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FROM IAN YEATS IN GLASGOW

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Their advice was decisively rejected by a majority of over 200—180 more than at the meeting the day before. And McGarvey is likely to get the same treatment.

Joe Borg, one of the leading speakers against the signing, told me: 'We think it's practically a sell-out.'

Nowhere in the four-page deal is there even a mention of the cast-iron jobs guarantees which were the lynch pin of the entire work-in.

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into force not later than January 1973. Meanwhile, says the agreement, a ceiling on earnings may be necessary.

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stand down.

'I said at the meeting it's about time they got rid of their collars and ties and briefcases and got back to the cloth cap.'

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TURN TO p. 12

'Crush Act' say 123

A LONDON Trades Council demonstration to 'crush the Industrial Relations Act' mobilized 123 people on the streets yesterday afternoon.

Led by Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and a brass band, the march passed through the West End to Hyde Park without chanting a single slogan.

The Communist Party provided the bulk of the marchers. The propaganda for the march also called for the 'extermination' of the Act.

The poor response reflects the trade union bureaucracy's retreat from any fight against the Act.

Labour ranks want to tackle Tories

BUT IT MEANS A FIGHT AGAINST LEADERS

BY JACK GALE

THE FINAL agenda for the Labour Party conference, published today, reveals a desire by the rank and file to fight back against the Tory government's offensive.

Thirty eight resolutions demand extension of nationalization through implementation of Clause Four of the party constitution. In addition, a number of Scottish constituency parties call for nationalization of North Sea oil.

UCATT calls for nationalization of the construction industry. Thirty eight constituency parties demand nationalization of the land as the only solution to working-class housing and rent problems.

Nineteen resolutions want a Labour government to cure unemployment by measures including a shorter working week increased holidays and a lower retiring age.

Forty nine resolutions demand complete restoration of a free health service and two more call for nationalization of the drugs industry. Resolutions from 33 constituency parties and five trade unions demand increased pensions tied to the TUC's 'living wage' level and to rises in the cost of living.

There are 60 demands for repeal of the Tories' 'fair rents' Act and many calls for support for Labour councils who refuse to implement the Act and for any councillors who might be fined.

Thirty resolutions demand restoration of cuts inflicted on education by the Tories—particularly in relation to school meals and milk. Sixteen parties, plus the Boilermakers Society and the AUEW (Construction Section) declare opposition to entry into the Common Market.

Twelve constituency parties and the T&GWU, the AUEW (Technical and Supervisory), the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers and the National Union of Seamen demand that the Labour government immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act.

But rank-and-file Labour Party and trade union members are faced with the fact that their leadership will not accept such policies.

Not only the Common Market vote but the very existence of the Tory government itself was secured only because 59 Labour MPs voted with the government and a further 10 abstained.

Every Labour Party member knows that the Tories could have been put out of office last October.

Eleven constituency parties have submitted resolutions demanding action against Labour MPs who vote with the Tories and also calling for conference decisions to be binding on a Labour government.

It is significant, however, that not one trade union has submitted such a resolution. The trade union leaders know that their opposite numbers in the Labour Party consistently ignore conference decisions.

They know that the Labour Party's official 'fight' against the Rents Act has totally collapsed, as indeed has their own opposition to the Industrial Relations Act.

The Transport and General Workers' Union calls for repeal of this Act, yet Jack Jones pays its fines in direct contradiction to TUC policy and his own union.

Similarly, calls for repeal of the Rent Act mean little when Labour councils up and down the country are imposing its increases on Labour voters.

On every single issue affecting Labour Party members and



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What we think

Militancy alone will not defeat the Tories

THE TORY GOVERNMENT remains in office only because of the support it receives from the trade union and Labour leaders. From the miners' strike in January to the recently ended dockers' strike, the working class has shown time and again that it has the strength and will to fight the government.

But the union leaders have devoted themselves entirely to talks with the government and to ending strikes without taking them to the point of challenging the government. In this treacherous work, the union leaders have been supported to the hilt by the Communist Party and by revisionists like International Socialism and the International Marxist Group.

International Socialism will make occasional criticisms of the union leaders, but that is only in order to get more credibility among militants for its main message, which is: militancy is enough; don't raise the question of bringing down the Tory government.

IS leader Tony Cliff writes in this week's 'Socialist Worker' under the heading: 'Balance sheet on docks battle'. It is not a balance sheet but a presentation of the most reactionary ideas, which class-conscious workers must now combat as a matter of life and death.

'Sadly' writes Cliff, 'it has to be recorded that the militants did not take the initiative in running the dispute. They were not able to involve the rank and file.' This left-sounding conclusion is deliberately designed to create the mood that the working class itself is to blame for the collapse of the dock strike. In this way, Cliff draws a curtain across the real lesson from the policy of the shop stewards.

Why did the stewards in London fail to 'involve' the ranks? Because that would have meant a political mobilization to

challenge the union leadership and the Tory government. The Stalinist leadership could not do any such thing. Like Cliff himself, they are opposed to the call to bring down the Tory government.

And they were right behind Jones in his participation in talks with top dock boss Lord Aldington. To complain about non-involvement of the ranks and to avoid criticizing Stalinist policy is to end up blaming the men themselves.

And this is exactly what Cliff's group did. Cliff only supplements the judgment of Bob Light, writing in 'Socialist Worker' on August 26: 'The attitude of the men is the spirit-level of any struggle and this time the men proved themselves unworthy of their shop stewards.'

Cliff says: 'The organized militants should have produced leaflets and posters and then more leaflets and posters to give a clear message to every docker.' And then what? 'More' leaflets and posters once again?

We are familiar with the theories of Cliff that lie behind this treacherous article. He considers that workers get involved year after year in 'skirmishes' with employers and in these disputes socialists carry out propaganda. Eventually the spontaneous struggle lives up to the level of the propaganda.

This is very deliberately opposed to the perspective of the Socialist Labour League: that capitalism is in a deep crisis which gives to every major strike struggle the character of a step in the struggle for political power. The other side of this is that the class enemy prepares through each strike the path to counter-revolutionary dictatorship. Consequently every betrayal of leadership in such strikes exposes the working class to grave dangers.

In such a situation, those who preach militancy and syndicalism to the dockers or other sections are playing the game of

the enemy. This is Cliff's role and it has been his role ever since he deserted the Trotskyist movement in 1950, on the grounds that he could not support North Korea and China against US imperialism.

In the whole of his article, Cliff never once raises the question of removing the Tory government. Even when he mentions in passing the nationalization of the docks, he does so without raising the question of what government is going to do this.

Cliff's message is: 'If they had not been led by Jack Jones, the dockers could have won all four demands for job security put forward by the National Shop Stewards' Committee.'

The most dangerous and reactionary ideas are contained in this estimate. First, it implies that without a serious challenge to the existence of the Tory government or the capitalist system, major reforms, even the right to work can be won. Even more important, Cliff's statement implies that if the Stalinists who dominated the stewards' committee had led the strike instead of Jones, it could have been won.

Not once does he estimate the policy of the Stalinists. He does not see fit to mention that Jones occupies his present position and is able to betray the dockers only because of the support given to him by the Communist Party's policy in the unions; and to the support given the Stalinists' 'Liaison Committee' by Cliff's group.

Thirdly, Cliff is providing a theoretical cover for the statement during the strike by a steward who supports 'Socialist Worker': that the working class is 'too thick' to fight on policies to defeat the Tory government and the union bureaucracy. This 'thick' working class supported Jones in the end, and not the stewards . . . and so once again the workers are to blame. This is the most abject cover-up for the Stalinists ever carried out by Cliff and his group.

Every worker should be warned by their record. 1950 saw their capitulation to imperialism and refusal to defend the conquests of the Chinese and Korean revolutions. By 1968, Cliff was able to appear as the main architect of the selling of Measured-Day Work in the factories, along with the Stalinists. Now he comes forward as the most abject apologist of the Communist Party in its work of obstructing the fight to make the Tory government resign and to build the alternative revolutionary leadership.

The real lessons of the dock strike were clear and unmistakable. Cliff fights his hardest to obscure the conclusion being forced upon thousands of workers in bitter struggle: that their attachment to reformist trade unionism, however much it is stiffened with militancy, has reached the end of the road; it follows from this that reformist and Stalinist leadership must be replaced by Marxist, revolutionary leadership.

This is the meaning of the Socialist Labour League's decision to transform itself into a revolutionary party. This is why every day in the dock strike Workers Press fought against the false policies of Stalinism, fought to unite dockers with transport and all other workers in the common struggle to recall the T&GWU conference and the TUC, and from there to mobilize to make the Tory government resign.

It is to keep the working class away from these political tasks that Cliff devotes his energies. Why did the strike collapse? 'The answer boils down to the non-involvement of the rank and file during the three weeks of the official strike,' says Cliff. But trade unionism of the old type, even taken to the peak of militancy, cannot resolve the question. Revolutionary leadership is the primary requirement in the unions. Stalinism must be fought and defeated if such a leadership is to be built. The political front of struggle on which this will be achieved is the battle to make the Tories resign.

Those who oppose these lessons, such as Tony Cliff and his IS group, are tools of the trade union bureaucracy, which, collaborating with the Tory government, seeks, above all, to keep the masses imprisoned in the bankrupt framework of reformism. Cliff carries out this work deliberately, as a conscious enemy of Marxism. He and his group are a reactionary tendency, whose policies could lead only to defeats.

Trudeau calls an election

CANADA'S premier, Pierre Trudeau, has dissolved parliament and called a general election for October 30. He took this action after rushing through legislation ordering striking west coast dockers to return to work immediately.

Trudeau's decision ends months of speculation about when he would go to the polls. His Liberal government has encountered great hostility from the organized workers for its attacks on basic rights.

Heralded when he took office as a Canadian 'Kennedy', Trudeau has implemented ruthless anti-strike laws—sending union leaders to jail for defying the courts.

His government has repeatedly been accused by the opposition of riding roughshod over parliamentary procedure.

Rise in US jobless

UNEMPLOYMENT in the United States rose last month to 5.6 per cent of the labour force from 5.5 per cent in June and July. The Commerce Department gave the total unemployed at 4.9 million and claimed this was a drop of 300,000 on the previous month's figure.

Railmen to stop in Italy

ITALY'S 216,000 railwaymen begin a 24-hour strike this evening in support of a £10-a-month pay claim and against creeping denationalization of the industry. Their strike is one of a number facing the coalition government, which is also involved in a big parliamentary wrangle over which colour television system the country should adopt.

Senior civil servants are staging an indefinite strike against the blocking of their recent substantial pay rise by a government-appointed court.

Secret deal to sack 4,000 dockers in Sri Lanka

BY JOHN SPENCER

UNION LEADERS and port employers in Colombo, Sri Lanka (Ceylon) have agreed 4,000 sackings of 'unwanted' dockers. The dock union leaders belong to the Communist Party and the reformist organization, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

Following closely on the acceptance of the Jones-Aldington report on Britain's docks, the Colombo events spotlight the international treachery of these elements in this period of international economic crisis.

Like their British counterparts the Colombo directors say the port cannot be maintained profitably without at least 3.5 million tons of cargo a year. Import cuts have reduced cargo levels to below 3 million tons.

In behind-the-scenes discussions with the employers the union chiefs voluntarily accepted the retirement of 4,000 workers with three months' wages as severance payment. The Stalinist union leaders have already issued a notice asking workers to volun-

teer for severance.

By agreeing to defend the Port Corporation's profits, the union leaders have accepted Minister of Public Administration Felix Dias Bandaranaike's proposals to tie all wages and working conditions to the government's five-year plan.

Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's coalition government—in which LSSP and CP ministers sit alongside representatives of the capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party—announced on Saturday that 6,500 striking bank workers would lose their jobs if they did not return to work by Thursday.

The bank workers, who are demanding better pay and conditions, were told that by striking they had lost their jobs under emergency regulations imposed following last year's abortive guerrilla insurrection. The govern-

ment said it would overlook this if they returned to work on or before Thursday.

This brutal ultimatum proves the government's intention to break the back of trade unionism in Ceylon and destroy all workers' independent rights.

These events confirm the correctness of the warning given by the Ceylonese Trotskyists in their paper 'Kamkaru Mavatha' about the Stalinist and LSSP leaders' bogus campaign against bureaucracy and corruption.

No dock worker can live without his job. Those who are sacked will be left with no alternative but to beg along the roads. And the Colombo sackings are only the forerunner of thousands more in other industries.

The Ceylon Trotskyists are demanding that the left leaders be forced to break from the

government and protect the workers' basic rights. Their slogans are:

- For an immediate conference of all port workers' unions.
- Force the left leaders to break from the government.
- Force them to cut working hours and give employment to all dock workers.
- Force them to replace the coalition government with an LSSP-Communist Party government which should defend the right to work of the working class and all the other rights of oppressed sections and nationalize the harbour companies, banks and estates under workers' control.
- Remove the treacherous union leaders who betray the working class and build a leadership which bases itself on the above programme for every union.

500 lost in Highway 13 battle

SOUTH VIETNAMESE puppet troops suffered heavy casualties in a major battle 40 miles north of Saigon at the weekend.

A Saigon spokesman refused to give death toll figures. But Radio Hanoi said 500 enemy had been killed or captured in the fighting near a rubber plantation along Highway 13 which links Saigon with the provincial capital of An Loc.

A week ago, 150 government Rangers were killed, wounded or went missing in an ambush in the same area.

The National Liberation Front has been pushing towards the capital both from the north and the south for more than a week, intensifying the panic in top government circles.

Yesterday, President Nguyen Van Thieu decreed stiff penalties for crimes considered a danger to public order and national security.

Rival groups in Chile clashes

VIOLENT street fighting—some of the worst seen since president Salvador Allende came to office in November 1970—has thrown Chile's Popular Unity coalition government into renewed crisis.

Daniel Vergara, the Communist Party under-secretary at the Ministry of the Interior, went on a nation-wide TV and radio hook-up on Friday night to proclaim the situation under control.

But earlier police in the capital, Santiago, had used tear-gas and water-cannon to break up rival political groups fighting in the streets with sticks and stones.

The police waited more than an hour while the groups fought it out, then waded in making more than 150 arrests.

They had earlier dispersed student demonstrators and evacuated the Chilean central

bank's offices.

Friday's street fighting climaxed a week of almost unprecedented violence in Chile.

The city of Concepcion, 280 miles south of Santiago, and the neighbouring province of Bio Bio are under army control following a series of riots and strikes inspired by right-wing opponents of the regime.

Interior Minister Jaime Suarez ran a gauntlet of catcalls and

stones on Friday night when he attended the funeral of a police corporal shot dead in Concepcion on Wednesday when police moved in to break up street-fighting between pro and anti-Allende groups.

The police claim the shooting was begun by militants of the Socialist Party, which is a member of the coalition along with the Communist Party and various Radical groups.



NORTHERN TENANTS WILL NOT PAY INCREASES

The decision by Manchester's Labour-controlled city council to implement the hated Tory 'fair rent' Act has led to further capitulations in the north west.

Liverpool city council was close on the heels of its Lancashire neighbour in voting by a huge majority for implementation. Earlier threats of a big revolt by the Labour group turned out to be nothing more than empty and finally treacherous gestures.

Then it was the turn of Stockport Labour council, just a few miles from Manchester. Eleven Labourites went over to the Tories to ensure 'law and order' in the enforcement of class legislation.

In Altrincham, where the Labour group is in a minority, the decision to implement was carried by a Tory-Liberal alliance.

Cowardly

All these decisions to go ahead with the £1 rent increase in October and begin the rent-doubling process, have brought stormy reactions from tenants.

Manchester tenants in the Partington district of the city are preparing for a rent strike in October. A survey made by tenants' associations showed that 90 per cent were in favour of withholding their rents.

They have already decided to accompany any rent-collector who comes to

Partington and back up any householder who refuses to hand over the increase.

'Our fight is just beginning,' said Basil Higgins, association secretary.

Tenants in other parts of the Manchester council's area have already decided to launch a massive rent strike next month.

The most abject and cowardly retreat before the Tories came at Stockport where 11 Labour councillors and aldermen crossed the floor and voted with the Tory minority for implementation.

Although 20 Labour councillors remained true to their pledges made earlier, it was the council leadership itself which went over.

Shouts of 'Traitors' and 'Judas' greeted the decision made at the August 22 council meeting. Out of the 20 against, 11 walked out of the chamber in disgust.

The split in the Labour group was brought right into the meeting by Cllr Bernard Bradbury, who launched a justified attack on his 'leaders'.

'I disown this leadership. They do not speak for me and the people I represent. I am utterly disgraced at the actions certain members of our party have taken.'

Turning to the turncoats in the group he said:

'The electorate should rise up and put people on the council who have the courage of their convictions. You are rats. This party has jumped at the first sign of a shot.'

The right wingers who voted with the Tories are accused of aiding another *Rachman's* charter.

Cllr Robert Heys, acting leader of the party, apologized for his betrayal. 'I have been approached by colleagues who have asked me if I am prepared to go to jail. The answer of course, would be no. I can see no useful purpose in a large number of people being sent to prison.'

This is the usual answer of the right wing. The question is not simply going to jail, but leading a fight of the working class against the Tories. That's all Stockport tenants and those elsewhere have ever asked from Labour councillors.

Excuses

The vote for implementation on Altrincham borough council was only swung by Liberals who joined the Tories in out-voting the Labour opposition.

Over 3,000 council tenants now face a £1 rent increase in four weeks. But when tenants heard the result of the vote they marched defiantly out of the town hall singing: 'We won't pay the rent.'

Local tenants made their position absolutely clear in a letter to the local paper signed by leaders of their association. Councillors wasted three hours debating the Act 'because we, the tenants, have no intention of paying the increase whether it be £1 or a few pence', they said.

All the excuses made for implementation 'were found by us to be an astonishing performance of a pompous and patronizing attitude towards council house tenants who are obviously considered as third-rate citizens'.

BACK TO THE STAR CHAMBER IN HAIN CASE

From now on anybody who uses direct-action tactics to achieve their goal will be liable to prosecution.

And such persons can be brought to trial by private individuals, even where the police and the Director of Public Prosecutions believe there is no case.

That is the unmistakable writing on the wall now that the trial of 22-year-old Liberal Peter Hain is finally over.

The National Council for Civil Liberties seized on the point immediately. Chairman John Tuchfield said: 'The law of conspiracy is still in danger of being extended to such a degree that all organizers of protest will be at risk in almost any situation.'

The law of conspiracy is vague and uncertain. It dates from 1354, but was established for good by the notorious court of Star Chamber in 1611.

There is no maximum penalty for anyone found guilty of conspiracy and it is a law readily applied where specific charges cannot be proved but where a general allegation might be made to stick.

Hain's case slots into this category. He was accused on four counts of attempting to hinder and disrupt by unlawful means games in England involving South African teams between 1969 and 1971.

Evidence linking Hain to specific unlawful acts was thin to non-existent. Most of it was based by the prosecution on his own book 'Don't Play With Apartheid'.

'Unlawful means' had clearly been used in disrupting the South African tennis, cricket and rugby tours and Mr Justice Gillis was at pains throughout the trial to ensure that the jury realized they had. His remarks just prior to fining Hain £200 with £50 costs make this clear. He said:

'High as the cause to which you devote yourself, equally high is the rule of law.' He went on to warn that the law can under no circumstances be set aside.

Gillis was only the last of a long line of judges ranging through Lord Wilberforce, Mr Justice Megarry and Sir John Donaldson to evince a sudden maintenance of the rule of law.

It is significant that the penalty meted out to Hain was of slight concern to his prosecutors who claimed afterwards all they were worried

about was securing a ruling on direct-action tactics. They got it. And in such a way as to legalize a whole range of hitherto accepted techniques of protest.

Of as much importance as the jury's findings was the fact that the case was brought by a consortium of private individuals backed by cash partly raised outside the UK. It was brought by an organization called Freedom Under Law Ltd, registered in November 1971, and pledged to:

'Take such steps as it shall think fit in any part of the



Peter Hain

world to ensure that in democratic states a) the rule of law is upheld and maintained and generally safeguarded b) the rights of citizens to engage in lawful pursuits free from interference by unlawful means is effectively protected and c) attempts to frustrate the operation of any law or institution established by law are discouraged and prevented.'

In a recent advert in 'The Times' the organization said: 'The grievances of these agitators may sometimes be justified. Their tactics are not. They threaten democracy. Their agitation is becoming a tyranny.'

So a legal precedent has consciously been set by a group of private individuals not only to defend the interests of South African sport, but the bourgeois state wherever it seems threatened and unwilling or unable to defend itself.

The Hain judgement means that from now on anybody can be pursued for common law offences by a private group and brought to trial.

These two vital aspects of the trial will be ignored by workers at their peril. It is a clear indication of the conscious development of the right wing and of the way the bourgeoisie will attempt also to use their laws to smash the organizations and struggles of the working class.

POCKET LIBRARY

Why a Labour Government?

A reply to some centrist critics

By Cliff Slaughter

A series which appeared in Workers Press in June, 1972 is now available as a pamphlet in the Socialist Labour League Pocket Library.

'WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT? A Reply to some centrist critics.' By Cliff Slaughter Price 5p

Other titles in this series include:
The Case for a General Election By Alex Mitchell.
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PICKETING GOES TO COURT

Part 5 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

The British law courts and legal system are totally an instrument of the capitalist state evolved to play a major part in repressing the working class and protecting private property. Their role is not merely to carry out rules and instructions handed down by parliament, but to actually widen and develop the attack.

This is made possible because in English law, judges' interpretations of legislation and even their casual remarks during a case can become as much a part of the law as the original parliamentary Act and are quoted as such in subsequent cases.

Today, the decisions of the National Industrial Relations Court—and on appeal, of the Court of Appeal, or the House of Lords—are all available for judges to use in future cases.

In general, history shows that the courts have used any law benefiting capital's war on labour as a foundation for further repression. Alternatively, with any legislation forced through by workers' action to better their rights and conditions, attempts have been made, particularly in times of crisis, to have this whittled away or entirely negated by court verdicts.

Following the 1875 legislation, judges set out to destroy the protection given to picketing by the Act.

In 1895 the courts allowed the building firm Trollope & Son to recover damages from the London Building Trades Federation which had put them on a blacklist of 'unfair' employers. The union had found out that Trollopes were employing 'free labour' in preference to union men and called a strike.

Seven hundred and fifty copies of a yellow poster three feet long, with a black border, and headed 'Trollope's Black List' were drawn up on which were the names and addresses of non-union workmen and scabs. These were distributed to various 'lodges' and 'other resorts of workmen'.

The action was held to be a conspiracy to injure the workmen mentioned and to prevent Trollopes' . . . carrying on their lawful trade or business with that freedom which is the privilege of an Englishman'. (Trollope v London Building Trades Federation 1895.)

The following year, a leather goods manufacturer named Lyons successfully obtained an injunction against the small Fancy Leather Workers' Union to stop workers picketing his premises during a strike. There was no question of violence or threats involved, but an order was granted to prevent the action and this was subsequently upheld by the Court of Appeal.

It was declared that peaceful picketing was a common law nuisance and constituted a 'watching and besetting' as laid down by the 1875 Act. (Lyons v Wilkins, Secretary of the Union 1896-1899.)

These court findings were the forerunners of the notorious Taff Vale decision.

In 1901, railmen on strike from the Taff Vale Co of South Wales, organized pickets against scabs imported by a professional strike breaking body, The Nation Free Labour Association. A court injunction was taken out by the pickets



Top: the national rail strike of 1911 during which two pickets were killed when fired upon by troops. Left: Lord Halsbury, one of the Law Lords responsible for upholding the Court of Appeal's judgement in the Osborne (Taff Vale) case

. . . to its discomfort, member after member from its own benches rose to explain that he had only been elected upon the specific promise of legislation to cancel that decision. The promise had to be fulfilled forthwith . . .

On the subject of picketing the new Trade Disputes Act said: '(1) It shall be lawful for one or more persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union . . . in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business, or happens to be . . . for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.'

It was also enacted that an action taken in a trade dispute should not be actionable by reason of inducing a breach of contract or interference with trade.

The 1906 legislation may have been something of a political victory for the working class, but, as Engels showed, the rule of the capitalist class is based not on pieces of paper but on 'bodies of armed men'.

On August 15, 1911, two workers were shot dead during the general labour unrest in Liverpool—a verdict of 'justifiable homicide' was brought in at the inquest. Four days later, a detachment of Worcestershire troops were ordered to fire on rail workers at Llanelli, who were picketing against the movement of trains during the national rail strike.

Two men were killed and four more injured. 'Justifiable homicide' was the verdict again.

In 1912, Tom Mann and four others were prosecuted under the Incitement to Mutiny Act. The offending 'Letter to British Soldiers' explained: '. . . you are ordered to murder US as YOU did at Michelstown, at Featherstone, at Belfast. Don't you know, that when you are out of the colours and become a "civvy" again, that YOU like US may be on strike, and YOU like US may be liable to be murdered by other soldiers?'

All six offenders were given six months in prison and Sir J. D. Rees MP declared in the House of Commons: 'If there is any crime which is a great crime, a crime against society, against the constitution, against the country, against every British subject, it is the crime of urging troops not to shoot. If there be any greater offence, I, at any rate, do not know it.'

Certainly, preparations for the coming war, when millions of European workers would be required to kill each other made the refusal to shoot the greatest of all crimes.

It was during the 1914-1918 war that some of the most repressive legislations since the Combination Acts were introduced enabling imposition of military discipline in factories, abrogation of workers' rights and the smashing of the closed shop throughout entire industries.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

on the basis of the Lyons v Wilkins judgement. Subsequently the House of Lords determined that a trade union was liable for damage inflicted by its officials.

This resulted in the railmen's union having to pay out £35,000 in compensation and costs. A few weeks later another case, Quinn v Leatham, re-emphasized the liability of union funds for damages.

These judgements were directly calculated to smash the picket lines, destroy the unions by attacking their finances, and open wide the door to 'free labour'.

The consequent working-class anger resulted in a real

rise in political agitation and concern reflected in the growth of support for the Labour Representation Committee (forerunner of the Labour Party). The membership of its affiliated bodies rose from 469,000 in 1901 to just under a million in 1906.

The Tories also suffered a catastrophic defeat in the General Election of 1906, with the Liberals getting a 220 majority over them. Twenty-nine Labour members were returned to the House of Commons. The new government was reluctant to carry out promises to annul the Taff Vale judgement, but, as Cole and Postgate wrote in 'The Common People':



Velasco's man on the university investigation commission, Dr Herrera. The Stalinists co-operate with him

STUDENTS GET GUN-SHOT NOT EDUCATION

University students are under attack from the Peruvian dictatorship of General Velasco, which is trying to rationalize the universities and to cut down educational expenditure.

Velasco sees no point in educating youth who are only going to join the impoverished masses of unemployed. Already 40 per cent of youth between 18 and 25 years of age are unemployed.

The statutes committee, set up by the government to investigate the problems in the universities, is formally attempting to 'democratize' the university structure through creating a system of 'student participation'.

Dr Jose Tamayo Herrera, chairman of the commission, has said he hopes that 'co-government will be established, not only by students and teachers, but also by workers at every level of the system: from the university to the highest echelons of the system'.

In other words, the perspective Velasco has in the university is the same corporatist perspective which he is trying to impose on the trade union movement.

Students are learning like trade unionists that Velasco's participation is introduced by the guns and the truncheons of his police force.

In June students in the Faculty of Medicine in San Fernando demonstrated and protested against government plans for reorganization which meant that only 600 of the 2,500 students in general studies could enter the Faculty and follow the course of their choice.

The police attacked students with tear-gas bombs and shot-guns injuring over 30 students. Velasco's 'new humanism' was more aptly expressed in the new shotguns used by the police than in more facilities for students.

The main body of students who follow general studies or the basic course as it is known find that their education comes to an end after the completion of the basic course.

In the Agricultural Studies University, 500 candidates who passed their entrance examinations were told that there was no room for them.

So they had to sit a new examination and only 200 students passed at the second attempt.

The Velasco commission is now spending nine hours a day working out the new future for students, or how best to dismantle the universities. The Communist Party Stalinists and centrists are participating in this work as

part of the struggle for 'student power'.

In this way the CP and its centrist hangers-on attempts to give credence to the so-called process of democratization that is being elaborated rather than leading a fight against a government body which is preparing to destroy all student rights with the help of the police force.



Students suffering from wounds inflicted by shot-gun pellets fired by Peruvian police during an attempt to quash campus unrest

BREZHNEV VISITS THE FIELDS

According to Nikita Khrushchev in his secret speech to the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress in 1956, Stalin separated himself from the people and never went anywhere.

'The last time he visited a village was in January 1928, when he visited Siberia in connection with grain deliveries,' Khrushchev told the delegates.

'He knew the countryside and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture.'

'Many films so pictured kolkhoz (collective farm) life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently, Stalin thought that it was actually so.'

Leonid Brezhnev, Khrushchev's successor, is not quite as remote as Stalin was. He actually visits the countryside on occasion, though admittedly only when there is a really severe agricultural crisis.

The failure of the current grain harvest has sent him rushing to Kazakhstan in Soviet central Asia and to

Barnaul, in Siberia.

Not that Moscow Radio listeners were given the slightest indication that the trip was anything out of the ordinary.

The radio simply reported that he had attended a meeting in Kokchetav, Kazakhstan, with the first secretaries of party obkoms, chairmen of oblispolkoms, heads of oblast directorates of agriculture and leaders of a number of ministries and departments of the republic.

It added: 'The meeting discussed the fulfilment [read: non-fulfilment] of the national economic plan for 1972.'

'Particular attention was devoted to the organization [read: disorganization] of the harvest and the sale of grain to the state [read: lack of grain for sale to the state].'

Not surprisingly the local bureaucrats, trembling in their boots, fell over themselves to ingratiate with the all-highest.

'The meeting was addressed by comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, who was warmly welcomed by those present,' the radio reported.

FOOTNOTE: The Kremlin has made plans to buy grain from the US—about a third of that country's total output!

Below: Brezhnev—not quite so remote



PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE MUNICH STYLE

The Stalinists in West Germany have perhaps reached the high point of political analysis in an official statement of August 25.

Banner headlines proclaimed in their newspaper: 'For Olympic Games in a relaxed atmosphere—Greetings of the German Communist Party to athletes and guests from the whole world.'

At a time when even right wingers such as Avery Brundage feel that the Games will never be the same again, the Stalinists pin their hopes on them for international re-

conciliation between nations.

They write: 'The Olympic Games bring together the youth of the world and encourage mutual understanding and peace. That is why the German Communist Party greets the occasion of the Olympic Games in our country. We have done all in our power to build up the understanding between the nations, which is embodied in the Olympic idea.'

The Stalinists are organizing tours of Munich to point out the historical events in the workers' movement and in the struggle against fascism.

PORTUGAL: CAETANO FAILS TO ABOLISH CLASS WAR

BY JOHN SPENCER

Four years ago, when a crippling disease finally forced the retirement of Dr Salazar, the British liberal press had high hopes that his successor would adopt a more 'moderate' policy.

Four years of Marcello Caetano, however, have changed nothing fundamental in the Portuguese corporate state and the police repression against the students and the working class is as bad as it was under the old dictator.

This is hardly surprising because Caetano, like his master a former university professor, was one of the men responsible for building the Portuguese regime in its present form.

He came to power wanting to carry out Salazar's policy to the letter, but he found certain obstacles to this course of action.

Salazar had always kept the Portuguese empire tightly closed against foreign capitalist interests. His state was a creature of the huge CUF monopoly, owned by the Mello family, which employs more than half the Portuguese work-force and is virtually sole owner of Guine, one of the country's three African colonies.

Based on the crushing of all independent organizations of the working class, both at home and in the colonies, Salazar's rule guaranteed huge profits to CUF and other smaller companies clustered round the regime.

However, the costly colonial wars in Guine, Angola and Mozambique beginning in the early 1960s undermined this relationship. Portuguese capital was not powerful enough to support the expense and increasingly the wars were financed through NATO and American aid.

Other sections of foreign capital, however, also put money into the guerrilla movements, both as an insurance in case Portugal was ousted from Africa and as a means of undermining their Portuguese rivals.

OPPOSED

Caetano's idea was to form a sort of Portuguese Commonwealth, similar to de Gaulle's French Community, controlled from Lisbon but more open to foreign capital. The plan was vigorously opposed by Mello and the all-powerful CUF. Determined not to give an inch they insisted that Caetano turn the screws on the working class at home in order to enable the wars and exploitation to continue as before.

Caetano has carried out their wishes in this respect, at the same time opening the colonies to a certain amount of foreign capital through such schemes as the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Mozambique.

Foreign investment has also been entering Portugal at a relatively rapid rate, attracted by cheap labour and harsh police-state laws. Motor assembly plants, electrical goods industries and branches of the big German and US combines have all established themselves within the frontiers of Portugal.

This has assured him the continued backing of Britain, the US and the other NATO countries. Caetano did allow himself a brief flirtation with electoral forms, but it was solely for the purpose of drawing out the opposition the better to crush it.

This was the purpose of the farcical election campaign for MPs in 1969, during which certain exiles were allowed to return to Portugal for a brief two-week election campaign.

Naturally, the election was rigged, and one of Lisbon's social-democratic candidates, Dr Mario Soares, who was supported by the clandestine Communist Party on an extremely mild reform programme, was declared defeated overwhelmingly.

However, it taught Caetano that the workers' militancy was not broken despite four decades of Salazar's police rule and alerted him to the need for vigilance against the working class. He discovered that the workers were not subjugated and there was a movement inside Portugal itself. He determined to step up the repression.

Inside the official corporatist unions, which embrace workers and employers under the latter's domination, he found the beginnings of a movement towards independent working-class struggle. There were demands for wages, protests about factory conditions. Caetano ordered the disbanding of several of the corporatist unions, including those of the railwaymen, the steelworkers and the glassworkers.

Tight controls were imposed over emigration—particularly for men between 16 and 45. The purpose was to ensure a steady supply of recruits for the armed forces. The controls were necessary: army pay is only £1 a month for soldiers in Portugal and this princely sum is frequently docked on various excuses. Even in Africa the pay is only £30 a month.

Nevertheless, thousands escape the net every year. Others are driven abroad in search of higher wages and better conditions of work. Over a million live in France alone—and Paris is the second Portuguese city so large is the

number of Portuguese living and working there.

There are large numbers of Portuguese workers in other countries: in Germany, Brazil, Canada and the US. The youth who want to avoid the draft or desert from the army give France a wide berth—the Gaullist government recently concluded a deal with the Caetano regime and now ships deserters back home.

To make up the numbers in the forces, Caetano decreed that reservists could be called back for a second term any time up to the age of 45. A second term of national service means four more years in the army.

To maintain the labour force at home, the regime imports labour wholesale from Guine and Angola. The troops taking men to the colonies to fight bring back labourers for Portugal's roads and factories.

SHACKS

The African workers can be seen on the outskirts of the main cities, often living in the shacks on building sites in desperately overcrowded conditions without running water or any conveniences. Their wages are pitifully low, even by Portuguese standards.

The system is only one step removed from outright slavery. The African workers, frequently illiterate and without any protection under the law, are ruthlessly exploited by the grasping Portuguese employers.

Caetano has also set in motion a radical university 'reform' designed to streamline the education system in the interests of big business and stamp out the growth of revolutionary feeling among students.

The three universities, Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra are being handed over to private industry and the courses re-tailored to provide the new 'owners' with docile technicians, ignorant of anything outside their own rigid speciality.

Many of the courses are being shortened to two years and the curricula changed to accord with the 'job descriptions' of the big employers. Higher education will take place where the industries want it to and entry to university will be made many times more difficult.

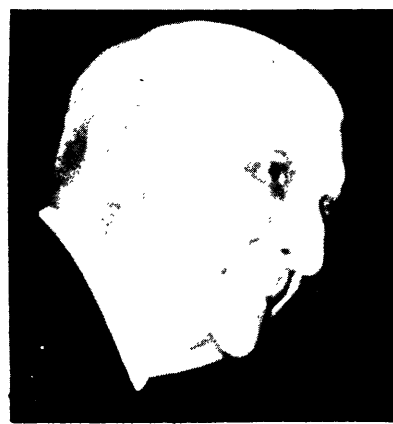
At present, in the complete absence of grants from the state, university education is beyond the means of any but a small middle-class élite. Now the privileges this élite has traditionally enjoyed are being slashed. The entrance examinations are being made more difficult and the intake of stu-



Top: Lisbon—a street in the old quarter of Portugal's capital. Right: present ruler of Portugal, Marcello Caetano. Below: 1939—Salazar already eight years in office invests a new President of the Republic, Antonio Carrasco



Above: oppositionist Mario Soares who gets uncritical support from the Communist Party. Below: ageing Salazar



dents cut drastically. The intake of medical students at Lisbon, for example, is being cut from 2,000 to 200. The rest are scheduled for use as cannon fodder in Africa. They come back from their service there brutalized and frequently suffering from mental disorders brought on by the rigours of the climate, the discipline enforced by the officers and the horrors of the war.

Within the army there have been a number of revolts and mutinies: in one case an entire troopship refused to disembark in Angola and the soldiers forced it to sail all the way back to Lisbon. The officers, judged guilty of responsibility for the mutiny, were jailed.

If the army is not enough to crush and break the spirit of the young Portuguese workers and students, there are police literally everywhere. Political rights are non-existent. It is an offence for more than three people to gather together in one place.

The police have powers to enter and search any home without a warrant. They can hold a 'suspect' six months without trial—and for another

six months again if they want to. In most cases the victims of the procedure are held incommunicado and are not even allowed to see a lawyer.

The police are divided into three sections: the civil police, responsible for the activities of informers planted in all the factories and universities; the 'ordinary' police, charged with supervising traffic and catching criminals; and the dreaded political police, formerly the PIDE, now renamed the DGS.

GESTAPO

The PIDE-DGS learned many of its techniques from the Gestapo, but it is now said to have dropped the cruder physical tortures it once used in favour of more sophisticated and sinister methods involving drugs and psychological techniques.

The PIDE-DGS maintains five big prisons exclusively for political prisoners—and they are always filled to capacity. Possessing an illegal leaflet can lead to a six-month sentence and attending an illegal



Frelimo, Mozambique's guerrillas in training for their liberation struggles against the Portuguese



meeting (all meetings are illegal) can warrant five years. More serious political offences can be punished by up to 25 years in the PIDE-DGS jails. There are no exact statistics on the number of political prisoners in Portugal, though a Prisoners' Aid Society is tolerated by the regime. The Society publishes a lengthy list of new prisoners every month.

As an added refinement the authorities can simply extend a prisoner's sentence for 'security reasons', stretching the term in prison indefinitely. Ten years is enough to break the strongest spirit and numbers are released every year so broken that they no longer have the ability to fight back.

Despite this repression, the workers of Portugal have not been crushed. They fight back within their unions where the illegal Communist Party has considerable rank-and-file support. The party has been illegal since its foundation, but its policies are thoroughly reformist.

It works for the gradual democratization of the regime as the 'first step towards socialism'. In the 1969 elec-

tion the Stalinists threw their support uncritically behind Soares, despite the latter's equivocations over the colonial wars and the vagueness of his reform programme.

Among the students there are also Maoist and Pabloite tendencies with a certain amount of influence in the universities. They are able to publish a limited range of literature on specific topics of the day.

By far the most important development, however, is the emergence of a small but growing Trotskyist movement both in the universities and among the trade unions. These comrades are forced to work in great secrecy because of the repressions, but they are winning support among both students and workers.

CRUMBLING

The Trotskyists have led a struggle against the Stalinist line—supported by the revisionist tendencies—which urges militants not to join the army but to go abroad and

desert. This line separates the militants from the young workers in the army and leaves them without leadership in their struggles against the military regime.

Unlike the Trotskyists, the revisionists carry out virtually no activity in the factories or among the workers. They are confined to student circles and thus isolated from the working-class youth.

After more than 40 years of police-state rule, Caetano's Portugal is beginning to shake at the seams. The vast expense of the colonial wars can be sustained only by the most ruthless exploitation at home and even more in the colonies.

Caetano is seeking to extend the basis for his regime by establishing closer relations with the Common Market, and especially with Britain, Portugal's 'oldest ally'.

But the demagogic façade of empire is already beginning to crumble and unrest is growing at home as the workers begin to draw breath for a fight.

Like his co-thinker Franco in Spain, Dr Marcello Caetano will prove no match for the Portuguese working class under revolutionary leadership.

THE DOOMSDAY MEN

Part one of a series on Science and the Environment by John Crawford

CYNICS have said that the flood of books on the environmental crisis is now reaching the proportions of a major pollution problem. In June, when the United Nations held its Stockholm conference on the question, the chorus of doomsday prophecy became deafening.

Earlier this year, a group of scientists in Britain issued a manifesto entitled 'A Blueprint for Survival'. It begins: 'The principal defect of the industrial way of life with its ethos of expansion is that it is not sustainable. Its termination within the lifetime of someone born today is inevitable—unless it continues to be sustained for a while longer by an entrenched minority at the cost of imposing great suffering on the rest of mankind.'

These people declare that the rapid rise in population now taking place will soon outrun definite limits on the food supply. The rise in industrial production in the past few decades threatens to engulf mankind in a global sewer. There have even been predictions that changes in the atmosphere will lead to a rise in temperature, the melting of the polar ice-caps, and the drowning of civilization.

Opponents of these gloomy prognostications are also becoming more vocal. John Maddox, editor of 'Nature', has assembled what he claims to be massive scientific evidence to refute the more pessimistic and sensational environmentalists. The economist Beckerman, and the right-wing labourites Anthony Crosland and Jeremy Bray, have supported him.

The arguments of this school of thought amount to a perfect faith in the ability of monopoly capital to cope with any problem that might arise. Men like Paul Ehrlich ('The battle to feed all humanity is over') declare that man's development must run into barriers that can never be overcome under any social or economic conditions. But Beckerman and his like have not the slightest doubt that capitalist economy can expand indefinitely.

Worst recession

At this point, perhaps, a question may occur to you: are we not now seeing capitalism in a deep crisis, its worst-ever recession? And if so, why is this never mentioned by either side in the debate about the crisis is itself part of the crisis.

Bernard Franks, in his articles on world population in Workers Press in May, brought together ample evidence to show how, while the debate goes on, capitalist crisis means that food is being destroyed or its production held back. The very fact that neither the environmentalists nor their more cheerful critics talk about the crisis is itself part of the crisis.

A few years ago, the panic about over-population might have been dismissed as a middle-class fad, on a level with vegetarianism or homeopathy. But the trend today attracts the backing of some of the biggest international companies.

This work is spearheaded by the so-called Club of Rome. This world-wide body has the

support of firms like Volkswagen, Fiat and Olivetti. It has put many thousands of dollars into big-name scientific conferences and has financed the work of Forrester and Meadows at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to carry out computer 'simulation' of the environmental process.

Some of the results of this work are to be found in the mass-produced book 'Limits to Growth'. A film version was recently shown on television, with a great flurry of publicity.

This tendency for big capital to get involved in the environment game must be taken very seriously. It arises from the understanding in these circles that the post-war expansion of industry is finished, and that definite political and economic conclusions must be drawn from this.

Many people have noted the tendency in the statements of writers like Ehrlich and Garrett Hardin towards authoritarian and nationalist conceptions. Ehrlich has declared that the increase in population must be stopped, 'if necessary by compulsion'.

His recommended methods for defusing the 'population bomb' are inseparable from dictatorship.

Trustees of civilization

Hardin, editor of the US journal 'Science', speaks for US imperialism when he says:

'It is unlikely that civilization and dignity can survive everywhere; but better in a few places than in none. Fortunate minorities must act as the trustees of a civilization that is threatened by uninformed good intentions.'

The economic crisis forces the monopolies towards dictatorship and the attempt to smash the trade unions. A political prerequisite for this is the hysteria of the middle class. The distinguished members of the Club of Rome, consciously or otherwise, are investigating the possibilities of bringing the environmental debate into political service in this context.

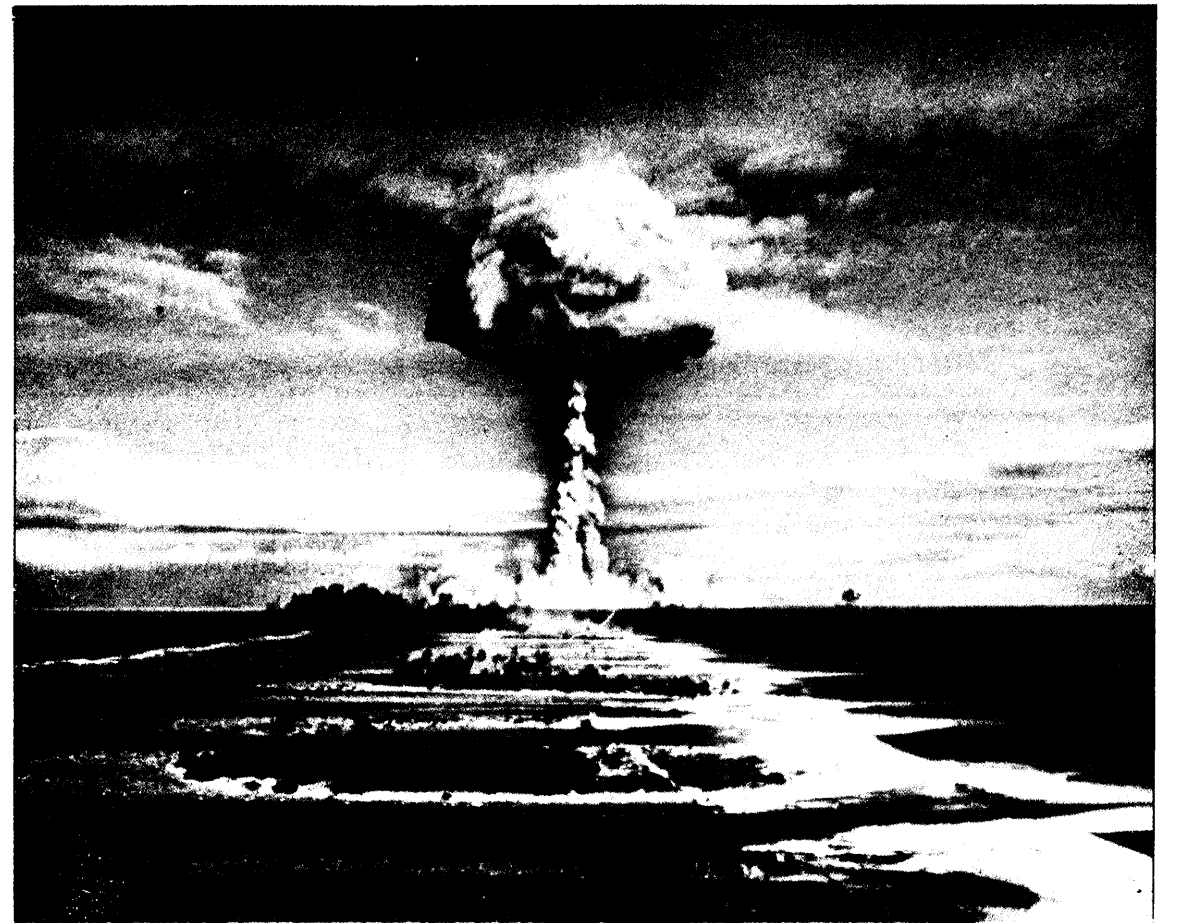
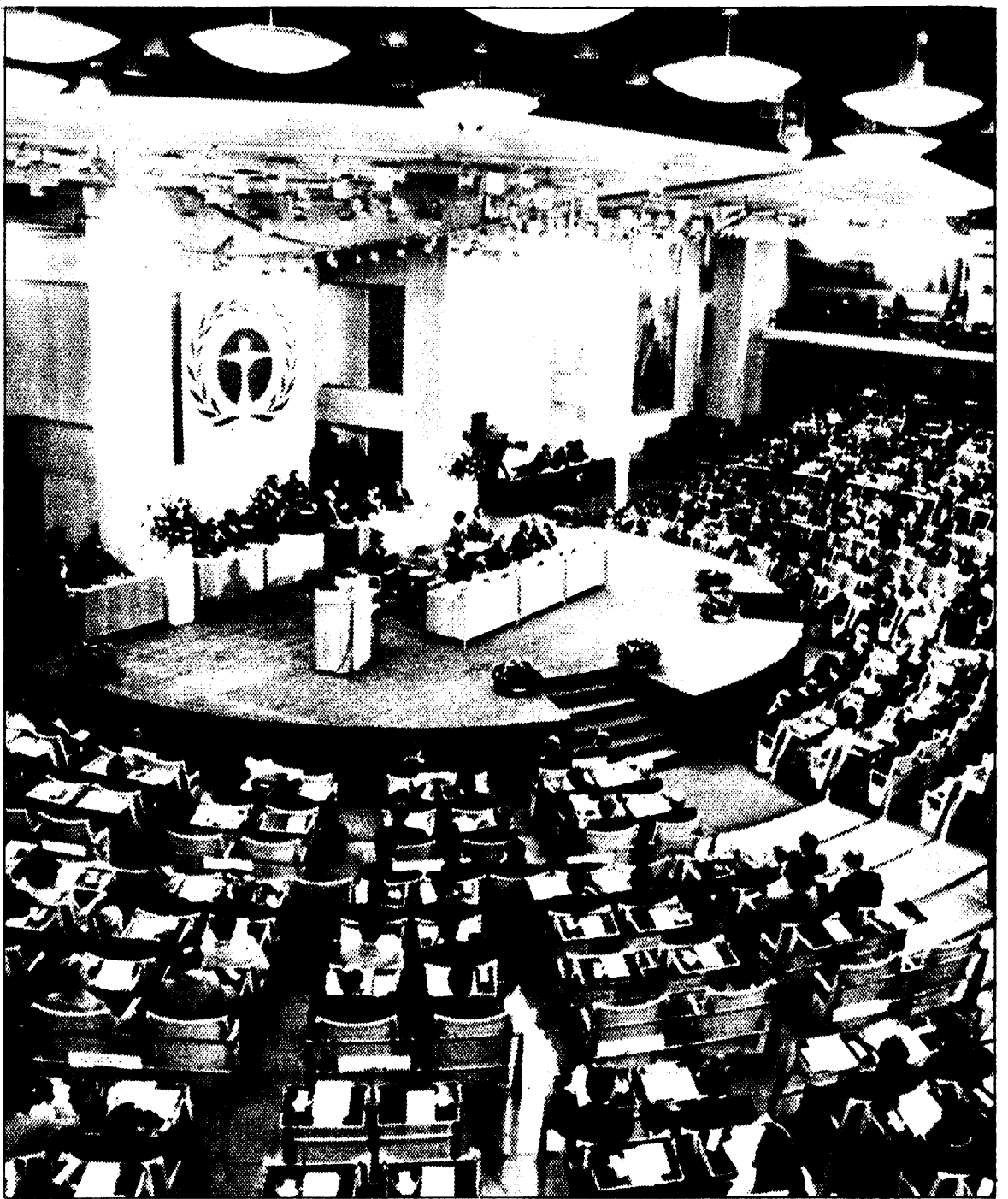
The Stockholm conference on 'human environment' should be looked at in this light also. Observers noted the propaganda triumph of Peter Walker, our 'own' Minister for the Environment. He helped the efforts of the US representatives to avoid discussion on the environmental consequences of US action in Vietnam.

While the conference was in progress, US bombs were destroying the dykes, putting North Vietnamese economy in great danger. This was not considered 'relevant' by the United Nations delegates, nor was the preparation of the French government to explode an H-bomb in the Pacific.

Marxists know that, given planning of production, there are no 'limits' to man's ability to control the natural world of which he is the conscious part. But we should not merely dismiss the nightmare arguments about man's self-destruction with the correct assertion that socialism will solve all these problems.

If the forces of production are not released by the socialist revolution, capitalism can destroy mankind. Nuclear war is only one way that the continued existence of imperialism threatens society.

The developments in technology today, if left under the control of the monopolies, will pour deadly poisons into the



Top: the Stockholm conference of the United Nations on pollution and environment. Above: while the conference was in progress preparations for the French H-bomb test in the Pacific were being made

atmosphere. Already, the biological systems of rivers and lakes are being wiped out and the oxygen content of oceans depleted, thus amplifying the effect of the dumping of masses of chemical wastes in the interests of the rate of profit.

Synthetic fertilizers and insecticides, the foundation of the new industrialized agriculture, are destroying the poten-

tial of the soil on a massive scale. Radioactive waste materials, both from industrial and military applications of atomic energy accumulate unmeasured hazards to future generations.

In the interests of profits, the basis for civilized life is being wiped out by the laws of capital. The hysteria of the environmentalists is thus the

death agony of capitalism as it reflects itself in the minds of those who cannot imagine a world without capital.

We must not ignore what they have to say, for the ruling class will use it, along with all the other ideological effluvia of a rotting social order, in its efforts to cling to power.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Marlon Brando in 'The Godfather'—adding to the glamour of the myth and not the reality of the Mafia

KEEPING IT IN THE FAMILY

BY BRIAN MOORE

It comes gift-wrapped, packaged and promoted, the product that like the alchemist's stone turned base metal into gold, or more precisely, the crippling deficits of Paramount Pictures, into handsome multi-million profits.

I mean 'The Godfather', currently on show at not one West End cinema, but four—the movie of Mario Puzo's multi-million best selling book. It has grossed more at the box office than 'Gone with the Wind', and, as any movie mogul will tell you, that's some grossing.

It comes as an everyday story of Mafia folk, except that no one is supposed to mention the word Mafia or Cosa Nostra, under the instructions of Joseph Colombo, the founder of the Italian American Civil Rights League and, incidentally, the head of one of New York's five Mafia families who was gunned down but a few weeks ago on the streets of New York.

Instead the organization is known as the 'family' and at its head is Don Corleone, the ageing patriarch who dispenses justice with a nod of his grizzled head.

To him come the 'little people' of the Italian community, those who have been wronged, abused, suffered injustice at the hands of the pezzonovantes of the American establishment.

The Godfather has a way of making offers 'that cannot be refused'. Your daughter has been wronged, he'll fix it; you want a part in a Hollywood movie, he'll fix it; and all for the price, not of anything as vulgar and insulting as money, but of friendship, the promise

of one binding favour returned at some future date should it be required.

For this he'll arrange maimings, beatings, or killings, or use his influence amongst his friends in the Senate, Department of Justice or police.

With all he is a traditional man, a believer in the sanctity of marriage, a lover of children, an adherer to common decency, and a tender of flowers. The upholder, in fact, of all the bourgeois values.

When he is approached to provide finance and protection for the hard drug racket, it is his sense of caution and decency that compels him to decline the offer. Not that he has anything against a man earning his living, but he feels narcotics trafficking may put the backs up of the authorities and influential friends who support him.

It is this refusal that sets in motion a brutal round of gang warfare, in which the Don himself is gunned down and eventually his eldest son massacred.

His youngest son Michael, Ivy League and war hero, is drawn into the fray. It is Michael who takes on the responsibility of killing the Turk and a corrupt police officer. He flees to Sicily for a year while the heat is on.

In essence the substance of the film is the waning of the old man's physical powers and the ascendancy of the younger son to replace him. It is he who assumes the mantle of the Godfather in a final bloodbath before moving the family's business interests to Las Vegas. In this he earns his spurs, the respect of his lieutenants and the right to the title.

The gangster has always been a key figure in Hollywood mythology. Throughout the 1930s and the depression these dynamic impresarios of crime and violence were the

contradictory expression of the American dream, get-up-and-go, individual initiative, the way in which the poor boy cast off his rags and assumed riches, though the censor never allowed that ultimate fulfilment. It was always resolved by a gunning down, the final dying words and the general moral imperative that he who lives by the sword or the Tommy gun dies by it.

In reality crime paid handsomely, of course. The syndicate is both an expression of American capital, and an indispensable part of it. The more developed capitalism is, the more acute will be the penetration of crime and corruption.

The peculiar historical, cultural and ethnic development of American capital makes it extremely sensitive to the incursion of crime of the Mafia type. The immigration of national minorities who came to America in search of a new life, driven by poverty from their native countries, looking for the streets to be paved with gold but finding instead poverty, the ghetto, and discrimination, provided the soil in which protective societies could flourish.

The Mafia with its loyalty oaths, its silence, its blood ties, its code of vengeance and its secrecy, is a pre-feudal social organization adapted to the needs of modern capitalism. That is the essential feature of it. It is capitalism drawn to its logical and violent limits. It is monopoly capital where competition is physically exterminated.

The growth from the 'protection' of the minority ghetto and the preservation, and above all violent, guarantee of markets into large-scale rackets and syndicates mirrors the laws of development of 'legitimate' capital itself.

Today American capital

enters its deepest crisis ever and at such times the corruption of the system must begin to reveal itself. Hence the interest in the exposés of the Mafia. All the rottenness is coming to the surface.

Yet as it does so, attempts are made to explain it away in bankrupt moral terms. And the film of 'The Godfather' does precisely that.

The brilliance of the performances of Marlon Brando and Al Pacino actually add to the glamour of the myth and not the reality of the Mafia. The old contradiction between the attraction of the gangster, who strides across the wide screen like a modern-day Achilles or Hercules in homburg hat and cadillac, vaunting his dignity, bravery and prowess, and the repulsion inspired by Christian bourgeois hypocrisy, is unresolved in these terms.

The counterposing of the family warfare is the bankrupt liberal's moralizing finger-wagging. Further, it reduces violence on the screen to a spectacle, depersonalized, messy, gruesome, yes, but rendered totally abstract. This is moralizing that exploits sensation at the same time.

The extent of the family's business interests, the economic basis of the power of the Godfather, the growth of it over the decades, is swept aside. The question is reduced to the level of devils and angels, good men and bad men. As Michael says: 'My father is no different from any other powerful man' and we are into the defunct cliché of power corrupts. By keeping it 'in the family' the film consciously ducks every issue.

In spite of the pre-publicity ballyhoo, the film remains a brilliant public relations job for the Mafia itself—and as such a cover for American capital in its most degenerate crisis.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

REPORT

The Stalinist-controlled North London district committee of the engineers' union is sending out a report to shop stewards in preparation for their quarterly meeting on September 14.

Discussing the role of the district in supporting the Pentonville Five, it lists the following support for the protest strike which followed their jailing:

Chiswick London Transport works, Port of London Authority maintenance, London ship repair, Newham borough council, Warwick Wright Motors, Tower Hamlets borough council, London Transport lifts and escalators, Park Royal Vehicles and '200 members at Acton LTE (London Transport workshops)'.

This sounds great to those not in the know. But the fact is that although 200 Acton LTE workers did stay away, 1,100 worked after a mass-meeting vote went against the stoppage by six to five.

Those who worked included prominent Stalinists... some of them on the North London airport district committee (although in fairness a number of Communist Party members were among those who stayed away).

GREAT PALS

More jollity at the Munich Olympics. Two men, both named Constantine, were seen in animated conversation, slapping each other on the back and shaking hands. Both are members of the exclusive Olympic Executive Committee. One was Constantine Andrianov, the Soviet representative, and the other King Constantine of Greece bulwark of the Colonels regime, responsible for torturing and murdering many members of the Greek Communist Party. They both seem great friends.

DELIGHT

Transport and General Workers' Union officials at Greenfield, near Honeywell, say they are delighted. Courtauld's are to build a new £1m acid plant at the town.

'We are very pleased. This is what we have fought for all along', said Jack Jones T&GWU leader at Courtauld's textile plant in Greenfield.



The existing chemical plant is to be run down and a new plant will be built alongside.

It all sounds terrific. Said Jones: 'Now we have received the news we are much happier about the long-term future of the works.'

Stan Bird, the engineers' convenor at Greenfield, added: 'We are absolutely delighted.'

The flaw in this triumph of negotiation comes at the end of a dry report in a local paper. It notes: 'It is thought that about 100 jobs will be lost as a result of the move to the new plant.'

LORD COOPER ON THE 'ANTI-TROT' WARPATH

If any member of the Trotskyist movement should bump into the rotund form of Lord Cooper they had better watch out — the 64-year-old boss of Britain's third biggest union wants to shoot them!

The ageing Cooper made this startling admission in an interview he gave to the 'Glasgow Herald'. The paper spread Cooper's ravings on 'Trotskyites' across two lengthy columns.

According to journalist Colm Brogan, Cooper, the general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, is normally a placid bureaucrat. But one subject gets him really mad—'These people, Trots, are a complete menace,' he fumed, 'and we are being very naive about them here. They are totally against the system and only want its destruction.'

He talked of his experience in the Pilkington strike where hundreds of glassworkers were sacked and blacklisted by local employers.

'There was one fellow there. We were watching him all the time. One day he was stirring up trouble in St Helens. The next day he was up at York doing the same thing.'

'I would shoot a fellow like that. It's no use trying to win them over. They are not interested.'

But the thing that really terrified the Lord the most is the prospect of the Trotskyist movement becoming more powerful.

'What in God's name would happen,' he wails. 'The country can't afford to be ruled by fanatics.'

DAMAGE

Later on in the interview Cooper reveals, of course, that the prospect of the country being ruled by Tory fanatics, who jail trade unionists, does not worry him at all.

'We all know the amount of damage industrial disputes can cause the country. The unions, under Labour as well as Tory governments, showed that they could not arrange voluntary conciliation and arbitration.'

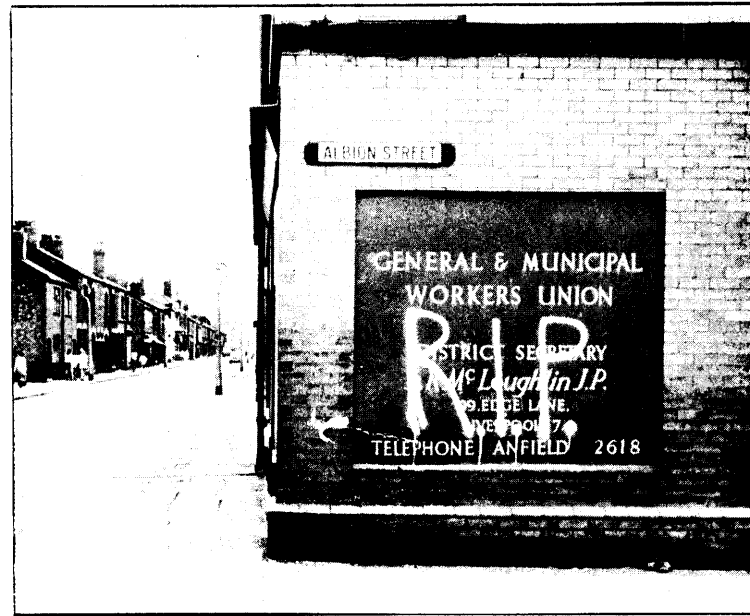
'It's no good now crying your eyes out if the government steps in and insists on on doing now what we should have done ages ago.'

In fact Lord Cooper admits he almost likes the Industrial Relations Act: 'I have put one of my research workers on to find out why the TUC is so opposed to the Act. I can't myself find many reasons against it. If you are registered, then your power is so much greater and you have the backing of the law.'

Finally he amazes us all with a statement on politics. 'I am a good Labour man—I don't think I am a socialist. I don't really know what that means.'

Cooper is soon to retire and this latest rabid opposition to militants only crowns the deep hostility he has always felt towards any movement independent of his union's bureaucracy.

At the G&MWU's 1957 annual conference he warned against the 'unctious philosophy that all the virtues lie



Top: Lord Cooper. Above: what Pilkington workers had to say about their local G&MWU

with the rank and file'.

At this time he began planning to transform unions into strong industry-based machines dominated by a powerful central body which would 'coordinate' the activities of the movement.

He promoted the idea of compulsory ballots as early as 1955 and at the Donovan Commission on unions argued in favour of compulsory arbitration procedures that both employers and unions could use. This would be achieved, said Cooper, by the re-introduction of the Industrial Disputes Order 1951.

One of his biggest scares came in 1966. The union had just spent an enormous amount of its members' money producing 300,000 copies of a pamphlet called 'Why an Incomes Policy?' But his union delegates staged one of their very rare rebellions and passed a resolution condemning the pegging of incomes of low-wage workers (i.e. his own members).

Cooper and his general council acted fast. They called a special meeting and within months the offending policy was overturned. 'Before we take we must give', chirped the noble Lord.

In 1966 an article in the London 'Evening Standard' told how angry Cooper was over the fight his members had made for better wages and conditions at Ford's. The 2,000 G&MWU members at the car combine paid £6.50 a year in union dues. After the strike they were in the scandalous position of having received £48 in strike pay.

According to the 'Standard', Cooper suggested that the union should levy these men and make them pay back the

money over the next 12 months.

In fact the bureaucrats in the G&MWU don't exactly get a raw deal. They are noted within the trade union movement for their snappy, if loud suits.

In 1967 (a year after the Ford strike) the Royal Commission into trade unionism revealed that the union paid an average of £17,500 in strike pay each year—less, in fact, than it spent on cars for officials.

The drive for frugality does not appear to have penetrated the inner sanctum either. Ruxley Towers (called 'Cooper's Klondike' by the Tory press) is a Victorian pile off the Kingston by-pass. It is one of the most palatial union headquarters in the land.

LUCRATIVE

There the full-time officials and their wives can sport in 11 acres of lush grounds, play pool or take a turn round the nine-hole miniature golf course—if they get a little fatigued they can always retire to the well-stocked bar.

They seem to do very nicely—at least—better than the G&MWU's members in Ford.

In this environment, Cooper, once a Labour MP, moulded his views. He will no doubt develop them during his retirement, which, incidentally, will be most comfortable. Apart from his union pension, he holds lucrative directorships with Yorkshire Television, the Meat and Livestock Commission, the Thames Conservancy Board and recently he joined the board of the National Bus Co on a £1,000-a-year retainer basis.

TORIES CUT STRIKER'S BENEFIT TO 75P A WEEK

The Tory government has for some time mounted a vicious campaign—orchestrated by the Fleet Street press—against workers' legal rights to Social Security benefits when on strike.

It has been designed to isolate the strikers and to whip the middle class into line against the trade union movement.

Lurid pictures are obligingly painted in the newspapers of violent strikers being subsidized by the state while they 'hold the country to ransom'.

Of course, the reverse is true. Workers on strike are entitled to claim for their dependants and have paid for what they get through national insurance stamps.

During their recent strike many dockers found it tough going at the Social Security offices. One of them was James O'Brien, a 58-year-old docker who works on the Royal Docks in London.

During the four weeks the strike was on, he drew from the Camberwell Social Security office the princely sum of 75p for the second and third weeks.

In the first week he drew no money. Mr O'Brien's wife

does not go out to work but his two sons—who live at home—do.

The Social Security officials told him he would be assessed on the basis that his two sons out at work should each give him £4.50.

During the first week of the strike Mr O'Brien collected the week's wages he was owed. In the second week he received £5 strike pay and a £4 tax rebate from the firm he worked for.

Out of all this he had to pay £10 rent. And during the week back at work Mr O'Brien got nothing and had to live on his savings.

He told Workers Press: 'The dossier I had to fill just to get my 75p was far worse than the Means Test. It took me 20 minutes to complete it.'

'The Tories come on television and make everything look fair by saying that they couldn't possibly cut strikers' Social Security money. I always thought they were supposed to pay your rent.'

'This is really having a dig at people. It is a rotten thing to do. What makes me so mad is that people think we are getting our money off the Social Security, but they are hoodwinked by a smiling Tory MP on television.'

'I wouldn't have been able to live if I didn't dig into my savings,' said Mr O'Brien.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

DAGENHAM: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Lessons of docks strike, UCS jobs fight.'

HULL: Tuesday September 5, 7.30 p.m. White Hart Hotel, near Drypool Bridge. 'Victory to the building workers.'

WEST LONDON: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, (off York Way), Kings Cross. 'Stalinism and the builders' struggle.'

WOOLWICH: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Queen's Arms, Burage Road, SE 18. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

SLOUGH: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Slough Community Centre, Farnham Rd. 'Force the Tories out! Expose the traitors in the labour and trade union movement!' Speakers: Frank Tomany and Brian Bailey, both in a personal capacity.

GREENOCK: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Salon Hall, Town Hall. 'The rents struggle and the Scott-Lithgow engineers' fight.'

SUNDERLAND: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Trade Union Club, Frederick Street. Speakers: H. Nicol (ATUA), E. Ennew (President of Sunderland Trades Council, in a personal capacity). 'Build Councils of Action. Defend the right to work. Stop rents increases. Make the Tories resign.'

MANCHESTER: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Basement Theatre Town Hall. 'Build Councils of Action. Force the Tories to resign.'

CLYDEBANK: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Clydebank Town Hall, Clydebank. 'Lessons of the UCS struggle.'

RHYMNEY: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Rhymney Workingmen's Club, Rhymney, South Wales. 'Crisis of leadership in the trade unions.'

SOUTHALL: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

EAST LONDON: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Market Square, Chriss Street, Market, E14. 'What is Stalinism?'

SOUTHAMPTON: Friday September 8, 7.30 p.m. 'The Glebe', Corner of Brintons Road and Northam Road. Speaker: Alan Thornett (deputy senior steward Morris Motors, Oxford, in a personal capacity). 'The lessons of the docks strike and the fight for jobs.'

CROYDON: Monday September 11, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

HULL: Wednesday September 13, 7.30 p.m. Church Hall, Wayne Road, Bransholme (opp 'The Swallow'). 'Fighting the Tories' Rent Act.'

An open letter to all builders

Up to 300,000 building workers are now on strike—many starting their 11th week today—for a basic wage of £30 for a 35-hour week and another week's holiday. They face a reactionary Tory government which backs the hated employers 100 per cent in their efforts to hold down wages and weaken trade unionism in the industry. Building workers' leaders, led by George Smith, general secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, have refused to call an all-out, official national strike, and signed separate company agreements. All along the Communist Party has covered up for the retreat of the union leaders and oppose a political fight by builders to lead to the defeat and resignation of the Tories. Joe Fellowes, a Transport and General Workers' Union militant at the Cubitt's World's End site, appeals in this open letter for builders to learn the lessons of the strike so far. He calls for the building of a new leadership in the unions and urges support from the rest of the working class for the building workers' struggle.



Joe Fellowes

New leadership vital to builders' strike



The determination of the builders to win their pay fight was seen last Friday when Camden direct labour workers—the first council builders to join the strike in London—rejected union and management pleas to return to work.

DEAR BROTHERS

AFTER 11 weeks we are still being held back by our leadership in this strike. Because of this fact there is a great deal of confusion among the rank-and-file.

The leadership must be forced by the rank and file to call an all-out, national strike to involve every single building worker. Selective strikes are no solution whatsoever in this fight. This means that separate company deals, too, must be fought. Unless this is done, we could find ourselves split and divided.

Building workers must call for a national agreement which gives us the basic wage of £30 for a 35-hour week.

It is important to see that the Communist Party and the 'Charter' group have not given us the leadership and have not backed up the building workers. Since the strike began they have insisted on selective strikes instead of a national all-out fight.

At the same time the Communist Party had led a betrayal of Upper Clyde workers, Jimmy Reid and other CP mem-

bers, persuaded men to sign a four-year, no-strike deal which can only mean that management will be in a favourable position when they want to sack anyone, including the militants.

In the building industry we have always looked to the 'Charter' for leadership among the rank and file. They were the ones that helped draw up our claim.

But for eight weeks they have kept quiet and not brought out an edition of their paper. The London Action Committee, led by men like Jack Henry, 'Lew' Lewis and Peter Kavanagh have adapted themselves to George Smith and the rest of the union leaders. When Smith has gone one way, the CP has gone with him.

On August 18 the 'Morning Star' gave Smith a full-page interview. He was not asked any questions at all on selective strikes or company agreements. In fact, all along the 'Morning Star' has made no criticisms of union leaderships.

Now some of the 'Charter' group say they have to be soft on Smith to bring him round to our way of thinking. But this is no good.

On August 8, when 7,000 building workers from all over Britain assembled in Hyde Park to march on the pay talks, Henry was forced to put a motion for a national strike which was carried.

On the basis of that decision, many building workers, including those on my site, came out on strike. Now Henry and the CP have once more switched their line.

When 1,000 London building workers met in the Central Halls, Westminster, on August 17, Henry, Lewis and Kavanagh opposed calls from the floor that the union leaders call an all-out, national strike. It can only be because they don't want to commentate on Smith.

Men like Henry and Lewis made their reputations around the fighting which took place over the 13-month Barbican strike in 1967. But most building workers do not realize that this strike was lost, not won.

Not only is the CP opposed to a national strike, but it also refuses to bring any politics into

this strike. Yet on the August 8 march building workers felt it was a political battle because they shouted 'Heath Out!'

Anyone of us can see that the Tories want to defeat the builders. Now it is time for the builders and the working class to stand up and defeat them.

Building workers must be politically aware of who they are fighting. It's not just a question of a wage claim against the employers. The Tory government are behind the employers every inch of the way.

The Tories are waiting for us to be exhausted by the strike. They want to starve us back and defeat the building workers like they have tried with every other worker.

The real lesson in this strike is that we have no real leadership. In the end everything stands or falls on this question.

What sort of leadership do we need? First it must be a political leadership with the objective of forcing the Tory government to resign.

The union leaders still want to collaborate with the employers and the Tories. But no worker can afford to let this government stay in office. We must remember that the working class is the biggest and most powerful force in this country and can make this government call an election.

The union leaders must be made to call a General Strike to force the Heath government out. A Labour government must be put in under conditions where it does what the working class tells it to do. One thing they must do is nationalize the building industry to get rid of the lump once and for all.

The Tories have no intention of giving anything to building workers or anyone else. But the building workers can't fight this battle on their own. They must have and urgently need the support of the rest of the working class.

Now it's all down to the question of leadership. We must build a new one in the building unions, a political leadership which stands by its obligations to workers.

JOE FELLOWES

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TV

BBC 1

9.45 Mary, Mungo and Midge.
10.00 Robinson Crusoe. 10.25 Magic roundabout. 10.30 Olympic grandstand. 1.30 Pogles' wood. 1.45 News and weather. 1.55 Olympic grandstand.
8.00 PANORAMA.
9.00 NEWS. Weather.
9.25 OLYMPIC GAMES. High diving, athletics, 3,000m steeplechase, 200m and cycling finals.
12.45 Weather.

BBC 2

Trades Union Congress coverage to be announced. 11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Penelope Pitstop. 5.10 Search. 5.40 Sounds of music.
6.40 BIRD'S EYE-VIEW. Wales. 7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather. 8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. Glory Soldiers.
8.50 A. P. HERBERT'S MISLEADING CASES. How Free is a Freeman?
9.25 CONTROVERSY. Discussion on men's evolution.
10.25 PLAY: 'THRILLS GALORE'.
10.50 NEWS. Weather.
10.55 FESTIVAL 26.

ITV

11.00 TUC. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Freud on food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Enchanted house. 1.35 Skippy. 2.05 Castle haven. 2.30 Midsummer Monty. 3.00 Film: 'Small Hotel'. 4.10 Cliff's kids. 4.25 Freewheelers. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Olympics and news.
6.00 TODAY.
6.20 CROSSROADS.
6.45 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 HURRICANE HIGGINS.
Film about the world snooker champion.
8.30 LOLLIPOP. Inspector Hardcastle Investigates.
9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. The Foreman's Job At Last.
10.00 NEWS AND OLYMPICS.
11.00 THE NAME OF THE GAME. A Love To Remember.
12.30 ADDICTION.

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 11.00 London. 12.45 News. 12.50 Tennis. 1.15 My three sons. 1.45 Farmhouse kitchen. 2.10 Bellbird. 2.30 TUC. 3.45 Houseparty. 4.00 Lucy. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 11.00 Afloat. 11.30 News. 11.40 Odd couple. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.
HARLECH: 11.00-12.30 London. Tuckertaint. 4.25 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 11.00 Film: 'Dublin Night-Mare'. 12.15 Weather.
HTV Wales as above except: 4.10-4.25 Cantamil. 6.01-6.22 Y dydd.
HTV West as above except: 6.22 This is the West. This week.
HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 11.00 Awdur a'r mis. 11.45 Department S. 12.45 Weather.
ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 1.40 World War I. 2.05 Arthur. 2.30 Jokers. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Cartoons. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 News. 4.00 Romper room. 6.25 London. 11.00 Brian Connell. 11.35 Spyforce.
ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-1.00 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Cliff's kids. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. Weather.
ULSTER: 11.00-1.00 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.30 Let's face it. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Smith family. 6.35 Cartoons. 6.45 London. 11.00 Monday night. 11.05 Name of the game.
YORKSHIRE: 11.00-1.00 London. 1.45 Whicker. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Film: 'Britannia Mews'. 4.10 Cliff's kids. 4.25 London. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.25 Calendar. 6.45 London. 11.00 Name of the game. 12.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 weathe.
GRANADA: 11.00 London. 12.30 Galloping gourmet. 12.55 Woobinda. 1.25 Cinema. 1.55 Calling Dr Gannon. 2.50 Cartoon. 3.05 Danger man. 4.00 Chess masterpieces. 4.10 News. Cliff's kids. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Cartoon. 6.15 European journey. 'Treasure of San Teresa'.
TYNE TEES: 11.00-1.00 London. 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Film: 'Rhubarb'. 4.09 Bird. 2.30 Film: kids. 4.25 London. 4.55 HR Puffstuf. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon time. 6.45 London. 11.00 Brass tacks. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.25 News. 12.40 Epilogue.
SCOTTISH: 11.00-1.00 London. 2.00 Casebook. 2.30 TUC. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Cliff's kids. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 11.00 Festival. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Frighteners.
GRAMPIAN: 11.00-1.00 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.10 News. 3.20 Yoga. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Cliff's kids. 4.25 London. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.15 Me and the chimp. 6.45 London. 11.00 Euphoria. 11.10 Epilogue.

It's all been said before—by Hitler

THE FIVE-DAY London Festival of Light ended in Trafalgar Square yesterday afternoon with a mass prayer. From the standpoint of the organizers of the 'Festival for Jesus', however, the turn-out since Wednesday has been disappointing.

On Saturday a pop concert—led by big-name Cliff Richard—only attracted about 7,000 to Hyde Park. The same event last year brought 20,000 out. For five days the Festival—with organizers like Mary Whitehouse, Malcolm Muggeridge and Lord Longford—has peddled an ideology which has more in common with the Dark Ages than 1972.

Spurning any semblance of rational and logical thought, they described Dunkirk as a 'miracle'.

'We are again surrounded and infiltrated. Only this time it is by a subtle and destructive enemy. Today we see the steady erosion of moral values, the increase of violence, lawlessness, the breakdown of family life,' they said.

The answer? 'We want to bring out the supernatural talents in people,' I was told by one of the organizers.

In reality it means that anyone who opposes authority, or who contributes to 'moral pollution' must be smashed down. 'The Nationwide Petition for Public Decency' already calls for strict censorship of the media.

This paranoia of the petty-bourgeoisie stricken by the break-up of British capitalism finds its echo in the voices of two men.

One is Enoch Powell who also talks of the 'enemy within' and 'moral pollution' and is a mortal opponent of the working class.

The other man is Adolf Hitler, who said in 'Mein Kampf':

'The fight against pollution of the mind must be waged simultaneously with the training of the body. This seductive and sensuous atmosphere puts notions into the heads of our youth, which at their age ought to be unknown to them... But if this fight is not fought to the finish... little of God's image will be left in human nature.'

An open letter to all builders

SEE p. 11

EAST and north-east England will be rather cloudy at first but some bright periods are likely later. Elsewhere mist or fog patches will soon clear and bright or sunny spells are likely.

Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Dry weather will continue over most of England and Wales and many parts will be warm with sunny periods. Scotland and Northern Ireland will be mainly cloudy with rain or drizzle at times, particularly in the north-west with near normal temperatures.

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'Dramatic' expulsion of rebel unions is ambiguous

IN TERMS of breast-beating and soul-baring, today's events at the TUC will undoubtedly be the most dramatic of the conference.

Visitors will witness the unique spectacle of 32 unions, representing a combined membership of half a million, being banished from the fold, packing their bags and getting out of Brighton.

These 'bad boys' of the movement will get their marching orders for failing to deregister under the Industrial Relations Act.

Their expulsion from the debate will certainly give the impression that something important is happening at the 104th Congress, which is exactly the impression the leaders of the trade union movement wish to create.

In fact not one of the debates this week will really examine the enormous dangers that face all trade unionists in the coming year—still less will any policy be adopted to meet this challenge.

Even the General Council bid to expel the rebels from the Congress floor is ambiguous.

The Council have not committed themselves to expulsion, despite the prolonged and deliberate violation of policy by the 34.

The recommendation before Congress on this issue ends 'that any suspended union which has not deregistered by that date [December 31, 1972] shall continue to be suspended until the 1973 congress, when its position will be reviewed'.

But it is on the issue of unemployment and opposition to the Tory government that the real bankruptcy of the leadership is revealed.

On economic policy, once more, there is a long-winded resolution pleading for growth and full employment. This time there are more 'lefty' frills to satisfy unions like the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers; calls for the control of profits and prices,

TUC debates will ignore the dangers facing workers

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN BRIGHTON

withdrawal of the Housing Finance Act and a shorter working week.

But on the key issue of further collaboration with the Tory government and the employers it says nothing.

Everyone knows that in the coming months more lip-service will be paid to all the fancy demands in the motion, while the TUC, the CBI and the Cabinet get cracking with their plan to stop strikes and cut wages.

The motion itself represents the kind of pious pleading for the Tories to 'do something' about the economy that has characterized conference resolutions since the election of the Tory government in 1970.

Two years ago—again at Brighton—Congress was 'gravely concerned' with the figure of 600,000 unemployed. Once more Congress 'demanded' that the General Council press the government for refutation.

This ended in failure. The TUC report for 1971 told the gloomy tale of this verbal offensive to bring prosperity back to Britain. The section on economic policy and organization began with these words:

'In the field of economic policy, last year cannot be described as one of progress. The government's policies have been based

on its doctrine of disengagement, quite alien to the General Council's view of the needs of a modern industrial society.'

Presumably in case anyone thought the TUC was going to get really radical and give up its bid to persuade the Tories, the council added: 'Despite this, the General Council's longstanding approach to dealing with the government of the day, which was restated shortly after the General Election has been maintained throughout the year.'

Since these immortal words, the TUC has been 'dealing' with the Tories for a further 12 months, unemployment is now 930,000, this winter it could be 1½ million and we find the TUC still begging for refutation.

The policy on the anti-union laws, however, has not remained static.

From the peak of opposition at Croydon in March 1971, resistance to the Tory Act has steadily crumbled. Only spontaneous action by workers—without any call from the top—has had any effect on the National Industrial Relations Court.

The biggest retreat, ironically, occurred on May Day, when the TUC 'inner cabinet' gave unions a free hand to appear before the court.

But not one resolution on the

agenda this week calls the TUC to task for this abysmal collapse. Still less does any union call for mass industrial action against the legislation.

After all the traumas, jailings and fines, the TUC is back to where it was in 1970 with no positive policy of action against the anti-union laws apart from their original demand for a Labour government to repeal it.

A few hearts may flutter if Hugh Scanlon of the engineers presses his demand that there should be no co-operation with the court.

But it appears that he and Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union, whose union has appeared at the NIRC, have come to a diplomatic agreement to spare each other any embarrassment.

It is in this atmosphere of abject complacency that the Brighton Congress begins.

There will, of course, be fist-waving from the rostrum, warlike threats and general shouting around—this is all good form so long as the movement does not get committed to a political fight that would disturb the cosy relationships with the Tories and the employers.

The unions who walk out today will leave little better behind them.

Motions weakened

THE TUC is preparing to adopt a weak and ambiguous future policy on co-operation with the Industrial Relations Act.

Congress decides its attitude on Wednesday morning. But already the technical and supervisory section (TASS) of the big engineers' amalgamation has relinquished a demand that unions must not appear before the National Industrial Relations Court or pay fines.

This was a direct challenge to existing TUC policy and the actions of the giant Transport and General Workers' Union.

At a press conference yesterday TUC general secretary Victor Feather would not say

whether he thought this represented a tougher line than present Congress policy. He is reserving his opinion until Hugh Scanlon, the engineers' president, proposes the composite on Wednesday.

The composite also clearly envisages payment of fines since it calls for a fund financed by unions to meet any penalties imposed under the Act.

A motion from the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians, which calls for a campaign including industrial action to bring down the Tory government and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, has been completely lost.

THE RIGHT wing in the National Union of Journalists suffered a shattering defeat at the weekend when a special delegate meeting in London on Saturday voted 171 to 160 not to rescind a deregistration decision taken by the NUJ annual conference in April.

BUILDING workers in Bradford on Saturday unanimously passed a resolution reaffirming their determination to stay on strike till the full claim of £30 for 35 hours was won. The resolution, moved from the floor, rejected any return to work on the basis of company or local agreements.

Labour ranks must fight

FROM PAGE 1

voters—unemployment, anti-union legislation, rents, price increases, cuts in the welfare services—these labour and trade union leaders have failed to fight the Tories.

The miners' strike and the dockers' strike placed the Tory government in jeopardy. But the union leaders pulled back precisely at that point.

The Tory government is still in office and ruthlessly pursuing its attacks on the working class only because these leaders have rescued it time and time again.

It is important to pass these resolutions at the Labour Party Conference. But that still leaves a lot undone. Two major questions face every delegate and every Labour Party member and supporter:

1) How to bring this government down before every basic right won by the working class is

savagely torn away?
2) How to make sure that these policies, once adopted at Blackpool, are actually carried into effect?

Many 'lefts' will speak enthusiastically about socialism. But without mobilizing the working class to bring down the Tories, and force Wilson and company into office pledged to carry out these policies, then all that will happen at the conference will be talk.

Socialist Labour League policy is to build Councils of Action in every area to unite all sections of the working class against the Tory attacks, and to force the TUC leaders to call a General Strike to drive the Tories out of office.

Only a Labour government returned through such a working-class struggle can be pledged to carry out the socialist policies put forward by the ranks for the Blackpool conference.

THE ISSUES AT GOVAN

FROM PAGE 1

He raged that the decision had to be overturned 'so that a flourishing shipbuilding industry can be established on the upper reaches of the Clyde'.

Publicly agreeing with Airrie, Govan chairman Lord Strathalmond added: 'When customers see this kind of thing going on I am very frightened it is making our job impossible.'

Strathalmond cannot lay his hands on a penny of the £35m loan from the Tories until the procedural agreement is signed with its near exclusive emphasis on workers' good behaviour in future.

So while the Stalinists trumpet shrilly that the whole project is threatened, the boilermakers say calmly that a few days either way won't make much difference to the company, but could be of major importance to them.

They add that shop stewards and union officials are deliberately whipping up hostility to their action among other trade unionists at the yards and the general public by issuing condemnatory press statements.

'They know better than anybody what the papers will make of it,' said Mr Borg.

The shop stewards, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union and all nine other unions at the yards have given their signatures, but none of their members have had a chance to fully study the agreement.

Trouble flared among the boilermakers after stewards broke ranks and circulated duplicated copies to all their members.

Shipbuilding for profit on the upper Clyde is finished. To survive even a year or two a vastly truncated manufacturing unit and a docile labour force is essential.

Short of the demand for nationalization of the shipbuilding industry without compensation and under workers' control, capitalist business logic has forced the Stalinists back to surrender every point in the fight and in doing so have been forced willy nilly to link arms with the Tories and the employers.

Already 3,700 jobs have disappeared from the four yards and

now by a mixture of passionate oratory the Stalinists have almost succeeded in foisting on the 4,000 men left at Govan a deal which not only gives no jobs guarantees and no new wage and bonus rates, but which emphasizes in almost every line the urgency of renewed effort to maximize interchangeability and productivity.

The boilermakers have called their bluff. They are not prepared to budge another inch.

Instead of being taken in by the Stalinists men throughout the yards should read the agreement and throw their weight behind the boilermakers.

LIVERPOOL LECTURES

Tremendous interest has been shown in Liverpool for the series of lectures starting next Tuesday. Already large numbers of tickets have been sold. If you are interested in obtaining your ticket please contact: Bill Hunter, 58 Leighton View, Liverpool 8. Tel.: 051-709 7734.

Socialist Labour League FOUR LECTURES
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)
1. Marxism as the theory of knowledge Tuesday September 5
2. Development of Marxism through working-class struggle Tuesday September 12
3. Nature of the capitalist crisis Tuesday September 19
4. Historical materialism today Tuesday September 26
AEU HOUSE
Mount Pleasant
Liverpool 1, 7.30 p.m.