

# workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY MAY 31, 1973 ● No 1086 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## The 'third man' ... and all that

# BUCK HOUSE TO THE RESCUE

HOOPER  
APR 30 1974  
INSTITUTION

BY ALEX MITCHELL

**THE BRITISH ruling class has begun a series of blatant manoeuvres to cover up the crisis sweeping every rotten branch of the Establishment.**

The great cover-up extends from the Cabinet room, to the Commons, to the Palace, to Scotland Yard, to Fleet Street and to the City of London. It's as if a mouldy mattress has been turned over and all the bed bugs are scurrying for cover.

The issue is not simply a few snapshots of a Minister's night life. At stake here is the survival of the Heath government and, furthermore, the political authority of the bourgeois system itself.

It is against the background of this political and economic crisis that we can start to understand the deep anxiety and divisions in the ruling class and why each group is trying to cover its own tracks while blaming someone else.

### Be upstanding for the Queen

**THE MOST colossal evidence of the cover-up came yesterday when the Tory scandals disappeared from the front pages of every national daily newspaper.**

What sensational news drove the continuing Lambton-Jellicoe affair into obscurity? Straight from the Royal warren itself, the five-week-old engagement of Princess Anne to the Walls pork pie heir!

We believe this belated announcement is brought forward at a convenient time, to divert attention away from the government scandal (why keep it a secret for five weeks?).

It is also a welcome coincidence for the Royal Family which it is rumoured is connected, through Angus Ogilvy, with the Lonrho affair.

The 'Daily Mirror' picked up this moth-eaten court announcement and splashed it on Pages One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Seven plus the two centre pages. There's nothing like a royal wedding (or funeral) to enthral the middle class and direct its attention towards the permanence and pageantry of the monarchy.

### And what of Lord Diplock?

**IN THE midst of this contrived news, Lord Diplock's Security Commission is undergoing a transformation.**

The original terms of reference were to investigate questions of 'security'. But yesterday's reports show that Diplock has become a chamber of morals. It is going to find a scapegoat that is well away from the Tory government.



LORD LAMBTON

The reports stress that Diplock will inquire into who took the photos of Lambton and 'the motives for taking them'.

In other words, the central issues of the commission are no longer Lambton-Jellicoe and the third man, but are an attack on 'sneak pimps' (Lambton's words) and other minor players in this drama.

### Finding scapegoats

**THE MOST reactionary circles in the ruling class are now gunning for the Tory Rupert Murdoch and his 'News of the World' for its part in exposing the Lambton scandal.**

It was this paper's revelations that led to Lambton's resignation and criminal charges being brought against him for alleged drug offences.

Public-spirited journalism? Not according to Winston Churchill, Tory MP for Stretford.

'What is particularly unattractive,' said Churchill, 'is that rich and powerful men in Fleet Street... should be seeking to make themselves richer by hiring criminals, hijackers, as we have seen in recent weeks, and prostitutes to write their memoirs and to make money out of what they are doing.'

'If it were to transpire that a national newspaper in this country had conspired with a thief or prostitute to destroy a man's career in politics, I think it would have very grave implications for political life in this country.'

'Only the fullest and frankest statement by Mr Rupert Murdoch—the "News of the World" owner—can clear the name of British journalism.'

## Evidence of deep split

**THE PATTERN of events is clear enough. While one section of the capitalist Press is obediently keeping its mouth shut, the other section is being hounded and menaced by the out-and-out reactionaries.**

Here is evidence of the split within the ruling-class itself.

### Collapse

It is a measure of the desperate nature of the crisis that these bludgeoning methods are being used. If the name of the third minister was exposed—and the whole of Whitehall knows who it is—the Heath government would be reduced to a state of collapse.

It is only kept in office by the collaboration of Wilson and the TUC leaders.

They don't want the truth

of Poulson or Lambton-Jellicoe to come out.

Apart from some confused mutterings from Mr James Wellbeloved, MP, the Labour Party has been absolutely silent since this latest affair broke.

The silence by Labour opens the door for the most right-wing Tories to come forward with their claims to moral rectitude and decency.

This group knows that for the Tory government to survive there must be the most vicious backlash against the working class.

### Harsh blows

To reimpose their authority, they will be driven to inflict harsh blows at the trade unions and the workers' movement.

That is why any time lost in forcing the Tories out is the most treacherous betrayal of all time.

## Tenants demand better housing conditions



**TENANTS demonstrated yesterday outside the Greater London Council's Locksley district offices, east London, in protest against housing conditions on the Haggerston Estate.**

Rising damp has forced George Angol, an engineering worker, his wife, Veronica, and their five children, to close up two bedrooms of their flat in Harlow House.

The whole family has to sleep

in the living room. Repeated appeals for action by the family, their doctor, the medical officer of health for Hackney and local Labour MP, Ron Brown, have failed to move the GLC.

A health visitor and community worker have expressed fears that Mrs Angol may be close to a breakdown because of the conditions under which she and her children are forced to live.

The family has informed the council that they are considering a court action under the Public Health Act.

Tenants taking part in yesterday's demonstration were demanding immediate rehousing of the Angols, or urgent action to put their flat right. If this was not done by 5 p.m., they said, they would take the matter before the courts.



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# THE SMILES WILL SOON DISAPPEAR

## Tough talking due on trade and money crisis

**THE international monetary crisis and the question of trading relations between Europe and America dominate the summit meeting between Presidents Pompidou and Nixon which opens in Reykjavik today.**

BY JOHN SPENCER

differences between the two meetings.

Then Nixon appeared at the height of his power, the unchallenged superno of the western world.

Today he appears as the discredited master-mind behind Watergate, a man under threat of impeachment who could be out of office within weeks.

This puts him under great pressure to adopt a harder line with Pompidou—and through Pompidou with the other capitalist states in Europe—as a means of trying to satisfy some of his enemies at home.

The US President has laid heavy stress on his grandiose foreign policy plans to evade responsibility for the Washington scandal.

His national security adviser Dr Henry Kissinger recently announced the President wanted the Year of Europe (1973) to see the signing of a New Atlantic Charter.

He offended the Common Market leaders with his assertion that the US is a 'global' power with global interests, while Europe's interests are only 'regional'.

Just how far apart the two sides are can be seen from an examination of some of

the main issues likely to be discussed in Reykjavik:

● **MONETARY REFORM:** As the breakdown of last week's Committee of Twenty meeting in Washington demonstrated, Europe and America are light-years apart on this question and every day the gulf between them grows.

Pompidou can expect a dusty answer from Nixon if he should raise the question of restoring dollar convertibility with gold.

● **TRADE:** The United States wants the demolition of the Common Market agricultural policy which Pompidou is heavily committed to defend.

Nixon also wants the EEC to dismantle its preferential trade agreements in the Mediterranean, Africa and Latin America.

● **MILITARY EXPENDITURE:** The United States is demanding that the host countries should shoulder the burden and pay for the doubtful privilege of maintaining American garrisons in Europe.

● **LINKAGE:** This refers to the US plan to deal with all the main questions at issue as a single package in which monetary, trade and military questions would be mixed together.

This is resisted by the Europeans.



Nixon and Pompidou . . . all smiles at a previous meeting, but no more.

The same questions were also high on the agenda when they held their last summit in the Azores on December 13, 1971—the meeting from which Nixon announced the first dollar devaluation.

In the intervening period the crisis has grown worse, the relations between the United States and the Common Market more strained and the impossibility of reaching agreement through negotiation more obvious.

Like the Azores summit, the Reykjavik meeting is intended to inaugurate a round of meetings between Nixon and European heads of state and it serves as a preliminary for the multi-lateral trade talks to be held in September.

But there are important

### CIA financed

**FASCIST and right-wing movements in Italy are receiving Central Intelligence Agency money to finance an anti-communist army.**

New revelations show that the 'Black Prince', Junio Valerio Borghese, received money in the early 1960s via the Dominican puppet dictator, Trujillo, and Spanish fascists.

Borghese, former commander of 'X Mas'—one of Mussolini's suicide squads—and founder of the National Front of Italy, is still wanted by the police for leading an attempted coup in 1969, aimed at installing a military dictatorship.

Borghese's name reappeared on the scene only a few days ago when a socialist deputy in parliament, Giuseppe Machiavelli, asked what the government intended to do about 'the financiers and instigators of the fascist squads'.

**A MILLION shopworkers, civil servants and hospital doctors struck on Tuesday and yesterday throughout Italy.**

The independent unions representing teachers declared that they would stop marking and examining if a recent agreement between the unions and the government on timetables was not modified.

The secretary of the General Confederation of Italian Workers said that 'if the rate of inflation continues to rise at the present speed, a wave of wage demands will become inevitable'.

Machiavelli wanted to know if it was true that Borghese held a meeting on April 12, 1969, in the villa of a noted industrialist in Genoa, at which a noted shipowner, a lawyer and an important shipping agent had been present.

Internal security police reports confirm that meetings were held as part of Borghese's campaign to raise money for his National Front movement.

The police documents state that that he intended to constitute the Genoese section of the National Front.

But during the meeting, Borghese also revealed the existence of 'a military organization of professionals which is ready to prevent the rise to power of the

### 'Black Prince's' fascist army



'Black Prince' Borghese not seen since 1969.

communists and install a nationalist Gaullist type of regime'.

The money for the army—billions of lire—disappeared between 1962-1968 from the Banco Credito Commerciale e Industriale, whose president was . . . Borghese.

The bank collapsed in 1968, but the source of some of the money reveals the CIA link-up with Italian fascism.

Rafael Trujillo, Jr, son of the ex-dictator of the Dominican Republic, took 10,000 million lire (£7m) with him on a flight to Spain in 1961.

The money had been given by the United States government to Rafael Trujillo's father, a CIA puppet dictator.

Trujillo Jr gave the money to two Spanish rightists, connected with Opus Dei, the powerful political arm of the Spanish Roman Catholic church.

### How long will Andreotti last?

**THE QUESTION** in Italy is not if the Andreotti government will fall, but when . . . and what will it be replaced with.

La Malfa, leader of the Italian Republican Party, has made a public break with the Andreotti government, decisively ending the coalition that has kept the Christian Democratic Party in power.

The socialist and communist opposition is now demanding the resignation of the government, which is desperately trying to postpone events until after the Christian Democratic Party conference, due to begin on June 6.

Confusion and despair exists within the ruling class which is completely unable to solve any of the problems of the Italian economy.

Influential Milanese newspaper 'Il Corriere della Sera' said in a leading front-page article on Tuesday that 'the crisis is out in the open'.

'Months of discussion, of polemic and intrigue have not overcome the vacuum of power, which was so much feared.'

'Italy is now being administered by men who are

compelled to live from day to day, through humiliating compromises and no one can establish who will govern tomorrow.

'No one can say who will be the next secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, what will be the structure of the new majority and under what conditions the dialogue with the socialists will be conducted.'

'No one knows to whom will fall the difficult task of guaranteeing, as President of the Council, a real economic revival, stopping inflation, realizing reforms, and encouraging collaboration between the employers and the unions.'

### New Israeli request for US arms

**ISRAEL** is to make a new series of arms requests to the United States following the multi-million dollar American arms deal with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

The influential daily 'Ha'aretz' quoted 'high-ranking' sources as saying Israel will ask for a speeding up of arms shipments already ordered from the US as well as place new orders with requests for easy payment terms.

'Ha'aretz' said Israel was faced with a *fait accompli* about the arms deals with the two gulf states. It said the United States told Israel about the deals only after they had been hinted at in newspapers.

It said the deal with Saudi Arabia amounted to £260m (\$625m) and that with Kuwait came to £220m (\$500m).

'Ha'aretz' said Israel understood the United States was arming the two gulf states to oppose the growing power of the Soviet Union in the region, but the Jewish state would demand convincing guarantees that their arms will not be used against her.

It quoted Israeli experts in Jerusalem as saying it would take two years for the arms ordered by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to be absorbed by their armies.

number of people who are today being accused of embezzlement and keeping false accounts.

In eight years of administration many billions of lire disappeared. The accused cannot explain where the money has gone.

Apparently Trujillo's dollars were not enough for Borghese's activities.

In 1969 he travelled through Italy in search of financial support from industrialists and Italian businessmen.

This was when the internal security police were keeping an eye on him and were able to compile their telling reports.

They reveal a most sinister tie-up and show that the extreme right are just waiting in the wings as the Andreotti administration begins to totter.

### BRIEFLY - BRIEFLY

**LAWYERS** representing Andreas Baader, West German anarchist, arrested in June 1972 have lodged a complaint against the 'bad treatment' meted out to their client in Schwalmstadt jail, Hessen. Baader and 60 others held in different prisons have been holding hunger strikes.

**CHURCHMEN** throughout the Philippines have been asked by the government to ban the throwing of rice at weddings because of shortages of grain. (Reuters).

**CASHING** in on an art boom in Japan, Tokyo dealers last year sold paintings worth almost £61m. (Reuters).

**JERUSALEM** will always remain united and under Israeli sovereignty, the speaker of the Knesset (parliament), Mr Israel Yeshayahu, claimed yesterday in a provocative statement on the sixth anniversary of the military take-over of the city in the 1967 Six-Day War.

# Boilermakers taken to the Pay Board

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

**THE TORY Pay Board yesterday began an examination of a claim for higher bonus payments by boilermakers at the Harland and Wolff shipyard in Belfast.**

A management team from Harland's travelled to London to get the government's opinion of the claim which has brought the giant shipyard near to closure.

If the Board's verdict goes against the men, the dispute, which affects the most skilled Protestant workers in the city, will take on an open political character.

So far the 2,300 boilermakers, who were sacked after a lengthy overtime ban, have insisted that the dispute does not violate the government Phase Two pay laws.

They are demanding bonus payments negotiated as far back as September 1971.

The firm says these should not be paid because productivity targets have not been achieved. The men argue in reply that this has been caused by Harland's rebuilding programme and disputes beyond their control.

They add that contingency payments were agreed between their society and management last year.

Under Phase Two, bonus agreements signed before the pay laws came into effect on November last year stand. Harland's will be arguing that the boilermakers' current demands represent a change in the bonus agree-

ment and therefore come under Phase Two.

The dispute is dwarfed by the particular political role of the Protestant working class in Belfast.

The British army and Tory government draw great strength from the belief of Protestants that union with Britain (in effect the British ruling class) bring privileges.

This illusion may well be shattered by an attack by the Tories through the Pay Board.

Behind the bonus skirmish is a plan by management to double productivity in the yard.

Already agreement covering other trades has been reached within the scope of Phase Two.

These include new working methods and speed-up. The boilermakers, however, are insisting that the bonus issue is settled before negotiations on any long-term deal is negotiated.

Harland's management is pressing the Board for an early opinion on the dispute to avoid mass lay-offs within other sections of the work force.



## 'Coventry 6' trial 'a bit remote' —defence

A ROMAN Catholic priest and five other men accused of conspiring to cause explosions were remanded in custody again at Coventry yesterday until next Monday.

One defence solicitor, Mr William Wilson, MP, said the likelihood of them coming to trial before the long vacation was 'a bit remote' and they faced a considerable period of custody.

Magistrates refused bail for the seventh time.

The men, all from Coventry, are: the Rev Patrick Fell (32), assistant priest at All Souls Church, Earlsdon; Anthony Lynch (36), fitter, of Berkswell Road; Anthony McCormick (18), engineer, of Sycamore Road; Thomas Rush (26), electrician's mate, of Browett Road; Herbert Kelly (28), builder's labourer, of Daimler Road; and Francis Stagg (31), driver, of Chetwode Close, Allesley Park.

All six are charged with conspiring with others to cause an explosion likely to endanger life; conspiring to damage or destroy property by fire; and conspiring to damage or destroy buildings without lawful excuse.

Lynch is also accused of possessing sodium chlorate, concentrated nitric acid, wax, balloons, an alarm clock and seven micro-switches, intending to use or allow them to be used to destroy or damage property.

Mr Peter Spencer, for the Director of Public Prosecutions, said the men were alleged to be members of an organization whose aim was to cause explosions and do damage in Coventry and elsewhere.

The papers in the case would be served shortly.

Mr Wilson and other defence solicitors renewed a protest that the six were being held as high security prisoners in Winson Green Prison, Birmingham, and were in solitary confinement, although they had not been convicted of any offence.

# Swansea dockworkers plan strike to defend steward

FOUR HUNDRED Swansea dock workers plan to strike next Monday in protest against the dismissal of a dredgermen's shop steward.

The men involved are dredging, mechanical, civil electrical, dockside and quayside workers. Their opposite numbers in other South Wales ports are being asked to support the Swansea action.

## SACKED

Des O'Connor, secretary of the local negotiating committee, was sacked by the British Transport Docks Board after a pay dispute involving a dredger crew.

A member of the National Union of Railwaymen, he was accused of using a radio without authority, broadcasting a false and derogatory statement regarding an officer on board, intimidating the assistant dockmaster and contravening harbour by-laws.

His dismissal was speedy. It was decided on May 8, and ten hours later a letter inform-

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

ing him of the decision was delivered to his home.

On May 17 his appeal was rejected. The port director at Cardiff claimed that the decision to sack O'Connor was in no way influenced by his position as staff representative.

But the Swansea dock workers see the case as just the latest in a series of attempts to undermine their rights and trade union organization.

The first, they say, was a threat last month from Lord Melchett, head of the British Steel Corporation, to move the BSC's tinplate export trade elsewhere. The port relies heavily on this trade.

Secondly, a new coal hoist is to be introduced onto the docks.

Management plan to give the manning of this hoist to registered dockers rather than to the 'coal trimmers'. The men involved, who regard this work as traditionally theirs, went on strike against this move.

Des O'Connor said that the present dispute began when a dredger crew returned to port after a 16-hour shift to find that the time had been entirely included in their 40-hour basic rate.

On hearing this, O'Connor explained, he went immediately to see the management. They were not in their offices. Announcing this over the radio transmitter, he threatened to withdraw the crews of two dredging vessels.

## LUMP

Roy Thomas, chairman of a port liaison committee set up to curtail the use of 'lump' labour on the docks, said: 'This dismissal is totally unjust.'

'Yet this is supposed to be a nationalized industry. The only alternative to this management, who have created Des O'Connor's case, is workers' control.'

O'Connor is a founding member of the liaison committee, which embraces NUR members, electricians, engineers and members of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

# 'Wog-lovers' taunt led to soldiers' ambush

FOUR SOLDIERS who took part in a fight sparked off by racial tension at Tidworth Barracks, near Andover, were fined at Winchester Crown Court yesterday.

Three of them, members of the First Battalion, Royal Scots, were lured into an ambush by coloured men whose girl friends they had branded 'wog lovers', said Sir Joseph Moloney, QC, prosecuting.

The fourth man, a coloured private in the Royal Hussars, admitted taking part in the ambush.

William Kerr (19), James O'Connor (20), and Terrence Sheerin (19), of the Royal Scots, and Harris Gilroy (20), of the

Royal Hussars, all pleaded guilty to making an affray at the barracks last October. O'Connor, Sheerin and Gilroy also admitted possessing offensive weapons.

Kerr was fined £40 with two months' jail in default; O'Connor a total of £110 with four months in default; Sheerin £80 with three months in default; and Gilroy £150 with six months in default.

Sir Joseph said yesterday that girl friends of the coloured men, members of the Third Queen's Regiment, were taunted by the Royal Scots at a dance at the Plainsman's Club.

Two days later the coloured men, including Gilroy, collected knives and sent an advance party into the club to taunt the Scots and lead them into an ambush outside.

A large number of the Royal Scots chased the coloured men from the hall and four of them were injured in the fight that followed.

The trial was continuing yesterday of seven coloured men, privates in the Third Queen's Regiment, who have denied charges connected with the fight.

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# TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

## THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

### 'Trade union leaders at best are cotton-wool reformists'

Graham R. (34) is an EPTU shop steward in the South London area:

It's time there was a viable alternative to the present parties whose policies are bankrupt. The role of the union leaders has now been exposed for what it is. They are part and parcel of the capitalist system.

In the past, strong unions, like those at Ford's, could establish a good rate compared with others, like the hospital workers. But now the Pay Board gets at all workers and tries to con people into thinking it's 'fair'.

Now the competition between the different capitalist countries has become so intense that each one is trying to cut production costs by cutting wage rates and introducing measures like job-evaluation. All workers are subject to the same crisis today.

It's necessary to have a system of production for need not profit. That means a planned economy, rather than one dependent on the market. There's no answer except through a planned economy.

I came to politics because of the problems around me—housing and the inefficiency and corruption of a system based on getting the quickest penny you could. Looking for an answer, you can look at several policies.

The Labour Party just seems to want to shift the national income, to try to increase growth, but they're very little different from the Conservative Party.

They don't want a different system.

The Communist Party just seems to be a party which backs protest to a point. But when it comes to taking a stand, they back down.

They covered up for Hugh Scanlon [engineers' president] when he said he would accept an amended Industrial Relations Act. They all talk left, but when it comes to it, they are not left at all.

The Communist Party supported him because they are a party of protest and that's all.

In my own union, Chapple's philosophy is to increase production so our members will benefit. But my firm is in a very competitive export market. For them, increased production must be linked with cutting costs.

That way increased productivity will lead to lower wages, because there isn't an expanding market. And if we increase productivity, so will the other companies. We'll be competing with our brother trade unionists.

Socialism means a planned economy. The trade union leaders don't support that. If anything, they're nationalists. At best, they are cotton-wool reformists. They don't provide

## ST THOMAS' HOSPITAL SITE PHOENIX ELECTRICIANS EET & PU.



Right: Hugh Scanlon—the CP covered up for him. Above: EPTU members on the march.

an answer at all. They are boom men.

The sickness of the currencies show the sickness of capitalist industry, of each country's economy. They show the contradictions within the system itself.

Whether it would be changed by putting a Labour government in committed to socialist policies, or by an alternative party, I'm not sure.

I can't see a Labour government, even if it's pledged to socialist policies, carrying this out once it gets in.

The Labour Party needs to gain a few million votes to get into office and to get them it would promise anything.

It's a coalition of 'lefts' and rights. It's followed a policy of consensus politics, like the Tories, ever since the war and I can't see it changing.

If it was put in on a draft manifesto of nationalizing the banks, land and industry, it wouldn't do it.

But the very situation the leaders would find themselves in would expose them because they wouldn't have any answer to it.



# SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



Steve and Marilyn Perkins live in Coventry. Steve is a toolroom worker at GEC and was on strike when he told Workers Press why he is helping to build the revolutionary party. Marilyn is a housewife. The most important change for her has been the rapid rise in prices.

## 'Housewives are waking up to how this government conned them'

Marilyn:

I think the rise in prices is just forcing us to seriously think about the future and what kind of political organization the working class are going to have.

Every time you go into a shop prices are up. It's not just the jam but the bread, and the margarine as well.

I find it more and more difficult to keep standards up. We don't eat the same way we used to do. I never buy fruit. I used to get a bit of beef—but I can't ever buy this now.

The other meats are extremely expensive too.

I think housewives are really beginning to wake up to how this government conned them.

The trouble is that the housewife has no one to turn to. The trade union leaders are traitors. I definitely think they need to be got rid of.

A big worry to me is the policy of putting the Labour Party back and then exposing them. I think this is a gamble—I would like to know exactly how this can be done.

This is the first time I have really taken a serious active interest in politics. The miners' strike had a big influence on me. I come from a family of miners. I thought their strike showed what the working class could do. If they had stayed out, the government would have come down. Since then the workers have been divided up and taken on one by one by the Tories. But I think people will be forced to get together.

I think with housewives the process began as far back as decimalization. They realized that the talk about price control was a con. Since then, of course, it's become obvious.

## 'Paper money, mainstay of the capitalist system, is in deep trouble'

Steve:

There is a lot of confusion in the working class over what a revolutionary party means. A lot of men think it's something to do with taking up arms. Of course we may well have to do this to defend what we have won from attack by the capitalists. But revolution is mainly concerned with a change from one type of capitalist society to a socialist society.

The other big worry is over the Soviet Union. People equate socialism and communism with Russia. People are frightened of the word communism because of this. Of course, we have to explain that Russia is Stalinist, not communist.

The issue is not just one of propaganda either. Events are moving now towards crisis. The higher price of gold is the symbol of this. It shows how paper money, the mainstay of the capitalist system,



Coventry toolroom workers during the 1971 fight to maintain the toolroom rate. Above: Miners' strike, 1972. 'I thought their strike showed what the working class could do.'

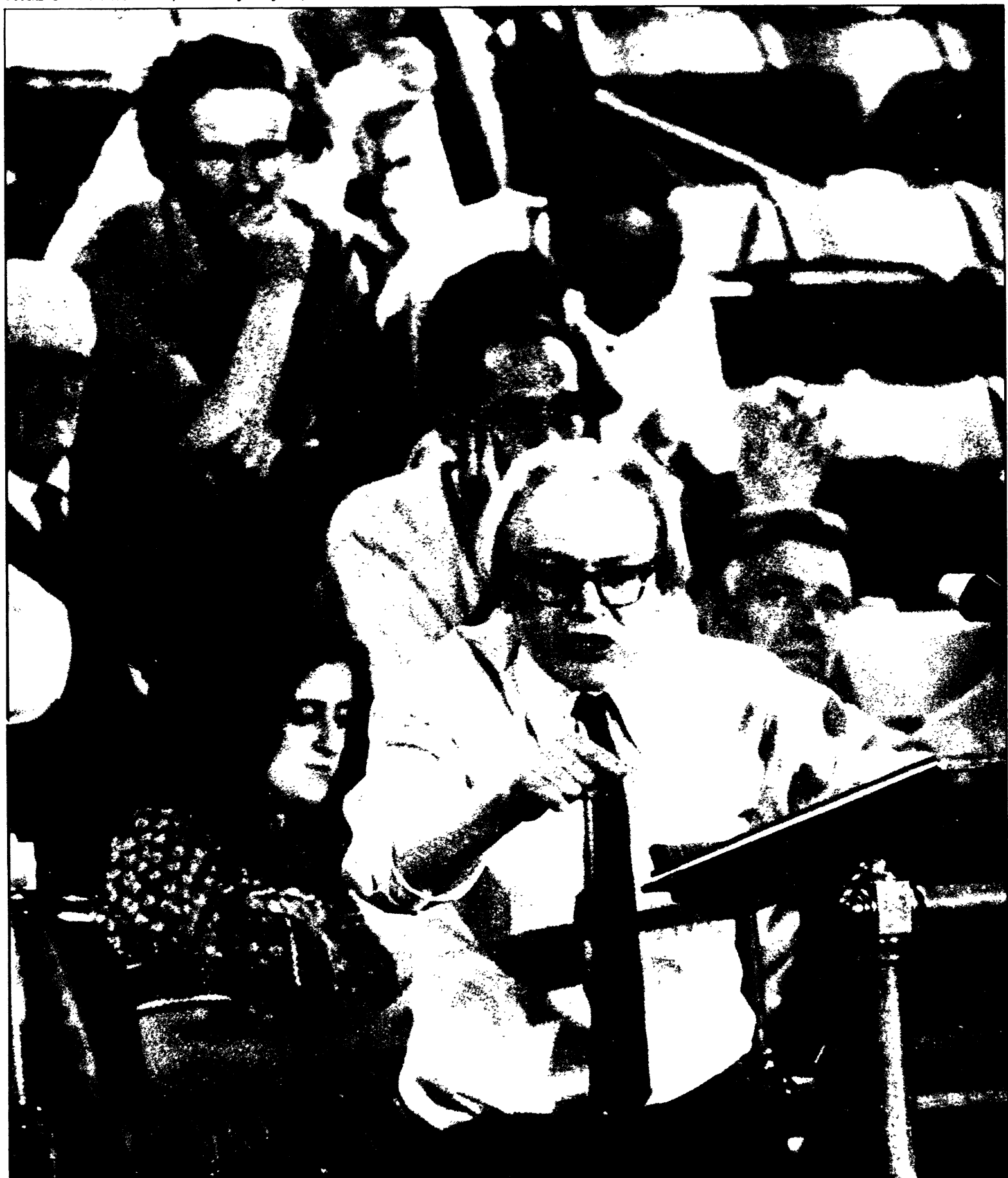
is in deep trouble.

The workers in Coventry have been used to a relatively high standard of living. But this is beginning to break up. Men are really beginning to think twice about the struggles they are going in for. A lot are just hoping that things will get better than they won't

have to worry about unpleasant things like politics and revolutionary parties.

In our strike they think the government might be behind the GEC strike, but they don't like to admit it. Conditions are being steadily eroded and with it a whole way of thinking is going.





# LET'S GO NOWHERE WITH WILSON

BY ROYSTON BULL

Two of the most energetic opponents of the plan to nationalize Britain's 25 largest companies as part of Labour's next programme have been former 'lefts' Michael Foot and Ian Mikardo.

Add to this Harold Wilson telling the combined Shadow Cabinet National Executive Committee meeting that the Party conference can decide what it likes but the Parliamentary Labour Party will only do what it wants to: and banker Jim Callaghan scorning the idea of nationalizing the banks, and the picture is complete.

The Labour Party is in the hands of men who, whether 'left', centre, or right-wing, will always compromise the movement's socialist aspirations when faced with the 'realities' of office.

And they will continue to do this, whoever such leaders are, for as long as the fight is

confined to the parliamentary struggle.

Parliament is a bourgeois institution which, since the 17th century, has fulfilled a specific function within the bourgeois state machine.

Two or more political parties play tweedledum and tweedledee in and out of office in attempts to regulate the economic and social relations of capitalism.

The whole thing is a deception. State power remains firmly in the hands of the capitalist class whoever rules in parliament. All Labour leaders and their trade union counterparts, who abandon the challenge to the ruling class for its state power, are sooner or later completely absorbed by the bourgeois into immersing themselves in the treacherous two-party 'democracy'.

Socialism, and the emancipation of the working class from wage labour, are quickly forgotten and before long the Labourites are deeply enmeshed in company directorships and the other perks of

life at the top.

From time to time, the Labour MPs put on a big show of 'socialist conscience' and march with demonstrators or utter some left-sounding phrases in order to cover themselves with the working class. But when it comes to getting something done, there are always endless excuses as to why it couldn't be managed.

This contradiction, a Labour leadership which serves the capitalist system and can do very little for the working class, is becoming more and more acute as the crisis disrupts old-established relations and makes capitalist rule less and less tenable.

It is part of the crisis of leadership of the working class and leads to increasing antagonism and a disruption of old relationships within the Labour Party and trade union movement itself.

But because of the inability of the Labourites to make any serious analysis of the processes taking place within the whole of society and affecting

the labour movement, all that is produced compounds their crisis.

The reformists, in short, are stuck as deeply in the mire of insoluble contradiction as they ever were. The younger back-room men write fierce denunciations of capitalism and propose some radical-sounding changes. The older guard, with more experience of living with capitalism, tone things down in order to achieve the maximum 'appeal' to the electorate.

But they all start from the same premise: public opinion must be convinced that Labour ideas are far better than Tory or Liberal ideas. They feel they must get across to the electorate how much cleverer Labourites are than Tories and will run capitalism so much better.

This is largely an illusion. There is little to choose between a set of grammar school and Oxbridge opportunists leavened by some careerist trade unionists on one side and the Eton and Oxbridge opportunists on the other.



Roy Jenkins, former deputy leader. His supporters kept the Tory government in power, pushed Britain into the monopolists' Common Market and now want to sever Labour's connection with socialism altogether. Above left: Michael Foot. He opposes a nationalization shopping list. Above right: Harold Wilson extends another helping hand to the chief representative of the capitalist class.

There is a lot of graft and corruption and jobs-for-the-boys on both sides at every level of operation.

The Labour Party's new policy document starts with a great lie.

'We are a democratic Socialist Party and proud of it. We put principles of demo-

cracy and socialism above considerations of privilege and market economics.'

A few lines later, it adds: 'Crucial levers of financial and economic power are still in irresponsible private hands. Crude market forces are allowed a far too dominant role. This is the main reason

for our miserable record, for the scandalous rise in house prices, and for the continuing power of financial speculators to influence national economic policy.'

The rest of the 200-page document can be ignored. The whole treachery and bankruptcy of the reformists is contained in these few lines.

The first point to make is that no matter how many Labour Party policy documents and Fabian pamphlets identify capitalism as the enemy, nothing is ever going to be done about it by the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The only 'principle' the PLP will ever observe is never to allow the 'principles of democracy and socialism' to interfere with the age-old business of playing verbal games with the Tories in the House of Commons chamber on about 30 days a year each, on average, and on the other 335 days a year attending to their many company directorships, other business interests, free junkets and other trips, and working in their constituency to make sure they get re-elected.

What was democratic, for example, about the 69 Labour MPs who defied Party Conference policy and voted with the Tories for Britain's entry into the monopolists' Common Market, which has since led to intolerable food price rises for the working class?

What service was it to socialism that their undemocratic action allowed the Tories to remain in office when, if the Labour Party and

other anti-Marketees had voted together, the Heath government could have been brought down?

What business interests went undeclared when those 69 Labour MPs voted for the businessmen's coalition of the EEC.

What are the Labour leaders going to do about Lonrho, surely a case of 'irresponsible private hands'? The one thing Wilson won't do is make a pledge to nationalize it.

And what happened when Anthony Wedgwood Benn repeated Labour Party policy over the case of Rolls-Royce Motors, which the Tories plan to sell off to private interests after the parent company had been rescued from bankruptcy with millions of pounds of public funds?

Wilson instantly repudiated the pledge to renationalize the company without compensation when Labour returns to power.

As for being democratic, the Labour leadership shows more treachery on this issue than on almost any other.

Whenever real socialists have developed a movement inside the Labour Party, they have quickly been expelled and proscribed. It happened to the young Communist Party in the 1920s when the organization still had some links with Bolshevism; it happened in 1959 when the successors to the revolutionary tradition, the Socialist Labour League, were declared anathema; and it happened again in 1964 when the supporters of 'Keep

Left' had won a majority in the Young Socialists for the second year running.

But throughout the Labour Party's history, right wingers of every description have not only been allowed to continue within the Party, but have frequently risen into the top leadership. Some have actually joined the Tory Party. Others have limited themselves to the most right-wing reactionary attacks on the trade union movement.

Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Robens, Lord Shawcross, Lord George-Brown, Ray Gunter and Sir Oswald Mosley are only the more notorious. The present Shadow Cabinet is full of the most Tory-minded men whose whole life is dedicated to the capitalist system, known deceitfully as the 'mixed economy'.

Roy Jenkins, Dick Taverne and company remained in the leadership up to quite recently, although their support for the capitalist system and their wish to divert the Party from the socialist-trade union tradition was well known.

The Labour leaders are the agents of the capitalist class within the workers' movement. They act as the transmission belt for bourgeois thinking, which holds back trade unionists from ever challenging the ruling class for state power.

They can, and must, be exposed in this treacherous role so that the working class can break from reformism.

This can only come about in the struggle to bring in socialist policies as a solution

to the economic crisis. Useful reforms have been won by the strength of the working class during various Labour administrations in the past, but that period of history is now over.

With the ending of the long Bretton Woods inflationary boom, the capitalist class all over the world is forced inevitably to increase its attacks on the working class in its quest for more profits.

The future now facing the working class is not one of making reformist gains through compromises with the employers, but of fighting to defend every past gain including its most basic democratic and trade union rights.

To defend these gains from the Tory government's onslaught in the courts and corporatist institutions like the Pay Board, a completely new level of struggle is required.

Only by a determined campaign to mobilize the strength of the trade union and labour movement for the removal of the Tories and the adoption of policies to nationalize, without compensation and under workers' control, all major industries will the Labour Party leaders be completely isolated and discredited.

The 12 million workers who vote Labour have nothing in common with the bourgeois opportunists who comprise the Party leadership. Only by uniting and winning those workers in the fight for socialist demands will the parasite-leaders be forced off the back of the working class.

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# TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM



Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the spectre of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries in the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labour movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun a campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the world-wide revolution of the working class. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 published 'Against Trotskyism', a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. In this series of articles MICHAEL BANDA replies to this book.

## PART TEN

When Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, proposed on July 11, 1920, that Britain should mediate between the Red Army and the badly-battered Poles, who had tried to invade the Ukraine, the Bolshevik leadership rejected his offer by a majority.

Instead, Lenin favoured 'a furious speeding-up of the offensive on Poland'.

Trotsky, who opposed Lenin on the Politburo, favoured halting the Red Army at the Curzon line previously proposed as the frontier by the British Foreign Minister and making a public peace offer.

Lenin and the Politburo majority favoured carrying the pursuit of the Poles into Warsaw and beyond. Trotsky correctly feared that an invasion even by the Red Army would inflame Polish nationalist sentiment and enable

Pilsudski to rally the peasant masses on the basis of bitter memories of Great Russian repression under the Tsars.

Lenin hoped that the Red Army intervention in Poland would spark revolution there and that the arrival of the Red Army on Germany's frontier would have a similar effect in Germany too.

These hopes proved illusory: the Soviet forces, as Trotsky had feared, were defeated and routed on the Vistula before Warsaw. The offensive owed its failure not only to the unfavourable political conjuncture and to its adventurous character, but also to the personal, subjective ambition of the political commissar in charge of the southern invasion army, Joseph Stalin.

Stalin wanted to cover himself in glory by entering the town of Lvov at the same time as Tuchachevsky, commanding the northern wing of the army, was entering Warsaw. This ambition ran completely contrary to the requirements of the plan of battle because it opened a widening gulf between the two wings of the

Red forces.

Demands from Moscow to close the gap were ignored by Stalin and it was into the gap between the two armies that Pilsudski—advised by Marshal Foch—aimed his successful counter stroke.

Contrary to Stalinist legend, Lenin did not believe in the conception that socialism could be built in a single country. He was prepared to gamble for high stakes in the hope of provoking revolution abroad and assisting the workers of the west to come to the aid of the Soviet Union by overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

His position contains not a trace of the bureaucratic nationalist prejudice embodied in the Philistine concept of 'peaceful co-existence'.

The Polish episode alone gives the lie to the version of the Brest-Litovsk events put forward by the editors of 'Against Trotskyism'. It demonstrates that Lenin's thought was dominated by the 'Trotskyist' idea that revolution in the west was essential to save the Soviet Union from degeneration and defeat and that he was prepared even to undertake a sally into Poland to try and hasten this process.

The defeat on the Vistula in the west enabled the White Guard forces of General Wrangel to invade the Caucasus in the south. As a result the Soviets signed a provisional peace with Poland in October 1920.

This peace proved extremely precarious because Pilsudski, backed by the *entente* powers, hoped to nullify it and resume

hostilities. If the Soviets had fallen for Pilsudski's intrigues, the consequences for the USSR would have proved far more serious than those which might have attended Trotsky's refusal to sign the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

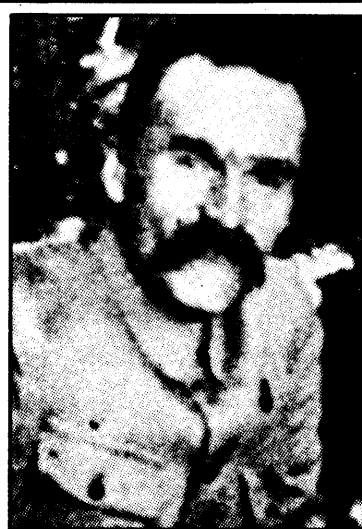
All the calumny and distortion of the Soviet Press and historians cannot hide the fact that it was Trotsky's unbending determination to avoid another disastrous advance onto Warsaw which alone saved the Bolshevik regime and enabled it to meet the severe challenge of the transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy of 1921.

Isaac Deutscher in the 'Prophet Armed' describes the curious reversal of roles between Lenin and Trotsky in this historically-famous episode.

'Trotsky relates that Lenin was at first inclined towards war, but only half-heartedly. At any rate, Trotsky insisted on peace and on the loyal observance of the provisional treaty with Poland; and once again he found himself in danger of being outvoted and reduced to the dutiful execution of a policy he abhorred.

'From this he at last shrank. He decided that the differences went so deep that this time he would not feel bound by any majority decision or by Politburo solidarity and that, if outvoted, he would appeal to the party against its leadership.

'He used a threat similar to that which Lenin had, with overwhelming effect, used in the controversy over Brest; and, he, too, achieved his



Polish commander, Pilsudski. Above: Trotsky addresses Red Army troops before they leave for the Polish front to fight Pilsudski.

purpose . . . for now Lenin deserted the war faction and shifted his influence to back Trotsky. Peace was saved.' ('The Prophet Armed', Oxford University Publishers, 1954, p. 469.)

Far from weakening the USSR the controversies between Lenin and Trotsky on tactics and even aspects of strategy did strengthen the collaboration of these leaders and contributed to the strengthening of the Soviet state and party leadership.

The Polish events are, in this sense, the most damning exposure of the Stalinist-idealist attempt to portray Lenin as an impeccable Pope of Communism and Trotsky as an incorrigible Beelzebub of anti-Bolshevism.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# HAPPY WORKERS MEAN MORE PROFITS

## TV REVIEW

BY ANNE BLACKMAN

'Jumping for the Jelly Beans.' Produced by Peter Riding. BBC 1. Laurie Lee's 'Cider with Rosie'. Screenplay by Hugh Whitmore. Producer Ann Kirch. Director Claude Whatham. BBC 1.

The ways and means for keeping the workers in their place grow ever more ingenious. One of the latest concepts goes under the heading 'job enrichment'—and this is a notion full of great potential for those wiser employers who now discern that fatter profits and higher productivity levels cannot be achieved by the whip, or even the bribe, alone.

BBC 1 gave us the edifying spectacle of one of America's popular industrial and social psychologists, Professor Fred Herzberg, playing up to an audience of managers in 'Jumping for the Jelly Beans' and giving them the inside story on how to keep their workers' happy in the new 'enlightened' way.

Herzberg, leering and cavorting, displayed the sort of geniality that a gorilla might do before embarking on its dinner and came up with one tidy little theory after another, covering up tired old exploitative notions with bright new names.

Between jokes, he explained that 'people can be made to do almost anything if you bribe them or threaten them enough' and that the 'quickest and easiest way to make someone do something' was to 'kick them in the arse' or the KITA method, as he quaintly pronounced it.

By treating people well, on the other hand, he went on, you can get a fair day's work—that is to say 'about half of what the worker can really do'.

Rewards of course, he nudged his audience, are crude and ineffectual since a reward, once given, 'becomes a right'—so if the bonuses don't keep coming, then you are going to get lower and lower rates of performance.'

Then he got on to what he called the 'motivators': the things which really count when it comes to extracting



Stephen Grendon as Laurie in 1918 in the BBC's heavily sentimental programme 'Cider With Rosie', on the childhood of Laurie Lee.

the best performance out of a man or woman: that is 'a sense of achievement, meaningful and interesting work and increased responsibility'. This is the stuff that does the trick from the management point of view.

Then there were all sorts of tips he handed out to his enraptured audience.

What he called 'hygiene'—work conditions, status, pay etc.—were all important things. 'Employers seem to think I've got no time for money', he said plaintively and stressed how wrong they were and how all-embracing on such aspects his theories were.

'Communication' is also important i.e. allowing the worker to actually speak to the man above, below or at his side. And a built-in feedback to keep patting the worker on the back in all sorts of subtle ways, to make him feel this sense of achievement he needs to keep him functioning at top pace.

Finally 'to deny people fair treatment with the declaration that you will make it up to them later' brings the worst possible results as it induces a 'revenge psychology' in the man. 'This is seen so often in labour relations' says Herzberg. 'The workers who will say, years later, "look what those bastards did to us years ago"!'.

To cap a perfect evening and a perfect performance, Herzberg earnestly stated that 'when the employer says the worker hasn't been treated well and it's because we don't respect him enough and it's all our fault' . . . when that day comes then a new understanding will be with us all.

Naturally he didn't give a date for this idyll to commence, but implied it as some sort of mystical state workers and management will enter into at the appropriate point in man's history.

This kind of monstrous psychological research and application of technique

underlies most industrial practice today throughout the capitalist world, although the US has always inclined to a more naked style—in the end Herzberg's jokes and his puny theorizing can only be exposed as the obscene techniques of a desperate employing class bent on squeezing out the last drop of productivity from their employees on all levels.

The fact that the ruling class must resort to such abuses of psychology and of work itself and the working class, with such convoluted measures, is an indication in itself of the scale of the trade war and currency crises that pressurize management at this time.

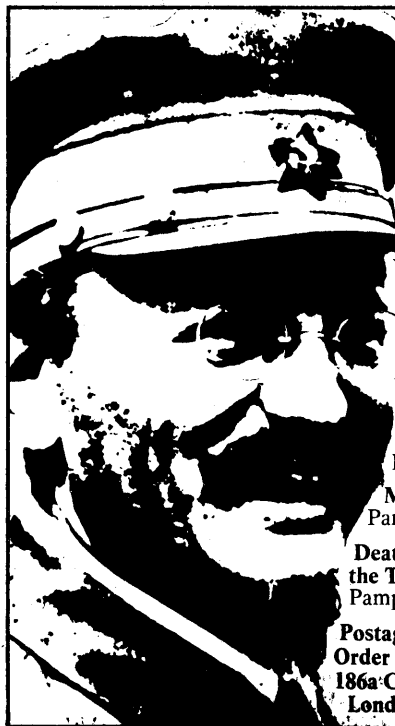
There seems to be all sorts of sugar around to coat the various pills—Laurie Lee's 'Cider With Rosie', a Monday night play on BBC 1 was another dollop of nothing so much as syrup to take our minds off more or less any reality that might have danger-

ously crept in to disturb us.

Hugh Whitmore gave a cleverly restrained adaptation of the West Country poet's heavily sentimental portrait of his childhood in a country village during the World War I period.

Rosemary Leach, Catherine Lacey, Freda Dowie and many others in a fine cast did what they could to liven this awesome fable of romance and 'goodness', where the air was always full of honeysuckle and roses, tables were laden with food, the sun shone and Mother, in her most idealized fulsome and objectionable form, dominated the proceedings with persistent cheer and nothing so dirty or mean as conflict or despair crept in to mar the whole ludicrous fantasy.

As the BBC smiles more determinedly into the eyes of its viewers, the world outside is convulsed with crisis and scandal and makes a mockery of every programme.



## BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Where is Britain Going?  
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Paperback 35p

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## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### Cannon fodder

The stench of the workhouse, which surrounds the Tory proposals for cutting the price of surplus butter for sale to pensioners and those on Social Security, brought home to a Wigan reader that the capitalist class has not changed in its contempt and hatred for the working class, including those workers it uses in its armies.

So a paragraph in one of those '100 years ago' features they sometimes run in the provincial Press struck him particularly sharply.

It concerned a veteran of the 'Charge of the Light Brigade', that insane imperialist adventure in which the

lives of hundreds of working-class soldiers were sacrificed as cannon-fodder to the whim of an incompetent, megalomaniac aristocrat, Lord Cardigan.

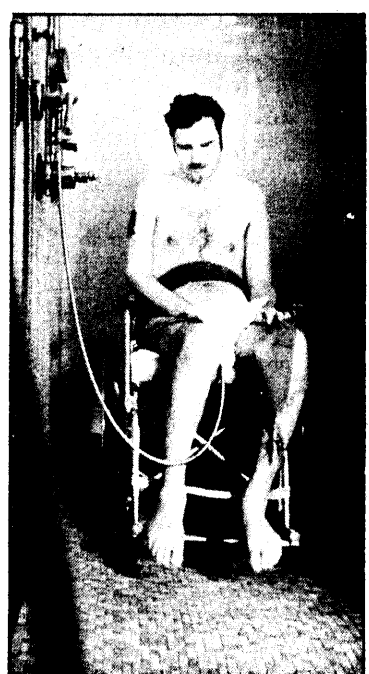
But where even for Cardigan's officers there was a touch of glory, for the shattered survivors there was only degradation.

Reported the 'Wigan Observer' in May 1873: 'John Aspden (42), a former soldier, applied to the Relief Officer last week for admission to the workhouse.'

'Aspden served in the Crimean War and took part in the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade".'

'He was wounded and trapped under his horse and later treated for his wounds by Miss Florence Nightingale.'

Aspden's experience will have a familiar ring to many of those returning, as broken cannon-fodder, from US imperialism's genocidal Vietnam adventure.



A veteran of Vietnam, an invalided Marine in US hospital.



**TODAY'S TV**

**BBC 1**

**ITV**

10.00 Magic roundabout. 10.05 Banana splits. 10.35 Search. 12.30 Disc a dawn. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Mr. Benn. 1.45 Fanny Craddock invites. 2.05 First person singular. 2.35 Collectors' pieces. 2.50 Improving your play-group. 3.15 Parents and children. 3.40 MacLeod at large. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 Robinson Crusoe. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.**  
6.45 **THE VIRGINIAN.** The Masquerade.

8.00 **CHAPLIN SUPERCLOWN:** 'Work'. Charlie Chaplin as the working half of a pair of painters.

8.30 **REPORTER AT LARGE.** Down-Under-Coming Up. Julian Pettifer in Australia.

9.00 **NEWS.** Weather.

9.25 **MENACE:** 'Boys and Girls Come Out to Play'. By James Mactaggart. With Peter Jeffrey, Anne Kristen, Sarah Sutton.

10.40 **MIDWEEK.** 11.25 **NEWS.**

11.30 **BEFORE THE ARK.** Out of the Water. Some giant steps of evolution are the least understood.

11.55 **Weather.**

9.30 Gilbert and Sullivan. 10.20 Cartoon. 10.35 Skippy. 11.00 Wildlife theatre. 11.25 Galloping gourmet. 11.50 Cartoon. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Witches brew. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Jokers wild. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Renegades'. Evelyn Keyes, Willard Parker, Larry Parks, Edgar Buchanan, Forrest Tucker. The youngest son in an outlaw family struggles to go straight. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 Barkleys. 5.50 News.

6.00 **TODAY.** 6.40 **CROSSROADS.**

7.05 **FILM:** 'And the Same to You'. Brian Rix, William Hartnell, Tommy Cooper. British comedy.

8.30 **THIS WEEK.**

9.00 **WHITEOAKS OF JALNA.** Episode three.

10.00 **NEWS.** 10.30 **CINEMA.**

11.00 **SOMETHING TO SAY.**

12.00 **WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.**

12.15 **SITTING IN JUDGEMENT.**

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'Boys and Girls Come Out to Play' after lights out in the 'Menace' play on BBC 1. Belinda's (Sarah Sutton) fascination with her music box has a macabre twist.

**REGIONAL TV**

**CHANNEL:** 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Film: 'Darling, How Could You?' 4.20 Jersey lottery. 4.25 Rainbow country. 4.55 Young eyes. 5.20 Doris Day. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lucy show. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Partners'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 10.30 Towards the year 2000. 11.02 Cinema. 11.35 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.00 News. weather.

**SOUTHERN:** 10.00 Paulus. 10.15 Yoga. 10.40 Dr Simon Locke. 11.05 Thunderbirds. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'Good Morning Boys'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Doctor in charge. 7.00 Film: 'I Deal in Danger'. 8.30 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Name of the game. 12.40 Weather.

**HARLECH:** 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'The Last Child'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.05 Film: 'Casanova Brown'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Persuaders. 10.00 London. 10.30 Music for pleasure. 11.00 Journey to the unknown. 12.00 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamll. 4.50-5.20 Rainbow counter. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Eisteddfod genedlaethol yr urdd 1973.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.18-6.35 Sport West.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 Paulus. 9.40 Edgar Wallace. 10.35 Joe 90. 11.00 Cartoons. 11.15 Galloping gourmet. 11.40 Arthur. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Let's face it. 3.00 Marcus Welby MD. 3.55 Captain's country. 4.25

**BBC 2**

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

6.40 **WORKING WITH YOUTH.** In to the Community.

7.05 **OPEN UNIVERSITY.**

7.30 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather.

7.35 **WILDLIFE SAFARI TO THE ARGENTINE.** The Pampas.

8.00 **AL GREEN.** In Concert.

8.30 **SONG OF SONGS.** Part 2 of

the dramatization based on the novel by Hermann Sudermann.

9.25 **EUROPA.** France. . . The Events of 1968. Looking back at the May-June events of 1968 when France exploded.

10.35 **PLAY:** 'Knightsbridge'. By John Mortimer. With Google Withers, Donald Churchill, Angela Scoular.

11.00 **NEWS EXTRA.** Weather.

11.30 **REAL TIME.**

Romper room. 4.50 Hound cats. 5.20 Lucy. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'At Sword's Point'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Longstreet. 10.00 London. 10.30 Suffolk show. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Baron. 12.30 Epilogue.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 11.00 Jason King. 12.00 Guide. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 Film: 'The Mouse on the Moon'. 4.25 Lost in space. 5.20 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 New faces. 8.00 Anna and the king. 8.30 London. 9.00 Streets of San Francisco. 10.00 London. 11.00 Gardening. 11.30 Spy-force. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 12.05 London. 1.29 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Romper room. 2.50 Film: 'A Ticklish Affair'. 4.25 News. 4.27 Primus. 4.50 Joe 90. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Waco'. 8.30 London. 9.00 FBI. 10.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about? 11.20 Avengers.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.45 Ed Allen time. 10.05 Tennis. 10.30 The road to Wigan Pier. 11.10 Saint. 12.05 London. 3.00 Film: 'How to Murder a Rich Uncle'. 4.25 Skippy. 4.50 Houndcats. 5.20 Doris Day. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Juggler'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Longstreet. 10.00 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Jason King. 12.30 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 10.55 Bugs Bunny. 11.05 Audubon wildlife theatre. 11.30 Galloping gourmet. 11.55 Handful of songs. 12.05 London. 3.00 Film: 'Hoppity Goes to Town'. 4.20 Elephant boy. 4.50 Houndcats. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.30 Partridge family. 7.00 Film: 'West of Montana'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawk. 10.10 London. 11.00 What the papers say. 11.20 Danger man.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.30 Storyteller. 9.40 Enchanted house. 9.55 At your fingertips. 10.05 Thunderbirds. 10.55 Rainbow country. 11.20 Pied piper. 11.25 Rediscovery. 11.40 Shirley's world. 12.05 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Let's face it. 3.00 Film: 'Half Angel'. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 Stingray. 5.20 F troop. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Juggler'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Longstreet. 10.00 London. 10.30 Sports. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 News. 11.50 Monty Nash. 12.20 Greatest fights of the century. 12.35 Lectern.

**SCOTTISH:** 10.05 Technoflash. 10.30 Road to Wigan Pier. 11.10 Saint. 12.05 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 Film: 'How to Murder a Rich Uncle'. 4.25 Land of the giants. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Film: 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Department S. 10.00 London. 11.00 Gardening. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Edgar Wallace.

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

**BASILDON:** Thursday May 31, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'The trade unions and the Tory government'.

**CROYDON:** Thursday May 31, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Forward to the Belle Vue conference'.

**FELTHAM:** Thursday May 31, 8 p.m. 'Three Horseshoes', High Street. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

**NOTTINGHAM:** Thursday May 31, 7.30 p.m. People's Hall, Heathcote Street. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**LUTON:** Sunday, June 3, 6 p.m. Small Hall, Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road. 'Build the Revolutionary Party'.

**ACTON:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. 'Six Bells', High Street, W.3. 'Stalinism and the fight to defend democratic rights'.

**CRAWLEY:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. Council for Social Services., 19 Station Road. 'The trade unions and the Tory government'.

**LEWISHAM:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'The way forward—build the revolutionary party'.

**BRIXTON:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. (Please note date change). Control Room, Brixton Training Centre. 'Build the revolutionary Party'.

**BATTERSEA:** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. 'Nag's Head', Wandsworth Road. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**BRADFORD (Engineers' meeting):** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. Talbot Hotel, Kirkgate. 'Engineers and the fight against the Tory government'.

**DAGENHAM:** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**HACKNEY:** Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Unite in action to defend basic rights'.

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

**I would like information about THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE**

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

Name .....

Address .....



# Lowest house building since 1963 Chronic housing, but huge profits under the Tories

THE 1971 census revealed more homelessness and overcrowding than ever before. Yet, under the Tories, fewer houses have been built and fewer slums demolished while house and land prices rocket.

London alone 362,515 people (5 per cent of the population) are living more than 1½ persons a room. In 1966 295,180 people, or 4 per cent of the population, lived at more than 1½ persons a room.

553,235 people in London (7.7 per cent of the population) have no fixed bath; 440,060 (6.1 per cent) have no hot water supply; and 529,074 (7.4 per cent) have an outside toilet.

This is a class question. There are 99,730 houses standing empty in Greater London, while at least 12,000 families are homeless.

## MAGNATE

Meanwhile a certain Rosemary Kanzler is selling her Hyde Park Gardens flat for £350,000, and shipping magnate Ravi Tikoo has just paid £500,000 for a house on Hampstead Heath.

But it is growing more and more impossible for working-class families and even middle-class families to buy a house. The average price of new houses mortgaged with building societies in the second quarter of 1970 when the Tories took office was £5,082. By the fourth quarter of 1972 it had gone up to £8,571—an increase of 69 per cent.

The corresponding figures for second-hand houses were £4,778 and £8,639—an increase of 80 per cent.

Land prices have more than doubled since 1969, the last year before the Tory election victory.

Land was then averaging £840 per plot. In 1970 it was £920



Housing scene in London.

*In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned.*

Figures from Labour Research

per plot, in 1971 £1,050 and last year £1,770.

But these figures, taken from Hansard, hide even more astronomical rises. The 'Estates Gazette' shows much higher prices. For example, the median price per plot in Sussex stood at £1,700 in 1967-1968, but rose to £7,500 in 1972.

Other high price counties are Gloucestershire, £5,408; Hampshire, £5,000; Wiltshire, £4,818; and Northampton £4,000.

The table shows how building land prices per acre have shot up in the last year—in some cases by over 300 per cent.

## PROFIT

This situation provides almost unlimited profit opportunities for property companies and speculators. According to the 'Financial Times', property companies' profits last year were up by between 41.6 per cent and 50.1 per cent.

While profits soar in this way, the number of houses being built is falling. Last year 330,751 houses were completed—the

lowest total since 1963. And fewer slum houses were cleared than at any time in the last seven years.

Tory policy is nowhere more clearly expressed than in housing—luxury for the rich, squalor for the poor and enormous profiteering all along the line. The housing problem is an essential part of capitalism.

As Frederick Engels explained in 'The Housing Question' in 1872:

*The housing shortage . . . is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great labouring masses are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is*

*upon the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for their existence and the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the machinery, etc. continually throw masses of workers out of employment . . . in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them under the prevailing conditions; in which, therefore, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous pigsties; and in which finally the houseowner in his capacity as capitalist has not only the right but, by reason of competition, to a certain extent also the duty of ruthlessly making as much out of his property in house rent as he possibly can.*

A LEADING Democratic Senator yesterday called on General Alexander Haig to either resign from the army or step down from his present position as President Nixon's White House chief of staff.

Senator William Proxmire said in a statement:

'Two hundred years of military tradition and good sense have been violated by General Haig's

acceptance of a political post in the White House.

'It compromises the military and it compromises the political process.'

General Haig, who until May 4 served as Vice-Chief of Staff with the army, was appointed by President Nixon to take over the duties of Mr H. R. (Bob) Haldeman, who resigned in the publicity of the Watergate scandal as Nixon's Chief of Staff.

accepted the full redundancies and shop stewards, led by convener Gerald Morgan, are negotiating with management on wages and productivity.

Arthur Jones, AUEW shop steward and Communist Party member, was given money in lieu of a week's notice on Friday and told not to return.

At a joint engineers' and electricians' meeting on Saturday, comprising all maintenance workers, it was decided that Jones would turn up for work at the Cyfarthfa factory after the Whit holiday on Thursday morning and a factory gate meeting would be held to decide on action for the week.

It is clear that the union leadership must raise at today's meeting a demand for Jones' immediate reinstatement with a joint policy completely rejecting the redundancies and the proposed productivity deal.

# Triang workers in Merthyr must resist closure

TRIANG WORKERS at Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales, meet today to discuss resistance to the management's plans to rationalize at the Cyfarthfa plant to close down at Cefn.

The management has served 175 redundancy notices, closing one factory, intending to rationalize the other with the possibility of 196 vacancies if a long-term wage and productivity deal is agreed by the unions concerned.

In September 1971 the crisis-prone toy industry was shaken when Lines Brothers, the owners of Triang, were almost forced to go into liquidation.

Asset-stripper John Bentley capitalizing on this took over the firm and proceeded to close the Mobo Toy firm in Erith,

Kent, sacking 500 workers.

He transferred production to Triang's Merton, South London, factory, which was also closed in June 1972 with 1,500 redundancies.

Bentley claimed that he intended to expand instead the two factories in Merthyr, an area of high unemployment and cheap labour.

Stewards and workers at Merton, whose reward for working a productivity deal and turning a threatened £100,000 loss into a £98,000 profit in six months was the sack. They were taken completely by surprise by the closure.

A new training officer had been appointed and vacancies offering 'good prospects' were appearing in the local paper the

day before the factory closed.

Merton's convener, Frank Goss, said after the closure:

'We took on professionals as amateurs and got beaten.'

Bentley made a fat profit from the deal, by selling the Merton site for building purposes.

In December 1972, the firm, along with Chad Valley, was taken over by the Iranian-born Davoud Alliance and associates who, because of the squeeze of the economic crisis on toy manufacturing, is now forced to rationalize and speed-up the two factories in Wales.

The five unions at the factories are totally unprepared and no joint policy has been agreed.

Already the General and Municipal Workers' Union has

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

Central London

'A MANIFESTO FOR EQUITY'

SUNDAY JUNE 3

7.30 p.m.

London Film School  
24 Shelton Street  
(corner Langley St)  
opp. Covent Garden Tube

Speaker: Corin Redgrave

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

Public Meeting

POSTAL WORKERS' MEETING

Break off secret talks with the Tories!  
Force the Tories to resign!  
Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.

Conway Small Hall,  
Red Lion Square,  
Holborn (admission 10p)

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Lofthouse men were on special pay

# Water bubbled on pit face months before disaster

FROM IAN YEATS IN WAKEFIELD

WATER HAD been seeping into the Flockton seam at least three months before the disaster on March 21 which killed seven men, the Lofthouse colliery inquiry was told yesterday at Wakefield.

And two weeks before mud and water swept through the mine, conditions were so bad that face men were granted special water payments.

The inquiry, led by Chief Mines Inspector Mr William Calder, heard the first of 50 witnesses yesterday.

Two weeks before the disaster a deputy and a machine-cutter had felt there was so much water on the coal face that they had asked an overman about it.

They claimed that on both occasions Mr Raymond Sparkes told them he believed the water was coming from old shafts and workings behind and to the left of the coal face.

Questioned by Yorkshire miners' acting general secretary, Arthur Soargill, Mr Sparkes disclosed he knew about the workings because he had seen them marked on a map in the under-manager's office.

He said: 'I reported the water to the under-manager a week before the accident because it was unusual to find it in the Flockton seam.'

'I understood he was going down the same day to have a look at it. But I don't know if he did.'

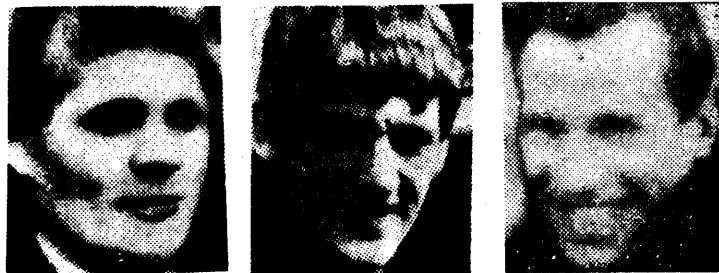
Mr Sparkes said water was bubbling out of the floor at various points along the advanced coal face—yards from two century-old waterlogged pits.

He confirmed the testimony of other witnesses that there had

## THE MINERS WHO DIED



Edward Finnegan, Colin Barnaby and Sidney Brown



Charles Cotton, Alan Haigh and William Armtage

been a stagnant smell which he assumed came from the water.

The coal face was pushed to within 35 yards of the two abandoned engine and bye pits.

Both are clearly marked on maps drawn up for the inquiry under the supervision of National Coal Board area chief surveyor and mineral manager, Mr Victor Bown.

Deputy, Mr Arnold Rose, who had been alarmed by the appearance of so much water, told the inquiry:

'For three months water had been seeping into my section of the face.'

'Up to a fortnight before the incident I wasn't too concerned because you often get seepage. But then I started to get worried and I asked the overman where it could be coming from.'

'After I had raised it with Mr Sparkes I was satisfied the people responsible for planning the face knew of the old workings ahead and that it was approaching the Lofthouse boundary.'

Further testimony to the perilous state of the face was given by trepanner Mr Albert Thackery (46), who missed being among the victims by a single shift.

He said: 'The water had been accumulating for a fortnight and had a distinctive smell with it. My mates who worked in the forward heading (coal face) said water was plentiful there. I don't think that amount of water could have come from the dust suppressors and water from chocks was mixed with oil so you could recognize it. The water on the face had a different smell.'

Mr Thackery stressed repeatedly that there was no water along the tailgate (start of the face) but only along the main gate (advance face)—and yards from the old waterlogged workings.

Deputy Tom Killen (35) testified that as miners sliced the coal face on the shift before the disaster water was seeping through.

Mr Killen admitted he knew of old shafts in the vicinity because, he said, he had heard overmen talking about it.

Quizzing witnesses, NCB spokesman Dr H. L. Willett, director general of mining, sought to establish that on the day of the disaster conditions at the face of division S9B were normal.

All the witnesses agreed that they were, but pointed out that these varied enormously from shift to shift.

Mr Sparkes said: 'There was no water in the advance heading the afternoon before the disaster. But the afternoon before that there was about one-and-a-half inches.'

THE INQUIRY CONTINUES

## Brewery electricians foil 'lump' labour

BY DAVID MAUDE

LOCKED-OUT electricians at the Ind Coope brewery extension site, Romford, have foiled attempts to install 'lump' labour following their summary dismissal last week.

The dismissals came last Friday, when the 30 men were expecting to hear that their employer, contractors W. T. Parker Ltd, had conceded improvements in pay and safety conditions on the site.

Talks with a company director nine days ago had broken up amicably, with the men's representatives convinced they had won their case.

But instead of a handshake on a new deal, Friday brought a slap in the face. Letters from the company told the men not only that it had no intention of paying them an increase, but that it was sacking them all on the spot.

The letters accused the electricians of using 'unconstitutional' methods to obtain increases and conditions outside those laid down by the Joint Industry Board.

Parker's offered to consider the re-employment, a week later,

of those men who were prepared to work within the JIB rules. Any increases, the letters insisted, were ruled out not only by the JIB but by the Tory pay-control laws.

Contact was immediately made with the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union, whose full-time official Tom Pinfold said yesterday he was awaiting a company reply to his demand for the full reinstatement of his members.

Picketing of the site, in Romford High Street, began on Saturday morning and altogether about 20 men, half of them 'lump' workers from London, were turned away.

On the picket-line yesterday, electricians dismissed the accusation that they had breached JIB rules or agreements.

The agreement they had expected to conclude on Friday, they pointed out, was based entirely on offers made by the firm.

A three-day safety campaign which ended with the talks last week, had been directed purely at enforcing the minimum legal safety standards.



Electricians picketing yesterday.

## £100,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

WE COULD do it by June 3. Yesterday's post brought in £4,311.33. This brings the total to £37,914.64. We need £12,085.36 to reach the first £50,000.

This is a terrific campaign. Please comrades, do your best to let us have as much as possible during the next three days.

Derby £48; Wolverhampton £4; Basildon £30.50; Dagenham £5; Croydon £2.50; Watford £10; Acton £5; Lewisham £125; Battersea £2; Artists £18; Tooting £15; Actors £968.50; Wembley £10; West London £80; East London £48; Willesden £183.50; Tottenham £54; Preston £318; Sheffield £85; Hull £132; Leeds £53; Glasgow South £62.95; Aberdeen £63; Coventry £128; Liverpool £47.50; Birkenhead £19.45; Sunderland £10; Shipley £10; Bradford £46.50; Glasgow North £40; Birmingham £107.23; Exeter £11; Portsmouth £12; Swindon £15; Reading £113; £133.25; Banbury £19; Nottingham £68; Leicester £93; Southall £49; Southampton £300; Post Office Workers £3.15; Hospital Workers £2; J. K. £5; D. G. £2; G. R. £10; S. F. £10; W. S. £55; L. G. £4; Philippe Davy £1; L. W. Ferguson £10; R. G. £5; M. L. £100; V. L. £100; S. H. £5; A. R. £42; D. M. £77.80; A. G. £20; C. K. £24.44; L. S. £10; M. S. £20; A. S. £20; H. P. £10; J. W. £8; F. L. £10; J. K. £5.

Post all donations to:  
Party Building Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG

## MAY FUND

£1,363.49

ONLY ONE DAY LEFT

WE NEED £486.51 by tomorrow to complete our £1,750 target. It is a tall order and will take every effort we can possibly make to raise it. But we must do it.

Of course we realize, dear readers, that you helped us with a magnificent effort to complete our Party Development Fund as well this month.

But the more we see the crisis of this ruling class and the more they try and hit out at the working class, then the more determined we become in fighting back against them in every way.

Help us in one last major effort for our Fund. We need to complete our final target by tomorrow. Rush every donation you can raise to:  
Workers Press May Appeal Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG

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

# BELLE VUE

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

TUC must break off all talks on Phase 3  
Make the Tory government resign!  
Transform the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party!

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