagement which afflict the whole Soviet economy.



# THATCHER PLAN EXPOSED

BY JACK GALE PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTIN MAYER

Despite the ballyhoo about the provision of nursery schools, the Tory government's White Paper on education provides for no overall increase in real expenditure over the next ten years.

Indeed, given present inflationary trends, real expenditure is likely to be less—particularly as the paper declares: 'Unit costs cannot be allowed to go on rising.'

What is planned is a redistribution of educational expenditure in such a way that higher education will be slashed.

This will be done in the following ways:

(1) Expenditure on higher education will increase at a rate of 5 per cent compared with 6.5 per cent over the last decade.

(2) The previously projected figure of 316,000 full-time students in universities by 1977 is reduced to 306,000.

(3) Earlier proposals to have 835,000 students in higher education in 1981 have been slashed to 750,000.

(4) According to Laurie Sapper, general secretary of the Association of University Teachers, the target set for university places will fall short of the demand by some 75,000 to 100,000. This is a direct reversal of the 1963 recommendation of the Robbins Report that places should enlarge in proportion to the number of pupils emerging from the schools with standard qualifications.

(5) The proportion of university post-graduate students will be cut from 19 per cent to 17 per cent.

(6) Students will be pressurized to live at home—thus saving expenditure on student accommodation.

(7) Despite the much-vaunted expansion of polytechnics, the number of students actually in

teacher-training will be halved.

(8) Universities are to receive fewer resources in proportion to their students than they have in the recent past.

The government has imposed a cut in the grant for each student in the coming years.

(It is significant that, in the allocation of finance outlined in the White Paper, there is no provision for increased teachers' pay.)

In the light of these facts, the new Diploma in Higher Education (DipHE) is simply higher education on the cheap—as, indeed, the National Union of Students has already pointed out.

Clearly what is planned is a reduction in the rate of growth of university student numbers, accompanied by an even larger cut in the rate of growth of expenditure on universities.

This is in line with the reactionary educational views

of people like Kingsley Amies, who would preserve universities for a privileged élite.

Amies—along with Rhodes Boyson, Robert Conquest, R. R. Pedley, Richard Lynn, Cyril Burt and others—belongs to the 'Black Paper Group'. This organization fights to end comprehensive schools, retain the 11-plus and strict examinations at all levels, increase discipline in schools by such methods as corporal punishment and restrict entrance to higher education.

The Black Paper Group adheres to the views of H. J. Eysenck, who claims that certain population groups are genetically inferior to others.

These people will welcome the cuts in higher education. But there is a danger that some teachers may welcome the White Paper because of its provisions for increased expenditure on nursery schools, in the mistaken view that the bad bits can be measured off against the 'good'.

Nursery education, of course, is extremely valuable. But there is no possibility whatever that the Tories are concerned with the welfare of

working-class children. A government which is busy throwing thousands of workers on to the dole, hacking at their trade union rights and forcing up the cost of living is hardly going to concern itself with the fate of their children.

Since taking office Education Secretary Mrs Margaret Thatcher has taken school milk away from young children, forced school meals up to a price which many low-paid workers cannot afford, ignored requests from teachers' organizations to replace rotting school buildings and now undermined higher education.

Why should she have 'seen the light' on nursery education? Neither she nor her Tory colleagues have done any such thing. The British bourgeoisie has always geared its educational provisions to its requirements as employers.

The very first public education act—Fosters' Act of 1870—was a response to growing competition to British industry from Europe and America and the need for literate workers as production became more complex.

Working-class children whose value-producing abilities will be high, but who are cut off from higher education.

This working class—the Tories hope—will be kept in line by mass unemployment and corporatist measures against its unions.

The universities will be centres for research financed by and appropriated by industrial monopolies. Educationally, they will be the preserves of the children of the ruling class and selected 'brighter' representatives of the working and middle classes who will serve capitalism in specialized ways—lawyers, administrators, scientists, etc.

The only way to secure a real education for the children of the working class is by fighting to get rid of the Tory government. A Labour government, pledged to socialist policies, would have placed upon it demands from workers' organizations to nationalize, without compensation, all the means of production, distribution and exchange and to use such resources to carry through a genuine reconstruction of education.

Above: Mothers and children protest Mrs Thatcher's axing of grants used for small repairs to buildings, toilets and washing facilities in schools.

The emphasis on technical education in the early years of this century was a further response to the same developments. When capitalism entered slump conditions—in 1931 and the ensuing years—education was one of the first things to suffer, under the notorious Geddes Act.

The 1944 Act, which introduced the 11-plus and the 'secondary education for all' fraud, was a concession to working-class demands for social change and better opportunities for their children.

The expansion of higher education throughout western Europe and America in the 1960s was a panic reaction to the Russian success in putting the first man into space in 1961.

The 1972 White Paper is in the same tradition. By concentrating resources at the lower end of the age-scale and reducing expenditure higher up, the Tories intend to produce a large mass of 'effi-



School children lobby parliament to protest against the policies of the Tory Education Minister, known as 'Milk-snatcher Thatcher'. Above left: Mrs Thatcher arrives, under heavy police guard, at South Bank Polytechnic.

# RENEGADES IN ACTION— THE IMG

## PART FOUR

Following the articles 'Renegades from Trotskyism' dealing with the situation in Ceylon, JACK GALE now examines the British section of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, The International Marxist Group (IMG).

In a letter sent in July 1970 to the Socialist Workers' Party in America (see yesterday's Workers Press), the International Marxist Group in Britain accused its leaders with sending agents over to form a tendency in order to strengthen the SWP's minority support in the Unified Secretariat.

Alan Harris is regarded as being a leader of this tendency whose bookshop is a cover for the minority and a means of sending in resources to assist it.

Jordan and his friends sought to put a stop to this by instructing Harris to merge his concern—Leader Books—with the IMG's Red Books. But Harris would have none of it, and neither would the SWP. In fact, the collaboration became, if anything, even closer.

In September, 1970, Jordan was writing to the SWP complaining that the Americans' Pathfinder Books had made a 'big loan' to Alan Harris in the form of books (p. 13). The IMG clearly considered that the 'loan' was, in fact, an investment in the minority tendency.

The previous month Harris had written to the United Secretariat setting out his own case. The letter (pp. 11-12):

London, August 22, 1970

To the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Dear Ernest,

The National Committee of the IMG at its July 25/26 meeting passed the following motion: . . . that this NS censures Comrade A. Harris for his unilateral action re Leader Books and requests the US to investigate the matter immediately . . .

I wish to make a formal protest to the US that such a resolution was passed against me and in my absence.

I was not invited to attend the relevant part of the NC meeting in order to state why such a motion should not be passed. Nor was I informed that any such motion was to be considered by the NC.

To pass a motion of censure, behind the back of the comrade concerned, is a violation of the democratic norms of our movement. The more so when that comrade is known to hold a minority view on a number of questions.

Further, the manner in which I was informed of the NC decision makes the matter even more shocking.

I formally learned that the NC had passed a motion of censure against me on August

12 when the Letter to Members were distributed to the London branch and when Leader Books was placed on the branch agenda at the request of the branch executive committee.

I do not accept the motion of censure against me because I deny that by setting up Leader Books I have in any way acted against the principles and spirit of democratic centralism. If the majority of the NC think that I have violated democratic centralism, serious enough to warrant a motion of censure then they are duty bound to proceed with charges against me.

I therefore request that the question of my censure by the NC of the IMG be put on the agenda of the next meeting of the Unified Secretariat.

with revolutionary greetings,  
Alan Harris  
c.c. Pat Jordan



Following this letter, the minority tendency in the IMG and its allies in the SWP moved into action.

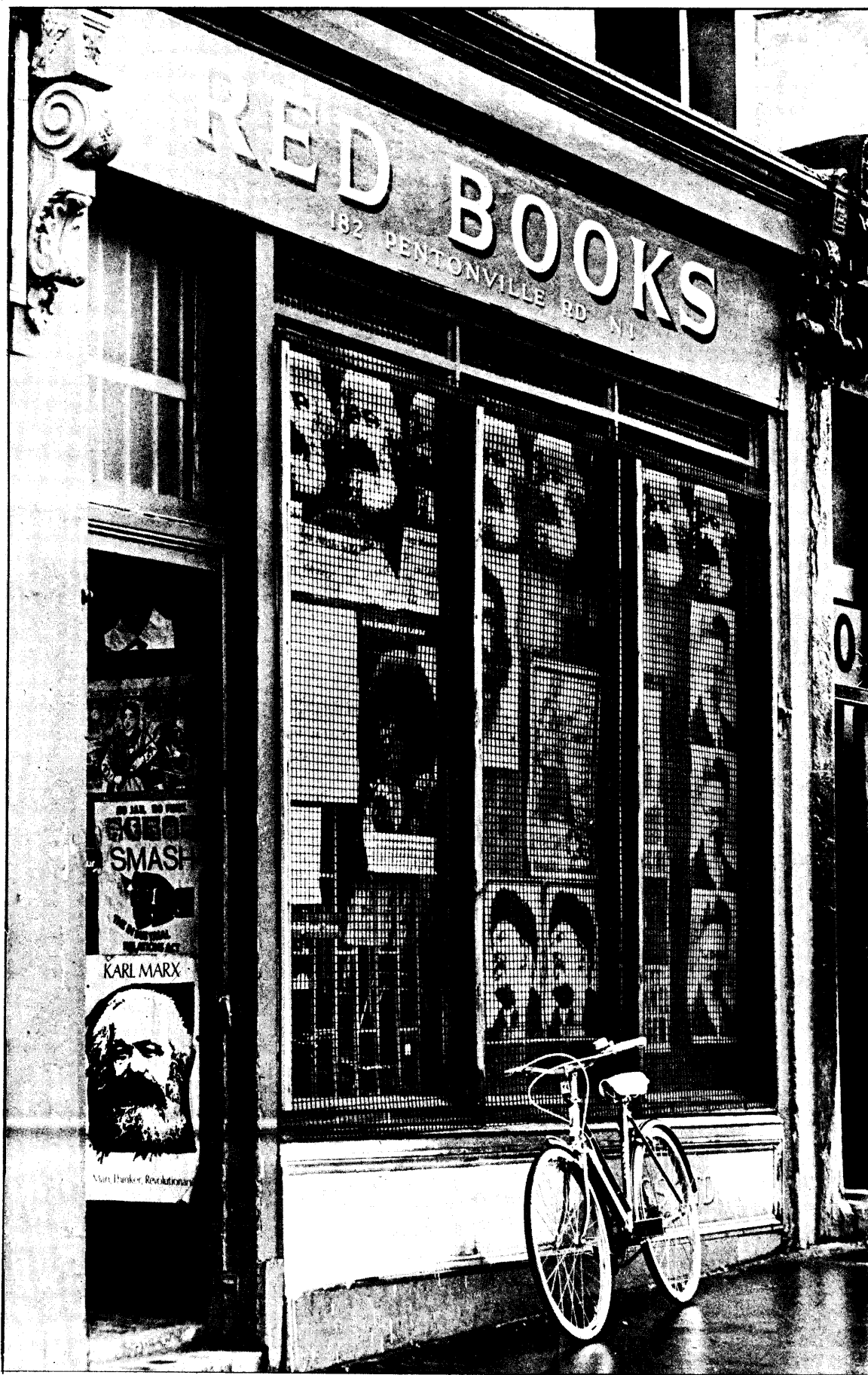
In July, 1970, four members of the IMG's National Committee submitted a letter to that body completely condemning it and supporting the SWP. They wrote:

Statement to the Political Committee on the letter to the SWP Political Bureau dated July 31, 1970.

Since the content of the letter to the Political Committee of the SWP is as yet for the information of the NC members, the tendency has not met to discuss this letter although large parts of it directly concern the tendency and serious allegations are made against it.

Four members of the tendency, three who are full members of the NC and the other an alternate member, protest most strongly against the contents of the letter sent to the Political Committee of the SWP. In our opinion it is a scandalous letter—full of unsubstantiated allegations, untruths and irrelevancies—and can only be motivated by dead-end factionalism.

Under the pretext of writing the SWP on the question of



The IMG bookshop, 'Red Books' in Pentonville Road. Jordan instructed Harris to merge his concern—Leader Books—with the IMG's bookstore. Left: Joseph Hansen, leading member of the SWP.

the sale of Trotskyist literature in Britain, an outrageous attack has been made on the tendency in a manner which is quite alien to the democratic norms of the Trotskyist movement.

The method of substituting slanders for political polemics is not a new one and the Fourth International has a long tradition and an exemplary record of struggle against this method.

The majority leadership of the IMG will only be able to come to grips with the political problems confronting the IMG by ensuring that a democratic and non-factional atmosphere prevails throughout the IMG so that the political ideas can be discussed in an objective manner.

We ask, what is the purpose of such irrelevancies as to how S. Williams cast her vote at the last world congress; whether some members of the tendency have been members of another section at some time or another or have even played a role in the formation of the tendency?

Is the purpose of these irrelevancies to create a feeling that comrades joining the IMG with previous membership in another section are 'foreigners' whose loyalty to the IMG and the FI is in question? We doubt this can be the purpose because there are of course, many members of the IMG who have previously been members of other sections and who support the majority. The

purpose of these irrelevancies can only be an attempt to create an atmosphere wherein the loyalty of minority members is in question.

Such methods do not guarantee a democratic and non-factional atmosphere in which to discuss the political questions facing us in the IMG.

For our part we welcome comrades who join the IMG with experiences and previous membership in other sections of our international movement, and certainly do not question the loyalty of such comrades to the IMG regardless of whether they support the majority or minority positions. According to the letter, the tendency . . . is widely considered to be in solidarity with the SWP's criticisms of the majority position in the International.'

We do not know the basis of such a statement. The political programme of the tendency is no secret. It is documented, for everyone to read, in the tendency statements and documents written in the pre-conference discussion bulletins of the 1970 conference of the IMG. As yet, the tendency has not discussed the international questions, but if it should do so, and if it did support the minority positions, so what? Would this be a disloyal act or a violation of democratic centralism? Does loyalty demand support for majority positions?

The letter states that . . .

this tendency will become even more isolated the more it appears to be trying to circumvent the democratic norms of the IMG.' What does this mean? The tendency is either circumventing the democratic norms of the IMG or it isn't. If it is, then the leadership has the responsibility to lay charges and substantiate them. Otherwise it must refrain from making such wild and unsubstantiated allegations. The leadership must conduct itself in such a manner that it is clearly seen to be the defender and guarantor of minority rights.

As stated at the last NC meeting, Leader Books has not been set up by the tendency. It is not a political centre for the tendency and any suggestion that another section is materially aiding the tendency in order for it to have its own political centre is too serious an allegation to be raised in the irresponsible manner that it has and is another form of the 'Paris gold' myth.

The letter should therefore be withdrawn and a further letter sent to the Political Committee of the SWP to inform it of the motion passed by the majority NC and referred to the Unified Secretariat for action.

Huff  
Sands  
Scott  
Williams

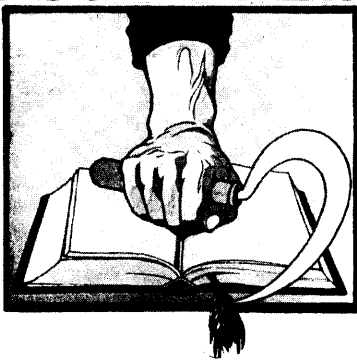
August 23, 1970

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## BOOK REVIEW



'Rosa Luxemburg'. By P. Frölich. Pluto Press. £1.50.

### THE HERITAGE OF ROSA LUXEMBURG

The great merit of Paul Frölich's biography of Rosa Luxemburg, first published in English in 1940, was to rescue her from the obscurity into which she had been plunged by the Stalinists.

Despite the ritual respects which it was customary to pay on ceremonial occasions, everything was done to conceal the real legacy of Rosa Luxemburg.

The resources of the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow were never used to produce editions of her writings. Hack propagandists and learned scribes vied with each other in the Stalinist Press to temper their mealy-mouthed tributes with insistent references to her 'mistakes'.

Rosa Luxemburg's life remains an inspiration and her theoretical contribution to Marxism is invaluable. That she made mistakes needs no emphasis; to build a political tendency on her weaknesses has been a characteristic trait of centrism, which Paul Frölich himself represented.

At least with Frölich himself this trait had definite limits and it does not invalidate his biography—which still remains the best introduction to Rosa's life and work.

With the latter-day centrists, including the German writer of the postscript and the anti-communist state capitalist Tony Cliff, who writes the preface, it reaches malignant proportions.

Beneath the profuse tributes the cloven hoof is clearly visible. Cliff has already attempted to appropriate the heritage of Luxemburg in his own book. He now tries to do so through Frölich's.

While not expecting that a preface to a book of this kind would emphasize Luxemburg's weaknesses, she is not well served either by those who use her in order to belittle the contribution of other Marxists which is clearly Cliff's intention.

He asserts that she had a much clearer idea of the role of the labour bureaucracy than Lenin or Trotsky and claims that her writings on this subject 'are a more valuable contribution to the struggle to liberate the workers from the pernicious ideology of bourgeois reformism than those of any other Marxist'. Why? Because Luxemburg insisted on 'the initiative of the workers' (spontaneity?).

Closer to Lenin than many of her so-called followers believe, she did not have a 'theory of spontaneity' which left out the role of the party. In fact, Rosa always insisted on the role of the party; her misgivings concerned principally what she understood by Lenin's conception of the party.

Unhappily Rosa Luxemburg was unable to break the



strangle-hold of the bureaucracy of the German Social Democracy, although she was certainly more aware of it than Lenin. And it could not be broken, any more than the stranglehold of the Stalinist or reformist bureaucracies can be broken today, by the initiative of the workers alone.

Once again, Cliff, on behalf of his International Socialist tendency, has made an entirely illegitimate attempt to appropriate the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg with which it has nothing in common.

His desire to elevate Luxemburg at Lenin's expense is intended to substitute the instinct of the masses for consciousness and Lenin's insistence on the struggle for theory as inseparable from the building of the revolutionary party. In fact, Luxemburg's own practice, as well as her theory, were much closer to Lenin's and Trotsky's than they are to the despicable Cliff's.

She was not only a tireless fighter and campaigner for the cause of revolutionary socialism, but she stands among the leading contributors to Marxist theory in the 20th century. Fortunately today her works are far more accessible than they were when Frölich's book was first published.

In addition, the mammoth biography by Peter Nettl, while politically opposed to the principles for which Rosa Luxemburg fought, contains a wealth of material not available to Frölich, who wrote this book as an exile from Hitler Germany.

Frölich provides what still remains an excellent introduction to Rosa's life and work. She stood on the firm basis of Marxist internationalism, utterly opposed to the self-satisfied bureaucrats who had come to dominate the parties of the Second International and who were to betray the working class in 1914.

Born in that part of Poland which belonged to the Tsarist Empire, Rosa Luxemburg's first important work was a study of the development of capitalism in Poland. Feeling stifled by the provincialism of Polish politics in the conditions of the autocracy, she became a German citizen as a result of a marriage of convenience. Most of her political life was spent in the German Social Democratic Party.

Throughout her life, however, she retained her connection with both the Polish and Russian movements. On the former she left an enduring mark which the Stalinists tried to eradicate by the liquidation of the Polish Communist Party leaders in the 1930s.

When the Revolution of 1905 broke out in Russia, she felt immediately that she

should join the combatants and soon found herself in a Tsarist prison.

In Germany she took up the cudgels against Bernstein's revision of Marxism in a way which none of the 'orthodox' theorists of the Kautsky type were able to do. She made an imperishable contribution to theory, notably with her pamphlet 'Social Reform or Revolution'.

This is a swingeing attack on all theories of the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism. Not surprisingly the Stalinists do not encourage their supporters to read it.

As a party journalist Rosa Luxemburg produced a series of brilliant writings which contrasted with the routine stuff with which the journals of the Social Democracy were filled, even before 1914. She was always in touch with life and the living movement.

As a speaker she was in demand throughout Germany and she was a thorn in the flesh of the reformists in the party and the trade unions at the conferences and congresses of the time.

As a Marxist scholar, she made a close study of Marx's 'Capital' and developed her own analysis of developments in capitalism based upon the schemas of the second volume which has been a perennial source of controversy in the Marxist movement. Even if she was wrong, she raised problems which the bureaucracy then and now wish to avoid: questions of capitalist collapse and revolution which are anathema to revisionists and reformists.

Above all an internationalist, sometimes to the extent of ignoring the power of nationality, she never believed that the Revolution in Russia could survive without its extension on an international scale.

Despite poor health and her physical frailty, Rosa Luxemburg never spared herself. Imprisoned by the Kaiser's government during World War I, she flung herself into the struggle for the German revolution as soon as she was released. By the work which led to the formation of the Spartacus League she had prepared the way for the foundation of a new revolutionary party in Germany which actually took place at the very end of 1918.

Opposed to the ultra-left trends which were strong in the young German Communist Party, she was caught up in the events of January 1919 and, together with her comrade Karl Liebknecht, was hunted down and murdered by reactionary officers on the instigation of, and with the approval of, the right-wing Social Democrats now turned open traitor to the working class.

## NO NEWS

General Silvio Correia de Andrade, head of the Department of Federal Police in Brazil, recently circularized all newspaper offices with his Ten Commandments.

These contain the military regime's instructions on how newspapers should censor themselves, thus saving the dictatorship the expense of setting up its own department.

Journalists have been warned that if the Commandments are not adhered to, their papers will be closed and those responsible for the breach of censorship regulations arrested.

The Ten Commandments are:

1. It is obligatory to respect the 1964 revolution. (i.e. the military coup which brought the present dictatorship to power.)
2. It is forbidden to publish news about the affairs of the Church and the consequences of these activities.
3. It is forbidden to write about student affairs.
4. It is forbidden to criticize the Institutional Acts. (i.e. decrees passed by the dictatorship after 1964.)
5. News should only refer to 'accomplished facts'.
6. Dubious, false or vague news must not be published.
7. It is forbidden to publish news about working-class movements.
8. Persons with no political rights must not write about political matters.
9. It is forbidden to mention names of persons who have been deprived of political rights, even when referring to social or academic events such as baptisms, banquets or handing of diplomas.
10. The arrest of persons who have lost their political rights may be reported only if the fact is confirmed by the responsible authorities.

Doesn't leave much to report, does it?

## ART CRITIC

A monument to Nikita Khrushchev, once the all-powerful boss of the Soviet Union, is nearing completion. Ironically, it is the work of the sculptor Ernst Neizvestny whose abstract paintings the irascible Khrushchev violently attacked when he visited an art exhibition in December 1962.

'What use are they?' he exploded. 'Are they for covering chamber pots? Why do we waste money supporting you? Are you normal or homosexuals. All this is not worth a kopek. It's rubbish, it's anti-Soviet, it's immoral. One would think it had been painted with the tail of a donkey.'

With these words Khrushchev achieved world-wide fame as an art critic. Later, after his fall, he and the artist became reconciled. The monument was commissioned by his family and is orthodox in style.

Below: Nikita Khrushchev



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# 24 applications for five radio stations High pressure grab for 'old steam radio'

FLEET STREET Press barons are expected to carve up the first commercial radio licences. When tenders closed this week, a total of 24 applications had been made for the licences to run the first five commercial stations.

BY  
ALEX  
MITCHELL

The Independent Broadcasting Authority has five applications for the most lucrative licence for the London area.

The keenest bidder is a consortium called Greater London Radio. It includes Lord Thomson's Times Newspapers, 'The Guardian', the 'Daily Mirror' group, United Newspapers, owners of a string of northern newspapers, the Rank Organization and Lord Shawcross's Thames Television. (Apart from being chairman of Thames, Lord Shawcross is also a director of 'The Times'.)

Chairman of the consortium is Sir Con O'Neill, a former top-ranking diplomat in Bonn. Deputy chairman is Mr C. D. Hamilton, editor-in-chief of 'The Times' group.

During his Foreign Office career O'Neill was head of the news department and he also worked for a short time with 'The Times' where he was deputy European news editor and editorial writer.

He left the Foreign Office in some bitterness when he failed to get the senior ambassadorial post in Paris.

The other London applications are from: Lord Rothermere's Associated Newspapers, publishers of the 'Daily Mail' and the 'Evening News'; Trident Television, the holding company of Yorkshire Television and Tyne-Tees TV; London Broadcasting, a group headed by Sir Charles Trinder, chairman of the Australind Steam Shipping Company; John Bentley of Barclay Securities, the man described as the country's 'No 1 asset-stripper'.

The unanswered question is—Where is Rupert Murdoch, the Australian newspaper millionaire? Since storming into Britain less than five years ago Murdoch has built a considerable newspaper empire in Fleet Street. He has bought the 'Sun' and the 'News of the World' and this year grabbed a slice of the non-voting stock of the Beaverbrook group, publishers of the 'Daily Express'.

He also moved into London Weekend Television last year. As Murdoch is clearly following the pattern he set in Australia of buying into all branches of the commercial media, it seems obvious that he would want a piece of the radio action. But because his newspapers are frowned upon by the Establishment for their triviality and vulgarity, Murdoch is likely to have chosen a 'front man' for his radio ambitions.

An Independent Broadcasting Authority spokesman said four applications had been made for the general stations in Birmingham and Glasgow.

The applications to run the Birmingham station come from Radio Birmingham; Birmingham Independent Radio; a consortium including the Birmingham Post and Mail Ltd and a group headed by former city council leader, Ald Sir Francis Griffin, a Tory.

The stations, set up under the Tories' Sound Broadcasting Act, are expected to be in operation in a year's time.

## Pouring trouble on oiled waters

THE COST of production and transport facilities to utilize the North Sea oil and gas fields would be enormous, a London conference of oil specialists heard yesterday.

George Williams, general manager of Shell UK Exploration, said that the North Sea oil search would soon cost £150m a year. This summer 13 drilling units operated off Britain and by next year there might be 25.

One exploration might cost anything between £500,000 and £2m.

Williams said nine drilling units had been built in Britain, but now there was not one under construction. Of the 11 offshore drilling companies in operation none was British.

The figure of £250,000 a mile

TWO MPs, Paudge Brennan and Desmond Foley, have been expelled from the Irish Republic's government on the repressive Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act 13 days ago. The two MPs lost the parliamentary party whip last year because of differences with the government, and have since been sitting on the independent benches in the Dail. A special meeting of Fianna Fail on Monday night decided to expel them for 'conduct unbecoming members of the party'.

for the pipeline installed in the southern part of the North Sea would be dwarfed by the cost of production and transport facilities, he said.

Initially investments of at least £1,000m would be needed.

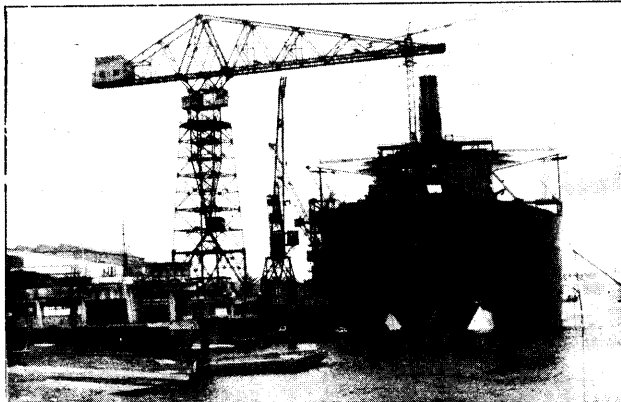
The notion that North Sea gas would solve the balance of payments problem and usher in a second industrial revolution was a myth, said petroleum consultant Dr Frank Symon.

Dr Symon said Britain's North Sea gas reserves could not be classed higher than 'a comparatively short-term, but most valuable asset'.

Ted White, director of Petroleum Economics Ltd, said that the investment needed to exploit a given level of production in the North Sea might be as much as ten times greater than that needed in the Middle East.

Orders for Tyne-built ships are falling rapidly

## Fear for jobs at Swan Hunter's shipyards



UNION LEADERS on the Tyne fear that a work rundown in the Swan Hunter shipyards next year could cost many men their jobs.

An emergency committee of the Tyne district committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions will meet this week to discuss the situation. They want urgent talks with the Swan Hunter management.

George Arnold, local confederation chairman, told the Press:

'We would like to meet the companies before Christmas to get exact details of the present work load and see what we can do to help.'

'It is evident that all is not well with the Swan

Hunter order book and gaps will appear in the building programme next year to create unemployment.'

He said the confederation supported the company's plea for government help to the shipbuilding industry.

Despite what some Tory ministers had said, he felt a case could be made out for government incentives to induce owners to place orders.

Arnold misses the point completely. The government is already making loans available to shipowners to help increase the size of their fleets.

More than £90m worth of grants and loans were made available last year. But the shipowners spent most of the money having their ships built outside British yards.

The owners placed their contracts in other countries where unions are not as strong and where wages

and work conditions are not up to the same standard as here.

The Tories have no interest in preserving the traditional British shipbuilding industry. With Common Market entry, they see British shipbuilding being completely undermined by competitors from the Continent and Japan.

They are therefore following a policy of deliberately running down some sections of the industry—e.g. upper Clyde—and increasing production at other, specially selected yards, e.g. Harland and Wolff in Belfast.

There is no future for British shipbuilding while it is in the hands of private owners.

Instead of pleading with the Tories, the unions should be formulating a policy of nationalizing the industry under workers' control and without compensation to the former owners.

## Fight to reinstate TASS man weakens

THE FIGHT to reinstate Les Wreford, leading member of TASS, the technical and supervisory section of the engineers' union, at Herbert Controls, Letchworth, is in grave danger.

TASS members returned to work to allow formal discussions to take place between management, the employers' association and divisional organizer Eric Winterbottom.

In the meantime, Les Wreford was to be temporarily re-employed.

These discussions ended after six days, but there has been no decision to continue the fight for Wreford's reinstatement by union officials.



Les Wreford

Les Wreford commented yesterday: 'Can the official union allow this victimization to be successful? What would the other TASS stewards think about their job security?'

It is understood that if TASS members at Herbert Controls are involved in an official dispute it is probable that the engineering section of the AUEW will be called out in support of TASS members.

## Writings of Leon Trotsky

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# What we think



Victor Feather

## TREACHERY-1

WHILE the engineers are engaged in a historic fight for the defence of their union, they have had the rug pulled from underneath them by the general secretary of the TUC.

Victor Feather has made a statement calling for 'major changes' in the Industrial Relations Act. Not complete repeal of the Act which is Labour Party and TUC policy. Not even his familiar 'put it on ice! Now he wants 'major changes' which would, of course, leave the Act intact and on the statute books.

The Tory Press was quick to see the implications of Feather's statement. The 'Financial Times' said Feather had launched 'a fresh initiative' with the Tory government.

'The Guardian' headlined the story on its front page: 'Feather softens hard line on Act'.

The paper's labour correspondent noted: 'The government would consider that Mr Feather's remarks amount to a change of attitude by the TUC.'

It's the same every time. Whenever the rank and file demonstrates its determination to resist the Tories, Feather rushes off to the Tories to offer more concessions and seek further compromises. He did it after the miners' strike and he did it again after the massive unrest following the jailing of the dockers.

Feather has no mandate whatsoever from the vast majority of trade unionists to seek changes in the Act. The rank and file hate the Act and time and again they have shown complete willingness to fight it.

Even as Feather was making his wretched utterances on Monday, CBI director-general W. O. Campbell Adamson was showing that compromises with the employing class are today not possible.

He announced that the CBI was asking the government to toughen the laws on picketing.

He referred to picketing as 'criminal activity' and asked for amendments to the law to stop these 'criminal acts'.

Far from talking about 'major changes' to make the law 'less anti-union', the employing class is demanding a tightening of the legal noose on all fronts.

Trade unionists from all branches must repudiate Feather's statement. He and other members of the General Council—the men who had game pie and wine at No 10 Downing Street during the tripartite talks—must be told to get off their knees.

Instead of wheeling and dealing with the Tories they should be calling for a political and industrial campaign against the Act and the government which brought it into being.

## TREACHERY-2

IN THE House of Commons on Monday night the Tories brought forward new orders under their Detention of Terrorists (Northern Ireland) Act. The changes mean the establishment of secret courts presided over by 'commissioners'.

Evidence can be given against the accused without his being confronted with it.

When the vote arrived the Labour Party front bench spokesman, Mr Merlyn Rees, begged his colleagues to support the Tories. Don't divide the House on this issue, he said.

In the event, a 'mini-revolt' was staged by 32 Labourites. One of those who voted against the Tory measure was Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary in the Wilson government.

Stewart is a ferocious right-winger. He is a pro-Marketeer (he voted with the Tories for entry in October 1971), he supports the Americans in Vietnam and he supported Wilson's abortive anti-union laws.

Is Mr Stan Orme, the 'Tribune' MP, more right-wing than Stewart? Orme would say that he isn't. He is so 'left' that he is persistently endorsed and quoted in the Communist Party's 'Morning Star'.

Yet in Monday night's vote Orme did not vote with Stewart and the 32 rebels against the fascist-style legislation.

Where was the mighty Orme?



Stan Orme

He abstained! He didn't cast a vote either way. It is now said that he didn't vote because of his 'Front Bench responsibilities on Northern Ireland'.

In other words, Orme seems to be grooming himself for a job in the next Labour government and he doesn't want to be a 'bad boy'. He is currying favour with the Shadow Cabinet, which is dominated by right-wingers.

Orme is sponsored by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. His own union is facing massive fines from one Tory law.

This legal attack on the AUEW in Britain is inseparable from the new detention powers in Northern Ireland.

The working class in both countries must rid itself of the abstainers, those who won't fight against the Tory offensive.

## North London district committee meets

# 'We want all-out action against fine'

AS SHOP STEWARDS from north London went into a meeting called by the AUEW north London district Committee, they made it plain they were for industrial action against the £55,000 fine on the union.



**AMBROSE JONES**, a west London delegate, said: 'This confrontation has been coming for some years and the government will only take notice when we take some action ourselves. As far as I can see they are after the shop stewards here and not the union leadership. This question is the most important issue facing the working class and it is necessary we get support from other unions in the fight.'



**DOUG BALLINS**, shop steward at the Smiths engineering, Cricklewood said: 'I want all-out strike action. That's the only thing that can make any difference. Anything less and the Tories will laugh at it. Next week they may fine us ten times the amount and try to put the union out of business. I think we should stay out until the government gives way or resigns.'



**EARL LONINGER**, an AUEW steward from Islington, said: 'The fine is outrageous, criminal and scandalous. There is a considerable feeling right throughout the union that the Tories are trying to make inroads into established principles so far as the conduct of our own affairs are concerned.' Another steward said: 'This fine will make workers see what this Act is all about—for clobbering the trade unions.'

## Speeding up the unemployed

THE DEPARTMENT of Employment's dual roles in providing work for the unemployed and paying out benefits are to be separated by mid-1974 under new plans announced yesterday.

The plans, detailed in a pamphlet from the Department's Employment Service, called 'Into Action', provide for a £25m budget for reorganization of the service in the coming year. This will be spent primarily on opening 40 Job Centres in 1973-1974 and the progressive rehousing of 80 per cent of the Employment Service in Job Centres by 1976.

Plans for the conversion of all payments of unemployment benefit to postal Giro cheque by 1973 and computerization of the national benefit payment system by the end of 1976 are also laid out.

Biggest changes will come in the employment service. From early 1973 the professional and Executive Recruitment (PER) section of the Employment Ser-

**TORY Ministers** are trying to find a way to make workers and their unions bear the full cost of keeping the workers' families during strikes, Social Services Secretary Sir Keith Joseph admitted yesterday.

vice will operate on a commercial basis.

The service will charge a fee to employers for whom it recruits staff, in the same way as employment agencies do at present. Fees will range from £30 to an employer taking on a £1,000 a year candidate to 8 per cent of the starting salary for employees in the £4,000 a year bracket—a fee of £320 or more.

Then there will be the opening of the new 'Job Centres' similar to the one now operating at Tottenham, north London.

Here the aim is to provide a 'self-service' card display where

'job-seekers' can choose the jobs 'they want'.

The 'Job Centres' will be 'new look' employment agencies. A standard 'Job Centre' logotype in house colours of orange and black will be a normal feature of the office fascia. Furnishings, furniture, vacancy display boards, cards, letterheads, stationery, etc., will also follow standard designs and approved quality, we are told.

With the launching of 'Job Centres'—backed up by Press advertising and other forms of paid publicity—will come the closure of smaller employment offices, particularly in low population areas.

Another new scheme planned is 'computer matching'. The idea is that an employee's particulars are fed into a computer which then would match the individual up to an available job.

## DECEMBER FUND NOW AT £568.56

WE ARE STILL a long way off from our target of £1,750. Let's step up the fight today and make sure we complete our total before Christmas.

Engineers all over the country decided yesterday to take action against the fining of their union. Trade unionists everywhere are more determined than ever to defend their unions against the Tories' legislation.

The movement is growing. Our paper must lead the fight to force this government to resign.

Everything you can raise for Workers Press is vital. Join the struggle and back us up all the way. Collect extra amounts, wherever you can. Make a very special effort. Post all your donations immediately to:

Workers Press December Appeal Fund  
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North London and Lambeth Councils of Action call on tenants, housewives, trade unionists, youth and unemployed.

## Fight rising prices! Make the Tory government resign!

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Meeting:  
Clapham Baths  
Clapham Manor Street  
4 p.m.

March through Wood Green and Tottenham  
Assemble 2 p.m.  
opposite Wood Green Town Hall  
Meeting:  
Downhills Park School  
3 p.m.