# Works Hess

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • FRIDAY JANUARY 5, 1973 • No. 963 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# TUC CHIEFS RUSH

# FOAID TORIES AGAIN

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

TORY MINISTERS are delighted with the news that the TUC is ready to cooperate with plans to run down the steel industry as part of the Common Market strategy. They consider that TUC general secretary Victor Feather's offer to form a joint committee on steel sackings is a major move by unions in favour of Tory industrial policy.

Feather has invited Tory Industry supremo, Peter Walker, and steel chief Lord Melchett, to form a committee to help bring industry to regions affected by the 60,000 jobs cutback in steel.

At the same time Feather offers assistance in the biggest single jobs onslaught since the Tories came to power, he also goes to 10 Downing Street to discuss phase two of Heath's state pay plan.

Workers Press was the first newspaper to warn that this cor-

## TALKS ON STATE PAY LAW AND STEEL JOBS

poratist-style legislation propses to introduce permanent state control over wages. Unions or sections of workers who defy the Tory 'norms' will be subjected to fines and imprisonment.

The government sees Feather's offer on steel jobs as a clear sign that the TUC and steel union leaders will put up no serious opposition to the enormous redundancies.

A spokesman for the TUC said yesterday they were in a 'tricky position'.

'We are trying to help workers to find new jobs while pressing the Minister to slow down the rate of closures as much as possible.'

He said a conference of all unions in the steel-making areas would be held soon to discuss the crisis.

Another man who has canvassed the idea of collaboration is the leader of Labour's 'left wing' Michael Foot. He has invited Walker to visit his Ebbw Vale constituency where one of the biggest cut-backs will occur.

The issue involved goes far beyond the steel industry. The sackings announced by the British Steel Corporation are part of the Common Market plan for the industry.

This involves a massive rationalization and the phasing out of old processes. Even where investment is taking place, like Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire, redundancies are planned (see p.3).

The European Economic Commission has already said that the steel industry in Britain should be confined to several large groupings—five in fact are envisaged.

It says that plans should be worked out to allow the 'ordered integration' of a few large concerns into the West European industry.

This is the background to the BSC cuts. The TUC, by initiating the phoney moves to bring new jobs to the steel areas, show they accept the sackings and accept the capitalist strategy for Europe.

The miners' leaders are already deeply involved in devising a Common Market plan with the National Coal Board—despite the complete opposition to the EEC expressed by the membership at the union's conference.

The kind of future the European working class can expect has been dramatically illustrated by the demands of the general industries giant Thyssen to close almost all the Ruhr's coal mines (see p. 2).

This kind of ruthless perspective is shared by all the major monopolies in Britain and on the Continent.

The TUC and other unions are now aiding these interests to make sackings on the scale planned by BSC and Thyssens a reality.

This class-collaboration goes hand in hand with talks over phase two of the anti-inflation policy which proposes permanent state control of wages.

Steel workers facing an attack on their right to work and wageearners facing laws which attack the right to a decent standard of living must stop the TUC's treacherous manoeuvrings with the Tories.

The TUC should be stopped from giving comfort and aid to the Heath government.

The leadership must be forced to recall a special congress to prepare for the removal of the Tories and the election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies of nationalization of the basic industries and control of those already nationalized to be placed in workers' hands.



Boisterous 'welcome' for rents auditor

CLAY CROSS was the centre of the rebellion against Tory rent increases yesterday as tenants surrounded the town half to protest over Tory Intimidation.

Our housing correspondent, Philip Wade, was there to hear the 'Red Flag' being sung. See picture and full story page 12.

Meanwhile in South Wales, 1,700 tenants at deflant Bedwas and Machen say they would rather be evicted than pay the increase. Their council is still holding out against the government.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS OFFICIAL WEEKLY PAPER

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

and National Speaking Contest

BUILD THE WEEKLY KEEP LEFT BUILD THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS STOP RISING PRICES FORCE THE TORIES TO RESIGN

Next Saturday—January 6, 2.30 p.m.

East India Hall, East India Dock Road, London E14

SPEAKERS: GARY GURMEET (Editor Keep Left)
GERRY HEALY (SLL national secretary)
BRIAN PRANGLE (YS Student Society)
Dance 8-11 p.m.

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THE DIRECTOR of Public Prosecutions has decided not to lay charges against Special Branch officers involved in last June's Saor Eire arms trial at the Old Bailey.

The case against four Irishmen and a woman collapsed after four days when the prosecution took the extraordinary step of asking for the charges to be dismissed.

When the trial opened the defence alleged that their clients had been 'planted' with guns and ammunition by a police provocateur. Solicitors for the members of Saor Eire said two informers had been infiltrated into their group 'work-ing in collusion with the Special Branch'

hree days after the case collapsed Workers Press presented the findings of a special investigation which identified two men 'Mr Parker' and 'Mr Lee'. (Workers Press, June 15, 1972). From interviews we conducted it seemed clear that if there were police informers in the Saor Eire ranks, these men were the offenders.

Two days later the 'Sunday Times' Insight team produced detailed evidence to substantiate what the lawyers and Workers Press had said. The 'Sunday Times' tracked down John Parker, a man in his forties who lived in the Essex countryside. He admitted working for the Special Branch here and abroad for the past 20 years. He also told

Insight he had spent some time in jail. He gave the reporters 'a detailed account of how he had been instructed by Special Branch detectives to infiltrate a

# The case of the police spy

group of Irishmen suspected of running guns to the IRA'. He claimed that detectives had arranged the installation of a phone in the Saor Eire offices and were tapping the line from the start. He said the Special Branch photographed the defendants on several occasions with a concealed camera,

'Parker told us how a detective, using the false name of David Lee, accompanied him when he first made contact with the group.' Although it appeared that both Parker and Lee were involved in 'setting up' the discovery of arms and appropriate in a house in Wick Boad ammunition in a house in Wick Road, Hackney, neither was arrested nor brought to trial.

But five people were—Patrick O'Sullivan (20), Edmund Petticrew (37), Lawrence McGrandles (23), Donald de Faoit (25), and Miss Marjorie Allen (30). Their arrest was the occasion for sensational newspaper publicity: 'LONDON HUNT FOR IRA TERROR GUNS' and 'ARMS CHARGE—GUN GUARD FOR FIVE'. ('Evening Standard'.)

The accused were refused bail and held in custody for seven months before coming to trial. When the prosecution suddenly abandoned the case, Mr Justice Bean, the trial judge, commented: 'For reasons known only to themselves the prosecution have decided to offer no further evidence against the accused. In those circumstances my duty is to direct you to return formal verdicts of

not guilty.' Defence solicitors, Simon and Company, issued a statement: 'During the trial it

was alleged as part of the defence that weapons had been planted at Wick Road, Hackney, by two men. It was alleged that these two men were police informers and had been working in collusion with the Special Branch. It was alleged that the purpose was to frame the accused who were innocent.' Immediately the 'Sunday Times' article was published, the Home Office ordered

was published, the Home Office ordered an inquiry into the conduct of the Special Branch. This was scarcely an 'independent' body of inquiry. Two police officers—Mr W. Kelsall, deputy chief constable of Cheshire, and Detective Chief Superintendent C. G. Horan, head of Manchester and Salford CIDwere put in charge of investigating other police officers.

Their inquiry was inordinately long. It took six months. This is surprising since it took Workers Press and the 'Sunday Times' only four days to find John Parker and the facts behind the arms

It couldn't have been too difficult to elucidate if there was any blame in the Special Branch since all the detectives associated with the inquiry appear on the witness sheet. The main officers in charge were Detective Inspector James Pittendreigh and Detective Inspector John Wilson, who made the 'swoop' on Wick Road, Detective Sergeant Geoffrey Curtis Tutt, Detective Constable Peter Cowan and Detective Constable Ian Skinner.

On Wednesday the Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Norman Skelhorn,

issued a statement saying that no evidence had been found to warrant criminal proceedings against any of the Special Branch officers. His terse statement contained no mention of the informer, John Parker.

The Saor Eire case has vital implications for all groups on the left. If Parker's story is true—and there has been no official rebuttal of it—then it is clear that the police are prepared to use agents provocateur to infiltrate movements.

In recent issues of the Workers Press we have been deliberately drawing attention to the increase in this form of police activity. It is a violation of all basic rights; a judge recently held that police should not be allowed to use agents provocateur to set up victims. (This was in connection with a drugs ring.)

This kind of sinister repression goes handin-hand with the rest of the Tory attacks on basic rights of the working class. Only two days ago it was announced that the police intend to equip themselves with a newly-designed 'police gun', a type of shotgun capable of firing CS gas canisters, rubber bullets and plastic projectiles.

They are also to obtain a new issue of automatic revolvers. Are these weapons to be used for weeding out corruption in the police force which has now reached scandalous proportions? Of course not. The Tories know that they gave mass struggles with the working face mass struggles with the working class. These weapons systems are aimed at pickets and strikers.

To wage this fight the Tories will throw in all the forces of 'law and order police pimps, bugging devices, concealed tape recorders, CS gas, water cannon and a special CRS-type 'heavy mob'.

The illegal activities of the faceless men in the political police must be a spur to all workers and professional people to defend their basic rights. This can only be done by the construction of a revolutionary party and a campaign to force the Tory government out of

#### THYSSEN'S GIANT THREAT TO WEST GERMAN MINERS

## Close all pits ultimatum

BY JOHN SPENCER

WEST GERMANY'S biggest heavy industrial company has put forward plans for closing down the vast bulk of the country's coal industry on the grounds that it is uneconomic.

The plan, drawn up by Dr Hans-Guenther Sohl, chairman of the Thyssen empire, is being studied by the Economics and Finance Ministries of the social-democratic government.

Thyssen was one of the firms which backed Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s.

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It is now the largest producer of steel on the Continent.

Thyssen also owns a considerable slice

of the West German coal industry through its holding in the Ruhrkohle combine, which has been losing money heavily des-pite government subsidies and emergency financial injections.

The firm argues that the steel com-panies cannot afford to continue paying above world prices for coal in order to support the German coal industry. It claims that the present price of Ger-

man coking coal—over 78 marks a tonis 10 marks more than its foreign com-petitors—including steel makers in other EEC countries—pay for im-

ported coking coal.

Thyssen wants a quick government decision to allow coking coal imports from the United States, Canada and Australia at competitive prices.

Otherwise, it says it will have to divert investment abroad and cut down its ur force in Germany.

In other words the government is being faced with an ultimatum to choose either sackings in coal or sackings in steel.

Plans are already in hand to sack 8,000 of the existing 200,000 mining workforce.

Thyssen has said it is prepared to pull out of the Ruhrkohle combine which owns two-thirds of the West German coal industry.

The German steel baron's desire for cheaper coal and more rationalization is directly linked to British Steel Corporation's entry to the Common Market

Thyssen's crude ultimatum indicates where the power really lies in the EEC-with the barons of heavy industry who remain as predatory and dicta-torial as they were under

## Anti-war action down-under

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

AUSTRALIA'S 200,000-strong Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union has demanded that if the Vietnam war is not ended within a week it will call out its New South Wales members and shut down many factories, including the American-owned General Motors, Ford and Chrysler plants.

Working-class opposition to the war is causing serious concern to the Australian Council of Trade Unions' right-wing leaders. Secretary Harry Souter said the ban was not authorized.

The US ambassador in Canberra, Walter Rice, has protested to the Australian Foreign Affairs Department against the boycott of US ships by Australian dockers and the threats against other US enterprises.

Two weeks ago the new Australian government sent a strongly-worded note to President Nixon to pro-test against the bombing.

TOTAL of 97 airmen are reported missing or captured during the 11-day bombing offensive against North Vietnam accord-North Vietnam according to US sources in Saigon. It is likely that over 100 planes have been lost.

Another B52 crashed in the sea near Da Nang after being hit in a raid. A second supersonic swing-wing F111 fighter-bomber is admitted to have been lost over Hanoi on December 22.

The efficiency of Hanoi's air raid precautions are shown by civilian casualties —1,318 killed and 1,261 wounded despite the ferocity of the attacks which flattened whole districts of the town. Over 40,000 tons of bombs were showered on the capital alone.

A French woman doctor working at the Bach Mai hospital has indignantly denied the preposterous claim by US Defence Department spokesman Jerry Friedheim that it had not been devastated been devastated.

#### **US firms will be hit**

She said that the hospital had been hit by five successive waves of B52s on December 21-22. She had seen three of the big bombers brought down.

Most of the patients had been evacuated, but 28 people were killed, including staff and injured civilians they were attend-

NORTH VIETNAM has hailed the Americans' heavy losses as 'a strategically significant victory'.

In a military analysis the paper 'Quan Doi Nhan Dan' said that Nixon hoped mass raids could rapidly overpower the air defences of the country.

Instead the defeat of the B52s had been a defeat for 'Nixon's re-American-ized war at its peak and crushed a major US counter-offensive effort at a very important time.

'We are fully capable of defeating all the Americans' war escalation steps and their military adventures in

all forms.

'The balance of forces on the battlefield has developed irreversibly in our favour. Despite re-Americanization and the most extensive escalation, there is no way Nixon can save the Americans and their puppets from defeat.'

Liberation Radio commentary said:

'The Nixon Administra-

tion has become a symbol of international treachery. Nixon's actions have disappointed the US people and aroused the world people's indignation and disdain.

'The bloodthirsty hawk Nixon has shown his ruthless and beastly nature by having hundreds of B52s carpet-bomb the centres of Hanoi and Haiphong.

'The Nixon clique ordered bombings even on Christmas. It killed people in churches, destroyed the Bach Mai hospital and even bombed US prisonerof-war camps.'

THE INTERNATIONAL furore over the terror bombing has shaken some congressmen senators.

Democratic Senate leader Mike Mansfield accused the resident devastation in Vietnam to save his face.

Democratic congressmen have made a move towards cutting off funds for the war if it is not settled by the time of Nixon's inauguration on January 22.

THE PARIS peace talks resumed yesterday after a two week suspension. Nixon's special adviser, Henry Kissinger and North Vietnam Politburo member Le Duc Tho, who returned after a visit to Peking, are expected to meet on Monday.

A PLEA to the United States and North Vietnam to end the war is contained in an article by the head of the official Soviet news agency, TASS, published in the newspaper 'Sovietskaya Russiya'.

He charges the Americans with sabotaging the October ceasefire agreement by supporting President Thieu's objections.

'RIGHT TO WORK' FILM 

G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary) **CHRISTINE SMITH (Young Socialists)** In a personal capacity:

**CONNIE FAHEY** (Manchester Tenants)

ALAN STANLEY (Vauxhall Shop Stewards) BRIAN GEENEY (U.P.W.)

WALLY FOUCHS (CAV Occupation Committee)

## North-east closed shop attacked

TWO THOUSAND workers at Thorn Radio Valves and Tubes Ltd, Sunderland, have imposed an overtime ban because two men who left their unions have been sent home on full pay.

The unions concerned are the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

## Two opt out of unions

One of the suspended men, Mr Joseph Young of the AUEW, said vesterday: 'We have not resigned with any intention at all of getting a golden hand-

'If we are sacked, as the unions are demanding, we will have no option and no hesitation in going to the National Industrial Relations Court.'

The ex-G&MWU member recently won an industrial injuries claim which the union fought on his

behalf.

At a mass meeting on Wednesday the men decided that they were not going to work with non-unionists, and neither would they accept that they should be suspended on pay.

The company has asked the two men to reconsider their resignations from the unions. They were due to report their decisions to the management yesterday. But this will not satisfy

the Thorn workers.
Sunderland area secretary of the AUEW Henry
Wilkinson said the unions
were determined to keep

the closed shop at Thorn.

He added: 'We don't want these men back as members—we want them out. The management can either have the 2,000 and get rid of them or have them and do without the 2,000.

'This bloody-mindedness—men jumping on the bandwagon—is going to become a disease all over the country and we are

prepared to make it a national issue.

'This will not be countenanced at all by the membership in the area and we are just not in the habit of being nonsensical here.

'A repetition of what's happened in the Midlands is not going to happen here.'

Mr. Bill Harrison, district organizer of the G&MWU, whose member Mr Terence Canavan has resigned, said:

'We have our problems, but we get on very well and we resolve our differences with the management very amicably.'

Joseph Langston, the 59-year-old Chrysler, Cov-

● Joseph Langston, the 59-year-old Chrysler, Coventry, worker who won an industrial tribunal decision to stay outside the AUEW, goes to the factory today to collect his £44.77 pay which he is receiving while suspended by the firm.

ENGINEERS' union officials have dismissed as a 'load of rubbish' a Tory MP's allegations that members only struck over £55,000 fines on the union because they were threatened.

Mr Robert Redmond, Tory MP for Bolton West, and vice-chairman of the party's parliamentary employment c o m m i t t e e, claimed he had received letters from engineering union members.

Redmond claims the letters had come 'from addresses in his constituency'.

# Busy body Feather certainly gets around

Steel talks planned

RETURN AT SCUNTHORPE

THE 6,000 strikers at the British Steel Corporation's Scunthorpe works in Lincolnshire began a gradual return to work yesterday to allow negotiations between management and unions.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation has given the management 28 days to settle their demand to represent middle management in the plant. Yesterday most of the men returned determined to win their case.

Trouble began when workers under union instruction refused to operate the new Anchor site at Scunthorpe in protest against BSC's refusal to allow union representation for middle management. Eventually 30 steel workers were sent home and this led to a strike of 1,000 men.

ISTC chairman at Scunthorpe, Harry Skinner, told Workers Press the men had acted constitutionally throughout the dispute.

'During the commissioning of the new Anchor site no member of the union was to co-operate in hot-steel trials. At a meeting on December 18 between the BSC, the union and the Department of Employment, no agreement was reached,' he

However, the union has already lifted the ban on working the Anchor site pending the negotiations with management. Talks between ISTC and BSC representatives will begin in London on January 9.

## Profits boom in cash and textiles

A NEW £3m increase in profits from £4.2m to £7.2m before tax, was announced by the finance and insurance Hodge Group yesterlay.

Chairman Sir Julian Hodge again predicted further substantial progress this year. Total assets now exceeded £165m, he said.

So far during the current financial year which started on November 1, activity has continued at a high level, Sir Julian added

Lending is running at a level more than 50 per cent higher than this time last year.

On the stock market, the results were in line with expectations and the shares stayed at 53½p.

Hodge recently launched a merchant bank in Wales which has former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer James Callaghan on the board of directors.

● PROFITS in the textile industry swelled to £120m in 1972
—£30m up on the previous year, according to a report out today.

F. W. Tattersall, a firm of consultants who carried out a survey, said the figures applied to nearly 200 public companies engaged in textiles, clothing and allied industries.

Total net earnings after tax among the firms was £120.2m compared with £90.6m announced in 1971.

VICTOR Feather is a busy body. Yesterday afternoon he was off to No 10 Downing Street to see Edward Heath.

The previous evening he went to Covent Garden to attend the Tories' 'Fanfare for Europe' opera and concert.

Officially, of course, the Labour and trade union movement opposes Market entry.

It is supposed to be boycotting all the Tory functions marking entry.

The TUC is overwhelmingly opposed to entry and Feather, as its general secretary, should be observing this policy.

But just as Feather goes to Downing Street, in spite of the wishes of the country's trade unionists, so he also rubs shoulders with the ruling class at their gala evening in the West End.

In our picture below Feather is seen with (from the left) Lord (C.P.) Snow, Lord Goodman, the chairman of the Newspaper Publishers' Association and Mr C. D. Hamilton, editor in chief of Times Newspapers.



# Wigan plants to close on 400 jobs

ALMOST 400 workers are to lose their jobs following a decision by the Central Wagon group to stop production at two of their Wigan, Lancashire, plants.

In the next six weeks the group is to close its trailer off-shoot—Pitts Trailers Company—which has made big losses in the past year, according to the company.

Also in Wigan the group's Heatstore subsidiary, which now produces night storage heaters, is to be switched into a marketing and service organization.

Altogether about 380 workers will be made redundant.

Central Wagon was in debt to the tune of £350,000 after six months' trading in 1972. Despite a 'considerable improvement', the directors disclosed on Wednesday that the group had only managed to break even for the second six months — blaming losses on Heatstore and Pitts.

They say the redundancy moves ensure that the group enters 1973 'on a fully profitable basis'.

Central Wagon employs a total of 1,500 workers.

# Halewood day-shift in

DAY-SHIFT workers at the Ford Halewood factory on Merseyside worked normally yesterday, unaffected by a dispute which led to a walkout of 1,700 night shift men Wednesday night.

The walk-out arose over plans to re-distribute men on the trim assembly lines. Production of about 500 finished vehicles worth about £500,000 was lost, but the remainder of the factory was not affected.

A Ford spokesman said that the day-shift was working normally.

#### 100 in CAV claim

SHOP STEWARDS representing about 100 works engineers at the CAV plant, Acton, have registered a failure to agree with management over a pay claim.

management over a pay claim.

The men, who are responsible for plant installation and maintenance, are in a key position in the plant and have often taken industrial action in the past.

This development will undoubtedly create problems for management who are maintaining that no negotiations can take place until July when the current site agreement expires.



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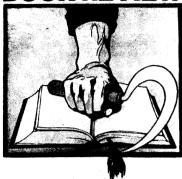
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# The Thalidomide Story Part 1 PURSUING A PROFIT AT ANY COST

#### **BOOK REVIEW**



Thalidomide and the Power of the Drug Companies' by Henning Sjöström and Robert Nilsson. A Penguin Special. 40p.

By a guest reviewer

It is now about 12 years since the world was shocked to learn of the hundreds of children being born with missing limbs and other horrible internal and external deformities.

It has been estimated that about 8,000 to 10,000 children were affected in this way, although there were probably many more who were never reported, particularly in poorer countries such as those in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The lack of medical facilities in those countries has ensured that not only did such births go unnoticed, except by the immediate family and neighbours, but that little or nothing has been done to alleviate the sufferings of the children and their parents.

The cause of the widespread tragedy was, of course, no act of God, but the result of a man-made drug, thalidomide. Given to pregnant women as a tranquillizer which, it was claimed, was completely safe for both mother and child, it has blighted the lives of thousands of families.

Those children who survived their first few years, about 60 per cent, are now approaching adult life with the most appalling handicaps, often enduring dozens of severe operations and painful and exhausting treatment. Many of their mothers have had to undergo prolonged psychiatric treat-ment for depression, and several have tried to commit suicide. Not a few families have broken up under the

The company which first manufactured thalidomide was Chemie Grünenthal of West Germany. It was later sold under licence in a number of other countries by various national drug firms.

Sometime later, when the full terrible effects of this 'completely safe' drug were known, law suits were brought by West German and Scandinavian parents against the nanufacturers. The trials manufacturers. The trials dragged on for years. Parents in other countries began to follow suit. In Britain the case of the 370 affected children against the Distillers Company, the licensees here, is still in progress.

Thalidomide and the Power of the Drug Companies' is written by two Swedes who were closely connected with the thalidomide trials in both Germany and Scandinavia.

Robert Nilsson is a prominent scientist who was the main scientific adviser and technical co-ordinator for the plaintiffs in Scandinavia, as well as technical adviser for the prosecution in Germany.

Henning Sjöström is a lawyer who helped the parents with many of the trials in both countries.

Both men have made a close study of the background, documents and scientific data which were revealed in the course of the trials.

The picture which emerges from their book is one which fully exposes the greed of capitalism in its endless drive for profits and its brutal disregard for human suffering.

The drug companies, like any other business, operate for profit. Health and life have a price. Their job is not to find ways and means of combating disease, but to make money. As Dr Console, former chief medical director of E. R. Squibb & Sons in America, explained:

A company develops a new drug for which it receives a patent and which turns out to be highly profitable. Immediately, its competitors put their research staffs to work on devising their own versions of the drug.

This may or may not result in improvement but, in any case, a point is soon reached where the successive modifications represent no further improvement in utility. Yet, part of the industry's limited supply of skilled researchers continues to be directed to the development of further minor variants . . . If one is un-lucky, and this is usually the case in this empirical approach, the best compound created may still be no better than, or even inferior to, the parent com-pound . . .

In drug research as practised by the industry, commercial success is the primary goal. If re-search success and commercial success were identical, there would be no problem. Unfortu-nately, in this industry research failure can be turned into

commercial success.

Chemie Grünenthal had a curious history long before it became notorious as the manufacturer of thalidomide.

It was formed in 1946 as a subsidiary of a larger company which manufactured soaps, detergents and cosmetics. It was one of a number of new drug companies which started up in West Germany at that time. Following on the disantibiotics covery of new ing the last world war, and the fact that the living conditions of the German working class in the immediate post-war period gave rise to fears of wide-spread epidemics, a number of astute businessmen jumped on to the pharmaceutical bandwagon to supply the new market.

#### **Business went** on as usual

In 1950 Chemie Grünenthal announced the creation of Pulmo 500, a variation of penicillin G ester which was claimed to be far superior to any other known drug in the treatment of certain types of meningitis and pneumonia. It was four years before the manufacture of Pulmo 500 was discontinued, although there had been reports of serious side effects, including several fatalities, since shortly after it came into use.

Patients died, but business

went on as usual.

In August 1952 announcement was made of the development of another new drug, Paratebin, which was 'the first highly-effective penicillin against tuberculosis bacteria'. Tests by other scientists, however, showed that not only did Paratebin have no medical value at all, but that in those patients suffering from tuber-culosis who had been treated with the drug, the disease had been allowed to run its course unhindered.

Thalidomide opened up an entirely new field of operations for Chemie Grünenthal. For the first time they were progressing from antibiotics and entering the new-and by now much more profitablemarket of sedatives and tranquillizers.

Under the trade name of Contergan, thalidomide was launched on an unsuspecting West German public on October 1, 1957. It had, however, been tried out in Hamburg for almost a year beforehandnot as a sedative, but for the treatment of respiratory infections!

By 1958 the company's publicity department swung into its stride with a massive campaign aimed at both the medical world and the public. Hundreds of thousands of circulars were sent to doctors and pharmacists.

Dozens of advertisements were placed in medical journals.

Soon the new 'wonder-drug' was being extended into the world market and was eventually sold in 11 countries in Europe, seven in Africa, 17 in Asia and 11 on the American continent.

Sales of thalidomide soared. By 1961 the total sales value in W Germany alone amounted to DM12.4m. Exports of the drug amounted to at least a further DM3m.

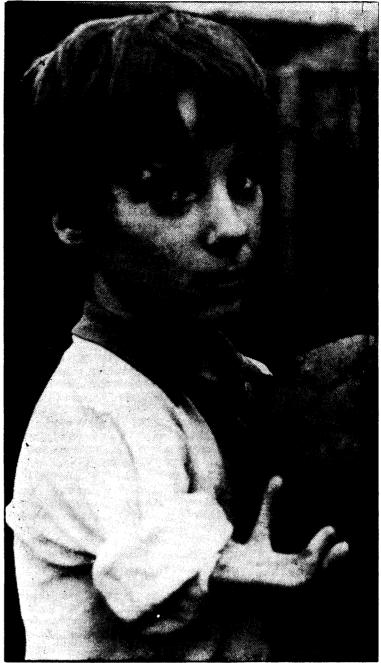
Realizing they were on to a good thing, Chemie Grünenthal began combining thalidomide with other chemicals and issuing the resultant mixtures as new drugs for the treatment of such diverse conditions as colds, flu, nervousneuralgia, ness. migraine, diabetes and liver asthma, complaints.

A liquid was made specially for children and was so widely used that it became known as 'cinema-juice', as mothers would give it to their children to help them sleep well when the parents were going out in the evening. Hospitals gave it to frightened children to calm them down before treatment. Many a pregnant woman enjoyed a good night's sleep, thanks to thalidomide.

When the law suits started and the police went to the company's premises to seize the relevant correspondence, they were surprised to find very little. A few days later, however, they received an anonymous telephone call tipping them off that more documents were in the offices of an associated company. A police raid confirmed this.

A further anonymous call stated that more papers would be found in 'the bunker'.

Not knowing where to look, a police officer called on one of the company's directors and, in the course of general conversation, casually asked for the keys of 'the bunker'. Caught off guard, the director



Barry Lennon of Liverpool a thalidomide victim, now 12 years old.

produced the keys. 'The bunker' proved to be a well-concealed underground room beneath the factory. More relevant papers were found there. It would appear, however, that some of the evidence is still missing.

The rest of the story is taken from the documents which were used in evidence in the German and Scandinavian trials.

#### **Hunt to find** support

To boost their exports, Chemie Grünenthal felt it would be wise to get scientific support from the doctors in the various countries they were aiming at. A hunt was started to find co-operative local physicians. The way in which this was done was revealed in letters to their Portuguese company in relation to another drug:

To be quite frank, quick publication (perhaps in three months), with the case history of 15 or 20 successfully treated cases which tolerated the drug well, is more important than a large work with a broad basis which will appear first in eight to 12 months . . . for this reason we would ask you to find a suitable researcher . . . who would produce a favourable report on this preparation. There will, of course, be suitable remuneration (we should like you to suggest terms).

It was not long, however, before the first disturbing reports began to come in.

Doctors began to notice certain symptoms in patients who had taken thalidomide. There were reports of loss of balance, giddiness, severe constipation, irritation of the skin, loss of memory, decreased blood pressure, trembling of the limbs and loss of sensation in hands and feet. The company assured doctors who raised the matter with them that these side-effects were not important and suggested they were due to overdosages or allergic reactions.

No attention was paid to these reports by Chemie Grünenthal, but in October Chemie 1959 a Dusseldorf neurologist wrote to the company saying

he had observed a case of polyneuritis (damage to the central nervous system) which could possibly have been due to Contergan. He was told no side-effects had ever been observed before.

It is worth quoting from the book in order to give a picture of just what sideeffects were beginning to come to light, which the company was so concerned to cover up:

After continuous use of thalidomide over a shorter or longer period (two weeks and up to three years) a prickling feeling of the extremities appears followed by a sensation of numb-ness (paraesthesia) and coldness.

The numbness usually begins in the toes and is not initially noticed by the patient. The numbness then spread to the ball of the foot, then to the ankles, and finally to the calves, but no further up than to the knee.

Many months later, hardly ever at the same time, numbness begins in the tips of the fingers. After some time the complete picture of a toxic polyneuritis develops, including severe muscular pains and cramps in the extremities, weakness of the limbs, disturbances of the reflexes and co-ordination of the limbs (ataxia). The patient is un-able to judge the position of his legs by feeling; consequently his gait becomes unbalanced and unco-ordinated.

In its fully-developed form, partial paralysis may occur and in the majority of cases even un-exacting forms of manual work become impossible. The victim becomes permanently disabled ...

Apart from the polyneuritis, severe symptoms of effects of the central nervous system often appeared. Involuntary twitchings of the facial muscles occurred. trembling of the muscles of the entire body, abnormal bodily sensations and severe disturbances of the ability to concentrate, together with speech difficulties, double-vision and in some cases even epileptic seizures.

Furthermore, it became clear that the damage caused by thalidomide is permanent and does not improve once the patient stops taking the drug.

More and more unfavourable reports were reaching the company, but sales were booming.

**CONTINUED TOMORROW** 

# NATIONAL UNREST IN USSR Claims have been made in the Soviet Union that the 'nationalities question' is all but solved. But this is a mere propaganda lie. Early last year troops were

paganda lie.

Early last year troops were out in Kaunas, in Soviet Lithuania, to repress a nationalist demonstration following the death of a political pro-tester who had burned himself to death.

National feeling and arrests of nationalists have been reported from the other Baltic republic of Lithuania, annexed to the Soviet Union in 1940.

Hundreds of arrests of alleged nationalists have been made in the Ukraine. There has been trouble in Stalin's home state of Georgia, as well as in the Republics of Ajerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Armenia.

The use of anti-Semitism by the bureaucracy as a weapon against its critics and opponents and a means of deflecting anger from its own misdeeds has forced tens of thousands of Soviet citizens with Jewish origin to decide where their loyalties lay. Many have already taken refuge in Israel.

Armenians have also left the Soviet Union and joined exiled communities in Europe or the

The bureaucracy's repressive methods, as well as its preference for Russians as opposed to members of national minorities, has kept alive nationalism in many parts of the Soviet

The Revolution has brought undoubted benefits to previously backward areas, but these are attributable to the abolition of landlordism and capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy. The usurping bureaucracy, by trampling on the rights of nationalities, negates these conquests.

Stalin posed as an expert on the nationalities question and his propagandists actually convinced many people outside



the Soviet Union that there was no longer a national problem. In fact, although himself a Georgian, Stalin acted according to the most barbaric practices of Great Russian chauvinism.

Indeed, he had begun to do so in his native Georgia even when Lenin was alive and had to be brought sharply to heel. But his treatment of the national minorities during the last war had no precedent in modern history. It was based on the guilt of entire peoples and collective punishment of all, including Communist Party members and loyal Stalinists.

Stalin abandoned the nationalities policy of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Instead of the equality promised when the Soviet state was formed in 1922, there has been blatant discrimination on grounds of nationality and the promise of self-determination remains a

At the height of Stalin's rèign of terror over 1.5 million people belonging to many different national minorities were deported for allegedly having pro-Nazi sympathies or actually collaborating with the German invaders during World

For many years, not only while the old dictator was alive but also after his death, the men who now rule in the Kremlin accepted this policy of national discrimination and oppression. Thousands of Tartars and others who were deported have still not been permitted to return to their homelands.

The fate of the Meshetians, a people of 200,000 from the Caucasus who were deported to remote parts of Siberia, was only made known in 1970 when they were 'rehabilitated'.

The award of the Order of

the October Revolution to the Checen-Ingushi peoples for their part in the struggle against Nazism comes over a quarter of a century after they were all deported for collaboration!

The struggle against the bureaucracy often takes a confused nationalist form just as the methods of the bureaucracy provide grist for the mills of the reactionary nationalists with connections outside the Soviet Union.

The events of the past year show that despite its anniversary speech-making the bureaucracy remains the accomplice of Stalin's crimes. It continues to trample on the rights of nationalities and to exploit national antagonisms to maintain its own rule.

In many parts of the Soviet Union the speeches and toasts will be greeted with more than the usual cynicism.

Huey Newton, leader of the American Black Panther Party, has now denounced the working class in the US as potential fascists.

Speaking to a 350-strong student audience at Santa Clara University, California recently, Newton said that the American Communist Party had grave illusions that the proletariat, which he defined as white factory workers, would some day carry the red flags of revolution.

Newton said that actually the working class would be carrying the flag of Franco in Spain—the fascist flag.

This statement paves the way for very dangerous divisions between sections of oppressed workers—both black and white—in the US.

At a time when Nixon has redoubled his attacks on all sections of American workers, Newton makes a statement which can only serve to create divisions, when what is most urgently needed is a mass mobilization of American workers to form an alternative Labour Party.

The present deep crisis of

the world capitalist system no longer allows American or any other section of capitalism the luxury of concentrating its attacks on one section of workers alone.

Today they have to destroy all rights and conditions won by every section of workers.



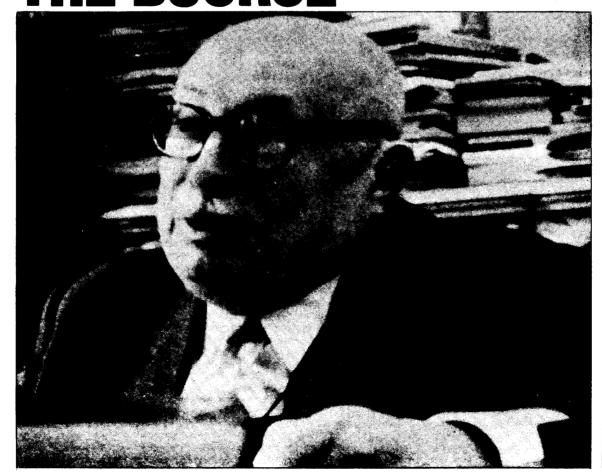
**Huey Newton** 

That is not to say, however, that they will not use racialism as part of their strategy for undermining working-class rights and conditions.

Even more so then does Newton's policy play directly into the hands of the American bourgeoisie-whether it be of the Republican or Democratic variety.

Huey Newton's black nationalism today can never hope to solve the problems facing black American workers. It can only cut them off from their only source of victoryunity with their brothers in the working-class movement, no matter what creed or colour.

DUCLOS REASSURES THE BOURSE



'Do I look like a bandit or a murderer?' veteran Stalinist Jacques Duclos recently asked an audience of bankers and businessmen invited to hear speakers from the three members of the left-wing electoral coalition.

'Before criticizing', Duclos appealed to his audience 'try to understand us. You are bourgeois. I am a proletarian', said the one-time pastry cook. 'Your bourgeoisie is one of the most intelligent in the world. Your forefathers made the French Revolution. But they made one great error, that of believing it to be the last.'

But he re-assured his luncheon audience of the French equivalent of City gents: 'Transformations can be made today by peaceful means.

'Do you take us for undertakers; for burglars who want to open your safes? Look at me: I don't look like a bandit or a murderer. Are you afraid?'

Duclos has had many years experience on the benches of bourgeois parliaments and is noted for his suave and witty debating style. He is also a hard-line Stalinist, a certain supporter of every zig and zag and able and ready to do whatever dirty work the Communist Party requires.

What effect his legendary bonhomie had on his wellheeled audience is not known, but at the end of the luncheon he and the Socialist Party speaker, Claude Estier, said that they had not been out vote-catching.

# THE GUESTS AND GHOSTS AT KING HENRY'S COURT

By ALEX MITCHELL

Hampton Court, on the banks of the Thames near Kingston, was the scene of legendary orgies thrown by Henry VIII.

The tyrant king would remove himself to this country retreat to satisfy his ferocious appetite for hard-drinking and wenching.

The colossal palace, set in acres of rolling parks and a deer forest, was built in the 16th century by Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and the king's chancellor. (Wolsey was a kind of early version of Henry Kissinger.)

During the protracted haggling with Rome over his divorce from Catherine, Henry moved his mistress, Anne Boleyn, to Hampton Court. When Wolsey failed to get satisfactory divorce terms, Henry had him convicted of high treason. But he died before he reached the gallows.

Henry was excommunicated and in retaliation established his own Church of England. His troubles weren't over, however. Anne bore him a daughter, not a son and heir. The day after Anne's execution, he married another of his mistresses, Jane Seymour.

She died at Hampton Court giving birth to Edward VI in 1537. The palace was to have continuing associations: two other marriages—to Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr—were consecrated in the Great Hall.

It was to this hall, with its magnificent hammerbeam roof, that Edward Heath, senior members of his Cabinet and the leaders of British industry went on Tuesday night.

Shortly after nightfall and as

Shortly after nightfall and as the fog settled, the 250 guests made their way through the Trophy Gates, built by George II, to a banquet marking entry into the Common Market.

Rolls-Royces, Bentleys, Jaguars—limousines of every description—swam silently towards the palace like a shoal of sharks in the shallow.

The security precautions were stringent. Uniformed police patrolled the grounds while Special Branch men stood in overcoats recording the faces of everyone who went in.

Only six handpicked journalists from the capitalist Press were invited to attend. And one photographer. A television crew from the BBC was permitted in side to film Heath's speech and the opening remarks by the guest of honour, Dr Sicco Mansholt, retiring president of the EEC Commission.

Commission.

As the cars drew up, liveried footmen opened the doors. The chauffeurs then drove to the rear of the palace where, as the invitation cards stated, 'refreshments will be provided in the depot canteen'.

It seems clear that the food consumed by the guests was not from the canteen.

They began with turtle soup, followed by lobster, then pheasant with asparagus and finally

a giant icecream cake. This feast was demolished with no less than four wines (two red, two white), champagne, port and brandy. Free cigarettes and cigars were on every table.

Of the 250 guests, only about 20 were women. Young girls presented the representatives of the other eight EEC countries with expensive pieces of china. As one woman commentator said acidly: 'The presentation ceremony revealed the first of the Euro-bunnies. Little sex kittens made their appearance and then disappeared off-stage.'

During the two-hour meal, minstrels played folk music from the gallery. They wore fancy costumes as if to desperately recreate the former grandeur of the state occasions in the Great Hall.

In his speech Lord Harlech, the former UK Ambassador in



Heath arriving at Hampton Court. Above right: In the Great Hall at Hampton Court Dr Sicco Mansholt, president of the EEC Commission who retires today, gives his speech welcoming British entry. From the left: Lord Harlech, president of the European Movement, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hallsham, Mansholt, the Italian Ambassador, Mr Manzini and Walter Behrendt, president of the European Parliament

Washington and the chairman of the British Board of Film Censors, also harped on the theme of the 'emotional' and 'historical' atmosphere in which the banquet was being

Nobody could deny the history which has been enacted at Hampton Court. It was behind those walls that Henry conspired to start the Anglican Church and to seize the powerful land holdings of the Church of Rome. He also planned the construction of the Royal Navy which enabled the expansion of British imperialism to the four corners of the world.

But at the end of Victoria's reign she threw Hampton

Court open to the public. Since then probably millions of tourists and sightseers have picked their way over the building and its famous hedge maze in the gardens. They have viewed the State Apartments, the Great Kitchen (where a whole ox can be roasted), the cellars and the tennis court built for Henry VIII—the first tennis court in the world.

the world.

All these treasures of bourgeois history can be seen for 20p. For children under 14 it's 5p. You can get there by catching any of the following buses: 72, 111, 131, 155, 201, 206, 211, 216, 264 and 267.

Heath's show of ostentation at Hampton Court has got to

be seen in this context. The venue for the banquet was deliberately chosen to impress the television audiences and to convince the bourgeoisie itself of its own history of greatness.

It is the depth of the economic crisis facing British capitalism which drives Heath to the Tudor fortress on the Thames and to summon these ancient trappings of power.

But as one of the guests noted: 'It was very dull really. Nobody got drunk, nobody said "Boo" to anybody. It was very formal and unbending. In fact, everyone seemed a little bit on edge. A bit nervous.'

I bet they did! Heath and the rich idlers who stuffed themselves with lobster and pheasant know that they still have to settle accounts with the working class. The Tories have passed legislation and signed treaties—none of which is accepted by the working class.

The working class will fight his anti-union laws, his state pay laws, his attacks on council housing, his deliberate creation of mass unemployment. If there was 'edginess' on Tuesday night, it was because the ruling class knows that it has to do a lot more than make bombastic speeches and wear Tudor fancy dress.

#### WHO THREW THE BANQUET?

Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader, did not attend Tuesday night's banquet at Hampton Court. The Tory Press made huge play of the fact that Wilson had 'snubbed' the festivities.

It was presented to the working class as though Wilson was carrying out Labour Party and TUC policy by not having anything to do with the Tory 'Fanfare for Europe' (FFE).

But Wilson's non-appearance at the Thamesside palace is the most monstrous piece of hypocrisy. Why? We shall explain . . .

The banquet was organized and paid for by an organization called the European Movement.

This is a body largely unknown to the mass of the population. Its publications in favour of the EEC are prolific.



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But about its own finances and operation, little is made public.
Its patrons are none other than Edward Heath, Jeremy Thorpe and . . . Harold Wilson!

While three of its five presidents are also Labourites—Lord George-Brown, the former deputy leader of the Labour Party, his successor Roy Jenkins, and Sir Frederick Hayday, the ex-national officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

In other words, the Labour Party is up to its teeth in the organization which ran Tuesday night's gala evening to celebrate entry.

There is another myth that must be nailed. The Tory Press said that the Labourites 'boycotted' the function. This is

Labour Party members who were present included: Lord Shackleton, Labour leader in the Lords and a member of the Shadow Cabinet; Lord Chalfont; Sir Frederick Hayday of the G&MWU and former chairman of the TUC international committee; Mr Tom McNally, head of the Labour Party's international department at Transport House; Mr Jim Cattermole, a former Labour Party regional organizer and now full-time director of the Labour Committee for

Europe; and three Scottish MPs Dr J. Dickson Mabon, R. MacLennan and J. P. Mackintosh.

The centre-piece of the Labour collaboration was, however, the presence of Mr George Thomson, a former member of Wilson's Cabinet and now the Tory-appointed Commissioner to Europe. The beaming Thomson received a special blessing from Heath.

In his speech Heath expressed his gratitude to all those who had made entry possible. He specifically thanked those in 'the other political parties'. It was an oblique but well-understood reference to Roy Jenkins and his 68 rightwing friends who voted with the Tories for entry on October 22, 1971.

By trooping into the Tory lobby they not only secured British membership of the EEC, but also saved Heath's government from falling. If Wilson, Jenkins, George-Brown, Michael Stewart, Shirley Williams, Douglas Houghton, Harold Lever and Anthony Crosland were absent from the banquet, they were forced to do so by the strength of the working class.

A year ago Jenkins and his friends were able to flaunt their pro-European views in the face of the Labour and trade union movement. Whenever Heath needed votes during the passage of the EEC legislation, they would oblige.

Now, however, the meaning of the Market is becoming clearer. The working class sees that entry is bound up with the whole Tory strategy to link up with the West European monopolists in a last-ditch stand.

Entry is a desperate bid by the Tories to regroup their dwindling strength in an effort to smash the trade unions and take away basic rights of trade unions, a decent standard of living and decent housing.

That Labourites belong to the European Movement is an act of flagrant class-collaboration.

This body, which had an income of some £500,000 last year, was founded by Sir Winston Churchill in 1946. Not long ago it took up plush new headquarters in Europe House in Whitehall Place, which places it within a few hundred yards of No 10 Downing Street.

Its financial resources come almost entirely from big business. Its backers include the big banks—Barclays, Lloyds, Midland and National Westminster—the influential

merchant banking fraternity, Rothschild, Warburg, Sassoon, Schroder Wagg and the big British monopolies:

Sir John Partridge's Imperial Tobacco, British Petroleum, Burroughs Machines, Lord Kearton's Courtaulds Limited (George-Brown is a director), Distillers Limited (the mar-keters of thalidomide), Dunlop Rubber Company (Reginald Maudling used to be a director), Esso Petroleum, F. W. Woolworth, H. J. Heinz Company, IBM (UK) Limited, Johnson Matthey Company (Lord Robens is a senior director), British Ropes (Anthony Barber's Yorkshire-based firm), Kellogg Company of Great Britain, Kodak Limited, Lord Sieff's Marks and Spencer (which contributes to Tory Party funds), Robert Carr's old firm, Metal Box Company, Morgan Crucible Limited, Sir John Clark's Plessey Limited (another big contributor to the Tory coffers), Rank Hovis Mc-Dougall, the Rentokil Group, Rowntree and Company, Shell International, Tate and Lyle, the sugar monopoly, Watney Mann and W. H. Smith and Company (which gave £22,775 to the Tories in 1970).

When the European Movement began its £100,000 advertising and poster campaign for

the Market, 71 leading industrialists signed a manifesto which appeared in 'The Times'.

Apart from this mighty backing, the European Movement has another intriguing source of revenue—the Foreign Office. When Lord Chalfont was a junior minister at the Foreign Office in Wilson's administration he had the subsidy to the movement raised from £2,500 a year to £7,500.

It is also interestnig to note that when you join the Europe House Club, which is comfortably installed in the new Whitehall Place address, you pay your membership cheque to Coutts and Company, account No. 21495670. The account is in the name European Movement (British Council) Limited.

And we all know what the

British Council gets up to!

Despite the Press and television ballyhoo and despite the two-faced manoeuvres of its leadership, the rank and file of the Labour and trade union movement remains implacably hostile to the EEC.

As the cost of living continues to soar, this hostility can only intensify. The Tories may have signed the Treaty of Rome, but they've signed the death sentence of British capitalism as well.

On Nøvember 13, 1972, Workers Press published the full text of an 'open letter' sent to us by the organizers of the Conference of Radical Scholars of Soviet and Eastern European Studies held in London on October 20-22. This letter replied to our earlier criticisms of the conference and we duly replied to it in the same issue of Workers Press. Now Workers Press has come under fire in 'Intercontinental Press' (December 18) from George Saunders of the United States Socialist Workers Party, an organization politically sympathetic to the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat', of which Tariq Ali's International Marxist Group (IMG) is a section. Here we publish the full text of Saunders' attack, together with our own reply.

# **REVISIONISTS** ATTACK WORKERS **PRESS**

The Workers Press attacks on the conference contain such deliberate distortions as might sooner be expected from a bourgeois journal, or from the Press of the bureaucratized communist parties themselves.

The most glaring Workers Press fabrication appeared in its original article on the conference. Between photographs of the Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel and the Czech oppositionist Jiri Pelikan - both keynote speakers at the conference—the Workers Press printed a photograph of the British Stalinist Monty Johnstone. For added effect, Johnstone was depicted standing before a microphone and was described as one of 'three main participants' at the conference. The article made much of the fact that Johnstone had 'appeared' at the conference, which was advanced as evidence that the gathering served the interests of Stalinism.

In point of fact-if the SLL will allow a descent into empiricism—Johnstone had nothing to do with the conference. He did not speak there; the Workers Press photograph was not taken at the conference.

The conference organizers explained this in their reply to the Workers Press article. But the SLL is not fazed. In its answer to the open letter, Workers Press does not acknowledge the organizers' statement that 'Johnstone was not invited to speak', nor does it explain its fraudulent photograph. Instead, the Workers Press author seizes on some damning evidence.

The conference organizers, it seems, stated that the 'only basis for these accusations is that Johnstone arrived on Sunday, after the final paper of conference'. Thereby, exults the sectarian polemicist, they admitted that Johnstone was at the conference. We can only heave a sigh of relief that no campus policeman appeared at the gathering, thus subjecting the conference to SLL accusations of alliance with the armed bodies of the bourgeois

But there is more. Two participants at the conference. Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn. both leaders of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth Inter-national, 'warmly greeted' Johnstone. If only the SLL reporter had paid as much attention to the conference proceedings as to the alleged social observances of its participants.

Small matter that the conference organizers denv even this little detail of the Workers Press report. 'In view of Johnstone's revolting political record this is not a small point', insists the Workers Press.

Presumably, Ali and Blackburn's failure to display sufficient lack of social grace is a manifestation of 'Pabloite revisionism'. Io support this thesis, and to extend it to the entire proceedings, the SLL resorts to some very tortured argumentation—and in the process unwittingly condemns

The 'New Left Review', of which Blackburn is an editor, has published Johnstone. Another editor of NLR, Perry Anderson, is a member of the jury that selects the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize, which jury also includes Johnstone. Here we have two firm links between the British Communist Party and someone who attended the conference. The British CP is now present at the conference several times over. But that is not all.

At the conference, a publication of the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists was displayed. (Leave aside the fact that the committee and the conference are two different things. The former was present at the latter, caught at the scene of the crime, so to speak.) Included in the publication in question were clippings from the British CP newspaper, 'Morning Star'.
The 'Morning Star' had

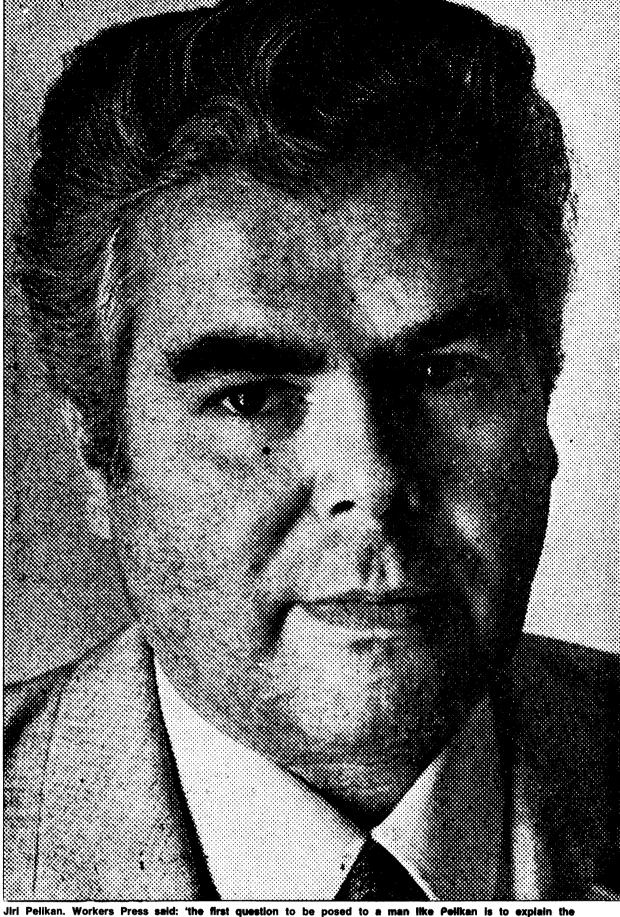
printed some articles criticizing the repressive trials conducted in Czechoslovakia last summer. By reprinting such statements that is, by trying to utilize divisions in the world Stalinist movement to defend the victims of Stalinist repressionone is supporting the Stalinist bureaucracy, according to the SLL. This position is quite interesting. It is, in fact, the essence of the political sectarianism that underlies the Workers Press lies about Johnstone's influence in the conterence.

Is it permissible, we might ask, to quote sections of Khrushchev's 'secret speech' to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the speech that revealed, even if only in part, the truth of Trotsky's assertions about the crimes of Stalin? Certainly Khrushchev qualifies as a much more dangerous Stalinist counter-revolutionary than the rather insignificant Johnstone.

Would quoting from the secret speech constitute a totally unmerited boost' to the Khrushchev leadership?

We urge the Workers Press to ponder the answer carefully. Not merely because the entire Trotskyist movement has recognized the Khrushchev speech as a valuable tool in exposing Stalinism and in gaining fresh recruits to Trotskyism, but also because the SLL itself once published the entire text of the Khrushchev speech.

No, the alleged influence of



Jiri Pelikan. Workers Press said: 'the first question to be posed to a man like Pelikan is to explain the fate of the wing of the bureaucracy of which he was a part...'

the Communist Party has nothing to do with the SLL's hostility to this conference. Its participants came from at least seven British institutes of Soviet and East European studies: several trade unionists attended, and interested persons came from many countries.



Mandel: characterizes the USSR as a 'transitional society.

among them Canada, France, Germany, Sweden, and the United States.

The conference represented the first such radical organization in this field so long dominated by imperialist intelligence-gathering agencies. Its aim was to 'stimulate a wide-ranging discussion of the social structure and of social

change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from a critical left-wing and Marxist viewpoint'.

The speeches, each one followed by an hour of discussion, dealt with the central issues of society in transition from capitalism to socialism. Moreover, the central debate at the meeting was between the theory that the system prevailing in the workers' states 'state capitalism' and sitional society.

The latter position was presented by Ernest Mandel, and it was one of the best-received talks at the conference. When Peter Sedgwick, a leader of the International Socialist group, attempted to challenge the Trotskyist analysis, he was answered at length by Mandel, whose rebuttal was met by a burst of applause, showing clearly that the majority of the audience shared the Trotskyist view.

Jiri Pelikan, elected to the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its underground congress held after the Kremlin invasion, also comes in for his share of denunciation. His 'crime' is having been an official during the Dubcek regime. The SLL appears not to care that in his speech Pelikan advanced the view that the workers' states are transitional between capitalism and socialism, or that he stressed the link between the antibureaucratic struggle in the workers' states and the socialist revolution in the capitalist

To be sure, Pelikan is no Trotskyist. But that the SLL views with scorn his political evolution and the work he is doing in defence of victims of Stalinism is evidence of the SLL's degeneration, and not Pelikan's

The Workers Press attitude sectarianism of the Socialist Labour League. Its refusal to engage in united action to defend the victims of Stalinism parallels its refusal to engage in united action to defend the Vietnamese revolution against imperialist attack. Its refusal to discuss honestly with persons such as Pelikan parallels its refusal to engage in honest debate with the world Trot-skyist movement. Slander and distortion are its stock-in-trade.

The SLL pretends to be the sole representative of genuine Trotskyism — along with its American sister sect, the Workers League, and a few other scattered forces. So it must attack a conference at which the views of the real Fourth International are presented to hundreds of people. And if such behaviour hinders the defence of those imprisoned by Stalinist bureaucrats, so be it. The sectarian purity of the SLL is of greater importance.

# HOW THE REVISIONISTS DEFEND STALINISM

#### REPLY

The political tendency which dominated the 'Radical Scholars' Conference was that of Ernest Mandel, Tariq Ali, the Paris 'Unified Secretariat' and the International Marxist Group. This tendency we call Pabloism, because it originates in the split from the Fourth International led by Michel Pablo in 1953.

George Saunders very carefully avoids answering the central political question raised by our criticism of the conference. We condemned a fake protest against Stalinist repression which does not start from the struggle to defeat the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We condemn those those encourage the lie that the Stalinist movement itself can provide allies and even leadership in the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy and ignore the main question of building independent revolutionary parties of the Fourth International.

This was the essential difference between Trotskyism and Pablo, who capitulated to the Stalinist bureaucracy. When Saunders tells us that Mandel was applauded for defending the view that the USSR is a 'transitional society' and not 'state capitalist' he ignores the very question that we had raised.

We said in Workers Press that the conference organizers 'exclude the main question facing the working class of East Europe and Russia, as well as the capitalist countries: the construction of alternative revolutionary leadership . . .'. We countered the earlier claim that most of the conference participants 'accepted the analysis by Trotsky of the Soviet Union as their point of departure' by saying that Turkey's fight against Stalinism 'was based on the Bolshevik Party, the October Revolution and its gains, and the first four conferences of the Communist International.'

How is it that Saunders ignores this? It is because it would upset his relations with the centrists and Stalinists like Johnstone, and because it drives at the heart of Pabloite politics.

Saunders wriggles and writhes over the relation of his own leading members, Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn, with Johnstone. But nothing can obscure the fact that Johnstone, an avowed anti-Trotskyist who puts his services at the disposal of the British Stalinist leadership as well as the 'New Left Review', is welcomed by the Pabloites as some sort of 'liberal' Stalinist.

These Pabloite revisionists are playing the very definite role of providing a cover for Stalinism and centrism in the coming decisive political struggles in Britain. Saunders makes a 'debating point' in relation to the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak prisoners. He calls us sectarian for condemning their use of four articles from the Stalinist 'Morning Star', and asks: 'Is it permissible to quote sections of Khrushchev's "secret speech" to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist

rty?'
And he reminds his readers

that the Socialist Labour League once published the entire text of the Khrushchev speech. What an unprincipled argument! We published Khrushchev's speech along with documents from Lenin which had been suppressed and with an introduction which analysed and explained the reason for the Soviet bureaucracy's 'exposure' of Stalin in response to the struggle of the Soviet working class and the internal contradictions of the Stalinist regime.

This pamphlet was used as an instrument for fighting the Communist Party and winning members from it to Trotskyism.

The question is not whether we published Khrushchev or not, but something else. Isaac Deutscher endeared himself to the Pabloites in the years after 1956 by concluding from Khrushchev's speech that Marxism would be reborn on neither a Stalinist nor a Trotskyist basis, but from elements within both. He saw history 'working through' the bureaucracy. We intervened to fight to smash the bureaucracy and build Trotskyist parties.

It was on this fundamental question of the revolutionary role of the working class and the substitution for it of the 'progressive' role of the bureaucracy, that Deutscher and Pabloism (and later Johnstone) came together. Now, with Stalinism preparing the greatest betrayals of all, as the imperialist crisis matures, this relation of Pabloism to Stalinism, worked out precisely through such men as Johnstone, is deadly.

Instead of a struggle against Stalinism and for the independent revolutionary leadership of the Fourth International, Saunders acclaims the expressed aims of the Conference 'to stimulate a wideranging discussion of the social structure and of social change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from a critical left-wing and Marxist viewpoint'.

Saunders is at pains to present the SLL and Workers Press as 'ultra-left' and 'sectarian'. Here are the IMG and Mandel talking to scores of East European militants and scholars such as Pelikan, and there is the SLL, simonpure, refusing to talk to anyone.

First let us take the case of Pelikan, on which Saunders resorts to an outrageous distortion. Referring to Workers Press, he writes:

'Jiri Pelikan, elected to the leadership of the Czechoslovak CP at its underground congress held after the Kremlin invasion, also comes in for his share of denunciation. His "crime" is having been an official during the Dubcek regime. . . .'

The word 'crime' is put in quotation marks as if that is the SLL's characterization. But we suggested no such thing. We referred to Pelikan in the following three passages:

(1) '. . . people like Jiri Pelikan, who have had to break with the most obvious and brutal manifestations of Stalinist rule . . '

(2) 'The first question to be posed to a man like Pelikan is to explain the fate of the wing of the bureaucracy of which he was a part. Because Alexandr Dubcek's road did not break from Stalinism, did not turn to the Czech working class through the building of a party

independent of the bureaucracy, it led where it had to lead—defeat at the hands of the Kremlin bureaucracy' (3) 'Pelikan is not Ota Sik, but only through the hardest struggle for Trotskyism against him can he be shown any other road.'

And this is all. Saunders completely ignores this central question once again; the question of the relation between the crisis of Stalinism and the building of independent revolutionary leadership.

The role of the Pabloites is to assist the Stalinists in keeping this question in the background and fighting against it. Saunders says that we view Pelikan's political development 'with scorn'. But surely we are taking the most responsible and serious attitude? The real contempt is shown by those who do not take up these principled differences.

According to Saunders, our attitude towards Pelikan is paralleled by our 'refusal to engage in united action to defend the Vietnamese revolution'.

This hoary lie has been answered before. The SLL and the International Committee fought against reformism and Stalinism on the slogan 'Victory to the NLF' before the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign or the IMG were even dreamt of.

At the foundation of VSC, the SLL was prepared to participate in a united antimperialist action, but was excluded because of our insistance that an 'anti-war' fight which barred the participants from fighting Stalinism was an unprincipled fraud. Sure enough, VSC finished up in direct alliance with the Stalinist 'peace' campaign and then died. Now the Pabloites have excelled themselves by welcoming Nixon's October announcement of impending peace as proof of 'victory' of the Vietnamese revolution.

As for Saunders' passing reference to the SLL's 'refusal to engage in honest debate with the world Trotskyist movement', this is the most blatant lie of all.

Saunders' own Socialist Workers Party collaborated (though US law forbids its affiliation) in the formation in 1963 of the 'Unified Secretariat', consisting of the then existing Pabloite organizations and of some groups previously in the International Committee of the FI.

In doing so, they broke a previous agreement that there would be a full discussion at a Conference of IC sections and sympathizers (as the SWP was) before any 'reunification' congress.

Furthermore, the reunification was concluded on the explicit basis of not discussing the long-outstanding differences epitomized in the earlier split of 1953. Among the issues explicitly excluded from discussion was Ceylon, where the leadership of the Pabloite 'section' (the LSSP) was preparing entry into a capitalist coalition government!

The SWP broke from the IC in order to avoid these discussions, knowing that we would insist upon them.

Later, in 1970, proposals from the IC to organize an in-

Later, in 1970, proposals from the IC to organize an inclusive discussion on all disputed questions in the Trotskyist movement was rejected by the Pabloite Secretariat.

There is nothing accidental about Saunders' complete identification with the basic pro-Stalinist positions of Pabloism. As the economic and political crisis matures, and the independent action of the working class requires independent revolutionary leadership, revisionists and centrists are drawn inexorably to the pole of Stalinism, the main counter-revolutionary force on the world arena.

It is this which makes Saunders and his collaborators so sensitive to the criticisms of the Workers Press.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

#### **HUGHES ONLY**



It was Thursday and Howard Hughes had just zoomed into Britain—no passport, no permit—to find an exclusive motorcade of Rolls-Royces manned by advisers and Special Branch detectives to escort him to his exclusive hotel.

In the far north Sahib Dad stood before Bolton magistrates' court.

The 51-year-old Pakistani was facing deportation after four and a half years in Britain.

His counsel pleaded: 'Howard Hughes has come to this country without a passport, apparently without much difficulty.'

The magistrates fined Mr Dad £50 and recommended that he should be deported.

#### **CLUB SHARES**

Someone is benefiting from Manchester United's collapse to the bottom of the first division, but it's not the players or the fans—or the new manager Tommy Docherty.

British football, remember, is big business first and sport second, as recent events on the Northern Stock Exchange have shown.

The shares of United doubled last week. Before Docherty's appointment they were on offer at £25. On Thursday however a mystery buyer had pushed the price up to £50.

The United directors must approve any transfer of shares and for the present they are keeping the name of the take-over king secret. But he is understood to want a £50,000 stake in the club.

The biggest shareholder is a Mr Louis Edwards with 2,187 shares. Until last season he held more than 50 per cent, but since then the issue has been increased by 500.

United is worth a great deal. The break-up of the team would realize an estimated £1m for the players. The club also has holdings in land and property with, say the directors, a book value of £458,744—which is far, far less than the market value.

One evil-minded stockbroker on the northern exchange suggested that the man behind the take-over was George Best.

#### **TRADITION**

The savageries of the English public school are well known—the fag system, where younger boys are made the slaves of their seniors, the ritual beatings etc., etc.

The American ruling class, however, train their recruits in a far more barbaric manner, as a recent incident at Pierce College, California, showed.

Fred Bronner, who was short-sighted and overweight, was the butt of the Pierce College wags. They called him 'fatty' and a 'momma's' boy. But mere psychological warfare did not satisfy them.

They hauled Fred out of bed at 2 a.m. and drove him into the Snowy Mountain forests dressed only in his gym kit then left him without his glasses

Fred could only see a distance of three feet ahead as he stumbled to find his way home in the snow.

Eventually he was recovered by the police at the bottom of a cliff . . . dead.

The murder was called 'hazing'—it's one of the college traditions. The three students who initiated him will not be charged by police, though college authorities have promised a 'clamp-down'.

### **BOOKS**



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stallinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
Death Agony of Capitalism
(The Transitional Programme)
Pamphlet 5p
Class Nature of the Soviet State
Pamphlet 20p
In Defence of the October
Revolution Pamphlet 15p
The Theory and Practice of
Revisionism Pamphlet 15p
Postage 10p per book, 3p per
pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.

#### TODAY'S TV

#### BBC 1

9.55 Captain Pugwash.. 10.05 Desert crusader 10.25 Unsolved mysteries. 10.50-11.00 Huckleberry hound. 12.25 Ryan a ronnie. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Teddy Edward. 1.45 Television doctor. 2.00 Out of school. 3.35 Tomorrow's World 4.00 Clangers. 4.10 Play school, 4.25 Jackanory. 4.50 Help! 5.15 Record breakers. 5.40 Crystal Tipps. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.50 DROOPY. Flea Circus.

THE VIRGINIAN: MEN FROM SHILOH. Nan Allen.

THE MORECAMBE AND WISE SHOW. Guests Cliff Richard, Vikki Carr.

NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

PLAY: 'THE SNOW GOOSE'. Richard Harris and Jenny Agutter in Paul Gallico's play set during the years just before World

10.20 CANNON. Flight Plan.

11.10 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.15 FILM: 'MEET ME IN ST LOUIS'. Judy Garland, Margaret O'Brien, Mary Astor, Leon Ames. Hollywood musical set in St Louis at the turn of the century. 1.05 Weather.

9.30 Some great painters. 10.00 Film: 'Petticoat Pirates'. Charlie Drake, Anne Heywood, Cecil Parker, John Turner. 11.35 Galloping gourmet. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.05 Inigo Pipkin. 12.25 Happy house. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Time was . . . 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Junkin. 3.25 Marcus Welby MD. 4.20 Elephant boy. 4.50 Magpie. 5.20 Nanny and the professor. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS

TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS
THE PROTECTORS. A Matter of Life and Death.
IT'S ALL IN LIFE. AI Read with Design.
UPSTAIRS, DOWNSTAIRS. The Fruits of Love.
HAWAII FIVE-O. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 POLICE FIVE.
FILM: 'DIAMOND WIZARD'. Dennis O'Keefe, Margaret Sheridan,
Philip Friend. A Treasury agent working with the FBI chases a gang of crooks.

12.10 THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE.

12.15 JASON KING. If it's got to go—It's got to go.

11.00-11.25 Play school.
6.05 SEARCH FOR THE IDEAL. Reflections on Neo-Classicism.
6.30 RIPPLES IN THE ETHER. Vision of the Future.
7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.
7.35 COME FISHING. For River Trout.
8.00 MONEY AT WORK. The Great Air Race.
9.00 SIX FACES OF ROYALTY. Henry VIII.
9.15 FILM: 'PERSONA'. Liv Ullmann, Bibi Anderson. Ingmar Bergman's film about a nurse trying to make contact with an emotionally disturbed patient. emotionally disturbed patient.

10.35 FILM NIGHT. Films of the month. 11.15 NEWS. Weather.



Judy Garland and Margaret O'Brien in 'Meet Me in St Louis' on BBC 1, directed by Vincente Minnelli.

#### **Regional TV**

CHANNEL: 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Let's face it. 3.00 Film: "The Reluctant Heroes of Hill 656'. 4.23 Puffin. 4.25 Flintstones. 4.50 London. 5.20 Junkin. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Report. 6.35 London. 7.30 FBI. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 New Scotland Yard. 10.00 London. 10.35 Film: "Sunrise at Campobello". 12.45 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.25 Let them live. 9.55 Treasure island. 10.50 Rainbow country. 11.15 Jackson five. 11.40 Katie Stewart cooks. 12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 4.23

Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sport. 10.32 News. 12.45 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 10.00 We need each other. 10.50 Torchy. 11.05 Gilbert and Sullivan. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 Galloping gourmet. 3.25 Saint. 4.20 Weekend. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South East. 6.35 It's all in life. 7.05 Sale of the century. 7.35 Film: "The Glant Claw". 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: "The Frozen Dead". 12.20 News. 12.30 Weather.

HARLECH: 12.05 London. 1.00 Let them live. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 Film: 'The Gun Runners'. 9.00 New Scotland Yard. 10.00 London. 10.30 It's all in life. 11.00 Press call. 11.30 The main chance. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25-4.50 Stesion cantamil. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Outlook. 11.00 Sports arena. 11.30 UFO. 12.30 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.35 Film: 'Echo of Diana'. 11.35 Mizzen, main and foremast. 12.00 Today. 12.05 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.20 Forest rangers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Protectors. 8.00 Adventurer. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 New Scotland Yard. 10.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Whatever Happened to Baby Jane?'. Weather.

ULSTER: 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 Women today. 2.30 Cartoon. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women only. 3.55 Yoga. 4.23 News. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 UFO. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 New Scotland Yard. 10.00 London. 10.30 Spectrum. 11.00 Name of the game.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 Let them live. 10.00 We need each other. 10.50 Funky phantom. 11.20 Gilbert and Sullivan. 12.05 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Hogan's heroes. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Hawaii five-o. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 Upstairs. downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 North country. 10.55 Film: 'Beserk'. 12.40 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.03 Felix the cat. 11.15 Tarzan. 12.05 London. 3.25 Shirley's world. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 It's all in life. 7.00 Film: "Robbery'. 10.00 London. 10.30 Kick off. 10.55 Film: "The Ghost Train'.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Out where the new begins. 9.30 Lidsville. 10.00 We need each other. 10.50 Dick Van Dyke. 11.20 Gilbert and Sullivan. 12.05 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Yoga. 3.00 London. 3.25 Danger man. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Me and the chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Hawaii five-o. 8.30 It's all in life. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 North country. 10.55 Film: "The Brain Machine'. 12.35 News. 12.40 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 11.20 Katie Stewart cooks. 11.45 Sky hawks. 12.05 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 3.30 It takes a thief. 4.25 Nanny and the professor. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Protectors. 7.00 Film: "Mister Moses'. 9.00 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.00 London. 10.30 Friday night. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Cimarron strip.



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#### **All Trades Unions Alliance**

Fight Rising Prices Force the Tories to Resign Support the Engineers

BRADFORD: Sunday January 7, 7.30 p.m. Talbot Hotel, Kirkgate.

SWINDON: Sunday January 7, 7.30 p.m. 'Locomotive Hotel'

COVENTRY: Monday January 8, 7.30 p.m. 'Elastic Inn', Cox Street (opposite Theatre One).

ACTON: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. 'The Rocket', Churchfield Rd, W3.

WOOLWICH: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage Road.

8 p.m. 'The Red Lion', High Street. 'Build Councils of Action. Defend Democratic Rights.'

SOUTHALL: Tuesday January 9, 8.00 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. (Please note date change.)

meetings

HARROW AND WEALDSTONE: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Railway Approach, Station Road, Harrow.

ROCHESTER: Tuesday January 9, 8 p.m. 'The Greyhound', Rochester Avenue.

HULL: Wednesday January 16, 8 p.m. White Hart Hotel, Alfred Gelder Street (near Drypool Bridge).

SHEFFIELD: Wednesday January 10, 7.30 p.m. 'The Grape Inn,' Trippett Lane, Sheffield 1.

HACKNEY: Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. The Parlour, Hackney Central Hall (opp. Town Hall).

TONBRIDGE: Thursday January 11, 8 p.m. 'The Foresters', Quarry Hill Road.

KINGSTON: Thursday January 11, 8 p.m. 'The Liverpool Arms', corner of Cambridge Road and London Road.

SLOUGH: Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. Community Centre, Class Room, Farnham Road.

EEDS: Thursday January 11, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane.

**EAST LONDON: Tuesday January** 11, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street Market, E14. 'The crisis of leadership in the working class'.

WATFORD: Monday January 15, p.m. Watford Trade Union Hal Woodford Road, opposite Watford Junction station.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday January 18, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd (near Finsbury Park

#### An appeal on behalf of the Fine Tubes strikers of Plymouth

Plymouth Fine Strikers, their wives and 53 children have just spent their third Christmas on strike with very little money.

These men have waged a bitter struggle for the most basic right a worker can possess—the right to belong

to a trade union.

Strike committee members have travelled over 100,000 miles to sustain their fight.

This Christmas has been the hardest of all. It has imposed a great financial burden. Now the 37 strikers face the rest of the winter with a depleted strike fund. January is always a difficult month to raise money to further their fight.

Yet they are determined to fight on. This is a struggle the working class cannot afford to lose. That is why the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press wishes to make a special appeal to all trade unionists to take collections in their factories and branches for the Fine Tubes men in order that their heroic and determined action can be carried forward. All money should be sent to:

Fine Tubes Treasurer c/o 65 Bretonside Plymouth, Devon.

#### Threat to piecework at Rolls factory

PRODUCTION workers at Rolls-Royce, Willesden, north-west London, are facing management attempts to control their wages. These involve a serious threat to the factory's piecework system.

A three-day special meeting is to be held in Reading this month to discuss new management pay 'proposals'. Although these do not specifically mention Measured-Day Work, most workers recognize an attempt to fix a ceiling on piecework

Figures for present earnings show how completely the Willesden men have relied on piecework to maintain and improve their living standards. A skilled man averaging just under £50 a week, makes up almost two-thirds of his wage packet from piecework bonus: the basic rate is in fact under £16.50!

is in fact under £16.50!

The new proposals include a £52.50-a-week ceiling for skilled production workers and £51.50 for semi-skilled.

Some shop stewards believe that a dangerous retreat has already taken place in the fight against the proposals by even

against the proposals by even agreeing to the Reading talks.

While leading stewards claim they will only talk and agree nothing, management has a different view of the forthcoming discussions.

The three days, it says, will consist of 'two days of domestic discussions on the basis of management proposals with the intention of reaching agreement, to be ratified on the third day in the presence of trade union officials'.

While still faced with the prospect of 'floating' the company publicly—now scheduled for February—the management is hoping that a guranteed wages

bill would be an added incentive to prospective buyers.

This strategy of speed-up and productivity which has followed the collapse of the Rolls empire has already been successful in two areas of the Willesden factory.

tory.
Indirect workers have 'sold off' their bonus system and clerical workers have time-and-motion study. So far only the draughtsmen have resisted attempts at speed-up.

#### SLL **LECTURES** TODMORDEN

Monday January 8 'The economic crisis' Monday January 22 'Stalinism'

Monday February 5 'Trotskylsm'

THE WEAVERS' INSTI-TUTE, Burnley Road, 7.30 p.m.

#### SHEFFIELD

Monday January 8 Marxism and the revolutionary party YOUNG SOCIALIST **PREMISES** 

Portobello, Sheffield 1 (near Jessop's hospital)

#### HULL

Wednesday January 17 Stalinism and Trotskyism Wednesday January 24 Marxist theory and the revolu-

tionary party WHITE HART HOTEL Alfred Gelder Street (near Drypool Bridge) 8 p.m.

# Industrial 'peacemakers'

THE CORPORATIST-minded Industrial Society is claiming big 'improvements' in industrial relations at the Vauxhall Motors, Ellesmere Port, Merseyside plant after a Society survey among the plant's 12,000 workers.

According to the Society's December 1972 issue of its newsheet 'Briefing', senior managers at the plant feel that as a result of their inquiry and recommendations relations 'have significantly improved'.

The Society was brought into Vauxhall's in July 1972 at the management's request to 'conduct a survey of industrial relations at the plant and to make recommendations for improvement, against a background of persistent unofficial ground of persistent unofficial stoppages.

'With the support of the unions and convenors,' says the report, 'four members of the Society's staff...interviewed managers, shop stewards foremen and in-dividual employees and invited people to complete a written questionnaire'.

When the results of the survey were written up they included a list of seven recommendations for 'improvements' in 'communication and consultation' to bring unions, management, and shop stewards closer together. New role for corporatist body—inquiries into factory 'trouble-spots'



Industrial Society director John Garnett (centre) at a Press conference

Also included was a recommendation for 'industrial relations training' for managers and shop stewards—one of the Society's main sources of in-

come. Some of the Society's recom-

mendations have been rejected at Vauxhall, but the broadsheet hasn't informed us what these

'In the three months since the survey,' we are told, 'there

has been only one unofficial withdrawal of labour by a group of men and that was brought to an end within a few days with the support of the union.' (Our emphasis.)

One of the main features of the Industrial Society's very lavish conferences and dinners is the wide spectrum of personalities it embraces, ranging from union leaders like Jack Jones, Hugh Scanlon, Lawrence Daly and many leading right wingers, to the Royal Family (the Duke of Edinburgh is a patron) and right-wing Tory MP Enoch Powell.

A photograph in the December 'Briefing' shows the Society's director, John Garnett, lined up on a BBC 'Any Questions?' programme with Transport and General Workers' Union leader Jack Jones sitting happily smiling alongside none other than Enoch Powell.

First thing on the Society's agenda for 1973 is its largest-ever conference, expected to be attended for two days by almost 1,000 managers and trade union officials, entitled 'Into Europe'.

One of the highlights will be a session led by Confederation of British Industry president Michael Clapham, on the action management should take 'to respond to the challenge of entry to the EEC'(!)

Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan is another star speaker.

# Bitter attack on opposition in

# **Spanish**

SPANISH Communist Party leaders have launched a bitter attack on a tendency at last year's Party Congress which raised the need to fight for socialism.

According to the December 18 issue of 'Mundo Obrero', several opposition members attacked the policy of the 'pact for freedom'. They argued that the bourgeoisie was introducing formal democracy in Spain and the working class should concentrate primarily on the preparations for socialist revolution.

The report misrepresents the opposition tendency as not wanting the overthrow of Franco's fascist regime. It goes on to claim that to make socialism, the main goal for the working class, is to hinder the fight for democratic rights in Spain.

This policy and the 'pact' are Popular Front which led to the defeat of the Spanish revolution in 1939.

The Stalinist leadership of the CP maintains that the first task for the working-class in Spain is to join hands with progressive sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie to establish bourgeois democracy.

In this way 'democratic' unity is being established with sections of the church, army and the apparatus of the fascist state

Spanish CP secretary Santiago Carrillo has gone so far as praising the head of the Spanish armed forces, Diaz Alegria, for introducing modern techniques. He described him as a liberal in search of a modern, truly national army independent of 'Yankee imperialism'.

Similarly, he calls for a 'strong, national democratic democratic government . . . which is urgently necessary in order to negotiate with the EEC . . . We must not forget that the EEC is a



class, which already suffers intense exploitation by the European monopolies, has remained unconvinced of the EEC's 'progressive' role.

There were more strikes last

The Spanish CP's general secretary Santiago Carrillo.

year in Spain than in any year since the Civil War.

It is this independent working-class movement which is reflected by the tendency attacked by 'Mundo Obrero'.

The call for socialist policies is described as a 'right-wing, reformist development'.

The Spanish Stalinist paper continues: 'To say today—how-ever leftist the language and healthy the subjective intentions —that the destruction of the dictatorship is the job of the ruling classes and that what interests the working class is socialism, means, in practice, and from a class point of view, support for the boundaries. support for the bourgeoisie.'

Conflict with the traditional preoccupation of Spanish Stalinists with bourgeois democracy in the name of a struggle for socialism is a most healthy develop-ment in the crisis of Spanish Stalinism.

It means that a most favourable situation exists in Spain for destruction of Stalinism and the building of a section of the Fourth International as part of the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe.

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BY JUAN GARCIA

capitalist institution with which must be involved, but in which each measure we discuss will be a real battle to defend national interests.' (Communiqué from 8th Party Congress.)

This treacherous policy has meant that the important strike movements against the European monopolies, in Fiat-Seat in Barcelona and Citröen in Vigo, and many others, have been subordinated to alliances with local bourgeois 'progressives' or even bishops pleased to even bishops pleased to exchange a gentle pulpit protest against police brutality for the rapid termination of strikes.

The peaceful evolution to democracy has not taken place, repression has intensified as the Franco regime welcomes more and more foreign investment, and now the Soviet Union has established full c relations with Madrid. commercial

Above all, the Spanish working

# 'Red Flag' chorus in Clay Cross as auditor opens case

FROM PHILIP WADE OUR HOUSING CORRESPONDENT

HOUSEWIVES sang the 'Red Flag' at Clay Cross town hall yesterday as the Tories began the second stage of their investigation into councillors defying the rent increase laws.

Angry council house tenants packed the council chamber of this small Derbyshire community which has refused to surrender to the government Housing Finance Act and charge the working class higher rents.

Earlier housewives chanted 'Heath Out' and sang the 'Red Flag' as Labour councillors filed into the town hall where district auditor Charles Lacey began his investigation of the housing accounts.

The demonstrators draped an anti-Tory banner behind his seat and tenants paraded with placards supporting the 11 councillors who will not implement the Act.

People stood on ledges and sat on tables while others climbed into the chamber through open windows. Eventually the auditor was surrounded by tenants and the councillors were lost in a sea of bodies and TV cameras.

These scenes, the most extraordinary ever witnessed at Clay Cross town hall, show the massive and determined support every Labour council would have got from the working class if they had stood firm in opposition to the Housing Finance Act.

Instead only a tiny handful like Clay Cross are still resisting, but getting massive backing for their principles and courage.

The Clay Cross auditor has been given direct instructions from the Tory government to find out how much money has been lost by the council's failure to charge higher rents and also to see if

the councillors are personally responsible for the deficit.

When the hearing eventually got under way, Tom Swain, Labour MP for North East Derbyshire, representing the councillors, said that the £6,985 figure arrived at by the auditor was 'hypothetical' and 'would not crand up in law' stand up in law'.

He added: 'It is an intelligent guess and no more,' suggesting, therefore, that the audit as conducted was invalid.

Swain contended that £1,000 deducted by the auditor for rent rebates was only 'an estimate' because tenants had not been consulted.

At the end of Swain's speech -punctuated by cheers from the tenants—he declared:

'On this basis we cannot accept the findings of yourself or a higher court.

He asked for a adjournment and the appointment of a Housing Commissioner by the government.

But auditor Charles Lacey—who was occassionally jeered—ruled that Swain's arguments were wrong.

'I am fully satisfied I am right in law,' he said. 'My decision is my decision. I'm not told what to do by the Secretary of State and I have never met the Housing Commissioner.'

Lacey added that there were many precedents in law for using estimates when making an extraordinary audit.

Later Mr Swain told the auditor that none of the councillors had legal excuses for refusing to implement the Act.

The auditor refused a request for a one month adjournment said he would reach his decision within ten days.

SIX LONDON dockers have been summoned to appear before the Transport and General Workers' Union finance and general purposes committee next Wednes-day, following scenes by angry lobbyists who invaded Transport House when the national delegates called off the docks strike.
Two of the Pentonville Five Cornelius Clancy and Tony Merrick are among those summoned.

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The Clay Cross auditor Charles Lacev (centre) is surrounded by local tenants and their banners during yesterday's boisterous demonstration.



# Workers

#### **JANUARY FUND £51.60** STEP UP CAMPAIGN TODAY

LET'S MAKE a really great effort over the next few days to give a boost to January's Fund. So far you, dear readers, have collected £51.60. But following the great success of December's Fund, we are determined not just to raise our £1,750 target, but to try and reach a record total.

We are sure we can do it. Hardly a day goes by without more sections of trade unionists joining the battle to defend their wages. On prices, rents and the anti-union laws, the fight is coming to a head with the Tory

government.

More than ever the issue re-More than ever the Issue remains to force this government to resign. Workers Press Is, therefore, more decisive than ever. Our paper must give a political lead to all those taking up the fight today.

Help us with a very special effort for our January Fund. Add a bit extra if you can. Post all your donations immediately to:

**Workers Press** January Appeal Fund 186a Clapham High Street London, SW4 7UG

### Merthyr Tydfil resistance begins to wane

MERTHYR TYDFIL'S opposition to the Tory rent Act is almost certain to collapse after a meeting of the housing committee today.

Tory housing commissioner Geraint Walters, who took responsibility in the borough after the council refused to implement the legislation, re-

vealed on Wednesday that rent rises in 1973 would average only 55p.

Now an emergency meeting of the housing committee has been called to discuss the new

Committee chairman Tal Lloyd said yesterday there may have been some misunderstanding of the council's posi-

'Our opposition was never total, he said.

'We told the Secretary of State for Wales that we were disposed to talk to him about a level of rent increases appropriate to Merthyr.

The increases announced

this week are slightly above what we had in mind. But perhaps we shall look at them more rationally than we have done before and perhaps we shall accept it.

'The importance of accepting is that there is still the manner in which the 55p rise is applied to be decided and some of us are of the opinion that it will be better to do this ourselves.'

#### Pressure for national gas action on pay



East Greenwich workers returning to the plant after their meeting yesterday pass half-empty gasometers.

BY DAVID MAUDE

NATIONWIDE industrial action against the Tory block on pay negotiations was called for yesterday by leaders of the 600 gasworkers at East Greenwich.

With 500 others at Croydon, the East Greenwich gasworkers have been working to rule and banning overtime for just over

Now the shop stewards want their fellow workers all over the country to follow suit with offi-

cial union backing.

Their call for action came after a two-hour mass meeting in the gasworkers' sports club, near the East Greenwich works. Stewards called the meeting

after a wave of anger swept the works following Tuesday's statement on the unions' 'substantial' pay claim by Minister for Industry, Tom Boardman.

Boardman told union chiefs there would be no reply to the claim until after the government had produced firm guidelines on phase two of its pay-control legislation.

The meeting heard bitter attacks both on Boardman and Tory premier Edward Heath's original December 15 directive blocking negotiations.

'We have been trying to con-

duct our action within the limits of safety to the general public', Ted Green, General and Municipal Workers' Union convenor, told Workers Press after the meeting.

'But Boardman's statement shows that the government is not concerned about safety. So this is an aspect we have had to organize to take care of our-

Jimmy Aldridge, stewards' secretary, deplored Boardman's statement as 'highly provocative'.

He was convinced Monday's G&MWU delegate conference would have to call national

#### Party pay docked

SIX HUNDRED workers at the SU Carburettor factory in Birmingham are backing 100 women pump-assemblers in their fight against a piece of 'petty' management red tape.

The women workers-members of the Transport and General Workers' Union—are up in arms because the management docked

because the management docked them two days' holiday pay for holding a Christmas party early. On Wednesday they returned to work after striking since the previous Friday, but yesterday they walked out again. It was then the other 600 T&GWU members joined them.

One shop steward at the factory, which supplies fuel pumps

tory, which supplies fuel pumps and carburettors to its owners British-Leyland and other car firms, described the management's action as 'both petty and vicious'.

#### **BRIEFLY ● BRIEFLY**

THE FOUR people convicted in the Stoke Newington eight trial for conspiring to cause explosions are to appeal. James Greenfield (25), John Barker (24), Anna Mendleson (23) and Hilary Creek (24), have all lodged notice of appeal against their conviction. They are each now serving a ten-year sentence.

REPETITION today of last Friday's demonstration against Chrysler worker Joseph Langston has been averted. Langston said in Coventry yesterday: 'The in Coventry yesterday: 'The company has made other arrangements for me to receive my weekly wages.' See p. 3.