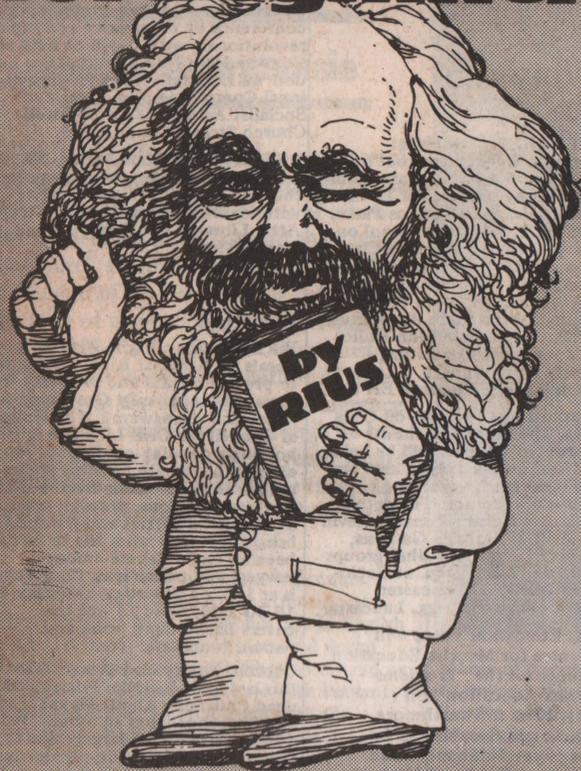


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# the Leveller



11987  
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# the Leveller



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### READERS' MEETINGS

**BIRMINGHAM** The Wellington, Bristol Road, corner of Bromsgrove Road, City Centre. Wednesday January 26. 7.30pm

**OXFORD** The Greyhound, Gloucester Green, Oxford. Thursday January 27. 7.30pm  
Open public discussion meetings on the role and content of *The Leveller*.

This issue has been produced collectively by the Leveller Working Committee and published by the Leveller Magazine Ltd, a registered Cooperative Friendly Society.

Working Committee meetings are held every Tuesday night at our offices. Readers are welcome to attend and assist in the development of the magazine.

We also welcome written contributions, photographs, cartoons and story ideas.

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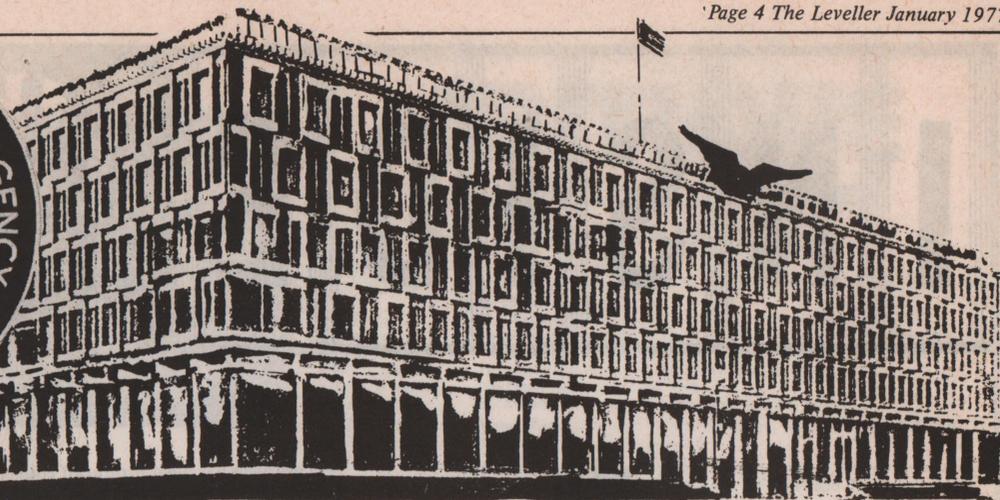
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"Well that's more war, strikes, economic disaster, the world-wide energy crisis and corruption everywhere. But consider for a moment the plight of Mrs. Elsie Newson of 246b Street, East Lothian. She's got an emu in her bathroom. Yes, an emu in her bathroom!"

Cover Picture: Ring this bell to meet the linkmen in the move to deport Agee and Hosenball. Senior CIA officer, Milton S. Zaslow, as head of the special US Liaison Office in London is responsible for liaison with British Intelligence.



**THE CIA In Britain is not just an intelligence-gathering organisation. It uses the information which it collects. The CIA acts covertly to enforce the foreign policy of the United States, hand in hand with the overt activity.**

37 per cent of the CIA's 1974 budget is devoted to covert political action - which is secret interference in the internal affairs of other countries - according to Philip Agee at the meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, at the start of the campaign against the deportations.

Despite the close liaison which exists between the CIA and British intelligence, Britain too has been the target of such covert CIA activity.

The CIA began interfering in British polit-

**Mark Hosenball and Philip Agee, threatened with deportation by Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, are both friends and supporters of The Leveller. Members of The Leveller collective are taking part in the Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee. In these pages, we present analyses of the deportation cases and the sinister political forces behind them.**

**PHIL KELLY, who co-wrote Leveller articles with Mark and is convenor of the AHDC, details some of the CIA's activities in Britain, and the Agency's world-wide role is outlined by JOHN MARKS, former US State Department official, and PHILIP AGEE. The activities of British security, who have always worked hand-in-glove with the CIA, are described by TONY BUNYAN.**

**TIM GOPSILL, organiser of the AHDC presents an outline of the defence campaign, and PHIL KELLY a profile of Mark Hosenball.**

# THE CIA IN BRITAIN

tics as early as 1948 when CIA founder Walter Bedell Smith, future CIA Director, Allen Dulles, and CIA International Organisations Divisions director, Thomas Braden set up the American Committee on a United Europe (ACUE). Using businessmen and academics as cover, the ACUE began channeling funds to the European Movement.

A pattern of intervention was set which has been repeated often since. Winston Churchill and Duncan Sandys knew that the US money was coming in. Only a few thousand dollars went into the European Movement itself, but it was crucial before financing was picked up by big business. Most US cash went into a separate organisation, the European Youth Campaign (EYC).

EYC, set up in 1951, received more than three million dollars in the following eight years. The money was used to finance political campaigns in support of West German re-armament run by EYC and other youth organisations. EYC's British Secretary was Maurice Foley, later a Labour MP.

Sandys knew about the CIA involvement: that is clear from a thesis written by a son of the European Movement's Secretary General. Foley knew too, because the Labour Party Youth Organisation disaffiliated from EYC in 1952 after a public contro-

versy about US money. When the story of the US involvement in the European movement appeared in May 1975, both flatly denied any such knowledge.

During the 1950s, with the Cold War in full swing, the CIA financed the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) and the International Student Conference (ISC) through dummy foundations. All was revealed by the *New York Times* and the US magazine *Ramparts* in 1967.

In Britain, the monthly journal *Encounter* was owned and run by the CCF. Editor Melvin Lasky piloted the paper through the revelations, saying that he had become aware that the CIA were behind the CCF and that he had argued against it and sought to diversify *Encounter's* finances, but had decided not to reveal the fact.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland worked full-time for CCF in 1956-57 and as a part-time consultant until he became a Minister in 1964. Crosland's CCF connections were played down until 1974, when a pamphlet appeared, reprinting a story by Richard Fletcher which the *Sunday Times* had thrown out. Crosland said that he had no knowledge of the CIA's involvement with CCF.

Fletcher's story also revealed that Chancellor Denis Healey acted as London correspondent for an obscure American social democratic

journal, the *New Leader*, for ten years until 1964. Through its publisher Sol Levitas, the magazine served as cover for CIA penetration into social democratic organisations and the international labour movement.

Healey said that he too had not known of the CIA involvement in the *New Leader*; anyway, he had only been paid fifteen dollars for each contribution.

The Church Committee described what was going on as follows: "Case officers groomed and cultivated individuals who could provide strong pro-western leadership".

CCF also ran a London-based propaganda and 'news agency', Forum Service. In 1965 they decided to improve its image by 'professionalising' it. They called in Brian Crozier, a writer for the *Economist* and another CCF consultant. Forum Service was re-incarnated as Forum World Features (FWF). Crozier was President and Managing Director. FWF's connections with the CIA were revealed in *Time Out* in April 1975, and more details appeared in *The Guardian* in December.

A memorandum to the CIA's Director in 1968 said that FWF "provided the US with a significant means to counter communist propaganda", and also commented that it was run "with the co-operation and knowledge of British intelligence". Crozier now says that he was concerned in the early

years of FWF with pressure from the CCF Paris office, and with rumours which linked CCF with the CIA. He was intending to resign in 1966, but was persuaded not to do so by his staff. Among them was a serving CIA officer, Robert Gene Gately, FWF Vice President. Crozier said in a letter of 1966 to CCF head Michael Josselson that FWF "should be made commercially viable before using it to any degree for any other purpose."

One of the purposes for which FWF was used was book-publishing. The CIA has always regarded books as an important component of propaganda.

A 1961 memo unearthed by the Church Committee said, "Books differ from other propaganda media primarily because one single book can change attitudes and action to an extent unmatched by the impact of any other single medium."

One of the books which appeared under the auspices of FWF, in the 'World Realities' series was Robert Moss's book, "Chile's Marxist Experiment".

Twice as many copies were bought and given away by the Chilean military junta as were sold commercially. All royalties from books published by Forum World Features have now passed to a company owned personally by Crozier: Rossiter Publications Limited.

Money from Kern House Enterprises, the firm which owned FWF, was essential in helping Crozier to establish the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC), the right-wing think-tank which he now claims is "neither owned nor financed nor controlled by the CIA or any other intelligence service or government department in this or any other country."

Neither Crozier nor the ISC would be where they are today without the CIA's assistance.

Moss is now the Director of the National Association for Freedom, and Crozier is on its Council. So are the newly-promoted Conservative MPs, Winston Churchill and Rhodes Boyson, and the former deputy head of MI 6, George Young.

But to return to 1967: Many leading British students had been involved in the International Student Conference, including one-time Presidents J. Gwyn Morgan, now working for the Labour Party, and Geoffrey Martin, now with the British Council. Their 'investigation' into the allegations 'showed' that there had been no NUS knowledge of CIA involvement in financing not even by Geoff Martin when he was ISC's Treasurer. All concerned had been worried by ISC's dependence on US money, they said, and had tried to find alternative sources of finance.

For good measure, Morgan added that Americans had not been prominent in running ISC, and that the foundations which had provided the money had not attempted to interfere in the organisation's affairs. At least one former staff member, Meta Ramsay, works for British intelligence.

The CIA has also been active in British colonies, with the support of the British Government.

In 1963, British Guiana's Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan, was removed from office by the British Government after a 79 day general strike and continued violence against his left-inclined government.

The strike was financed by the CIA through the London-based Public Service International, an organisation which groups local government officials' unions throughout the world.

The CIA's move into the PSI started in 1958. Donors who operated through the PSI's US affiliate, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees made available funds to finance an organisational and recruiting drive in Latin America, and the setting up of a separate Latin American section of PSI the following year.

The drive must have cost at least £30,000 a year. A PSI representative, Herbert McCabe, appeared in Guiana during the 1963 strike and disbursed an estimated £150,000 to strikers, thus keeping the opposition to Jagan alive.

The CIA cash came through the dummy Gotham Foundation. The *Sunday Times* claimed that the whole operation was carried on with the knowledge of the then Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys. Sandys refused to comment.

Questioned in Parliament in April 1967, Harold Wilson said that "questions, so far as that period is concerned, should be put elsewhere." To the Conservatives. Michael Foot called for an enquiry, and asked Wilson to "say to the United States Government, quite clearly that we do not want the CIA interfering in our affairs." The Tory front bench stayed silent.

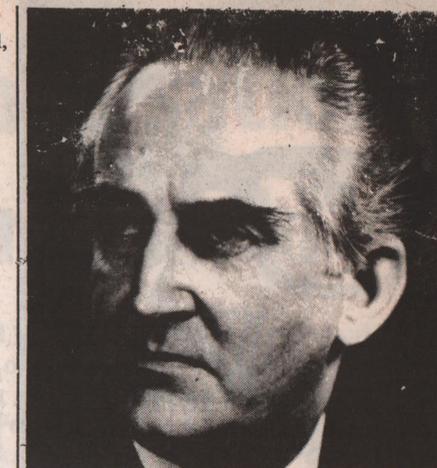
The CIA also supported Tom Mboya in Kenya, and still operates an office in London, code-named LCPIPPIT, which controls recruitment and operations in Africa.

The US National Security Agency, NSA, co-operates with other western intelligence agencies in monitoring world-wide diplomatic, commercial and military broadcasts, even from pro-western countries. In Britain, the work is handled in part by the British Government's communications Headquarters at Cheltenham (GCHQ). Intercepted transmissions are handed over under the intelligence-sharing agreement which unites the five major white English-speaking countries - the US, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

All CIA activity in Britain - whether information passed on from MI 5 and MI 6, or covert political activity - is controlled from the CIA station within the London US Embassy. The station has at least 70 staff, under the control of the new station chief, Dr Edward Proctor, formerly the CIA's Deputy Director for Intelligence. Their cover is mainly three sections of the Embassy: 'Political Liaison', the 'Office of the Special US Liaison Officer', and the 'Joint Reports and Research Unit'.

The closeness of the liaison with our own intelligence services is shown by the fact that at least one CIA man has an office in the Ministry of Defence; and the former chief of MI 6, Sir Maurice Oldfield, served for several years under cover as a British diplomat in our Washington Embassy.

Harold Wilson said in Parliament in April 1975 that everything which the CIA did in Britain was known to the British Government. This overt liaison should fool no-one, not even our own security services. Philip Agee has often quoted cases which occurred during his service in the CIA, where he and colleagues worked with local security services



Crozier

in some operations while going behind their backs with independent activity at the same time.

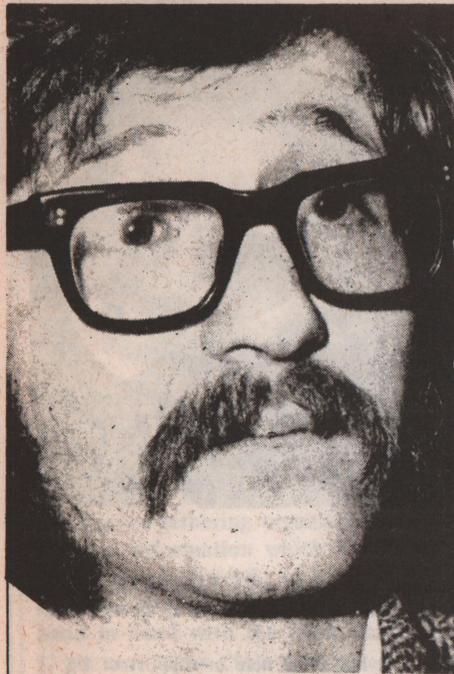
The CIA has acted here in support of US foreign policy objectives. Some of the methods used have been exemplified above. Changing political realities in Britain have affected US policy towards this country, and altered the focus of covert action, but what has been revealed fits a pattern.

Immediately after the Second World War Britain was a safe base for the CIA. British social democracy was an ally in the re-building of the labour movement in Western Europe. When genuine revulsion against Moscow's manipulation of the international trade union movement produced a split which embroiled the movement in Cold War politics, the CIA stepped in and used 'free' trade union organisations throughout the world. British politics were manipulated to build support for western European unity, which the US saw as essential to guarantee to other European nations that West German re-armament would not menace their security.

The intellectual and academic cold war was fought from British soil. Student and Youth organisations here were supported. The press was manipulated and provided with stories to counter 'communist propaganda'. Money was provided where necessary, but self-supporting organisations were preferred.

As British colonies became independent, Britain became a base from which future colonial leaders could be recruited, and socialism in the colonies could be fought. As class conflict in British politics sharpens in the 70s, the CIA's old friends, Moss and Crozier, are running the National Association for Freedom, whose influence has introduced a new note of strident reaction into the Conservative Party's position.

**In 1967 Michael Foot demanded an enquiry into the CIA's activities in Britain: whether or not he still thinks it so urgent, the demand is as important as ever for democrats and socialists. What journalists can discover must be the tip of the iceberg: Britain needs at least as thorough an enquiry as the US Congress mounted into the CIA, and if the Labour Government won't do it, the Labour movement should. Far from being kicked out, Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball should be invited as the star witnesses.**



## An old friend on: The Standardisation of Mark Hosenball

Labour Movement). They culminated with lifting the cover on the Agency's news agency, Forum World Features, and its offspring, the Institute for the Study of Conflict.

This work led directly to the exposure of the links between the ISC (CIA), the National Association for Freedom and the right wing of the Tory party which Martin Walker and Peter Chippindale have managed, after a struggle, to get into the *Guardian*.

I don't know whether Mark dreamed up "guerilla journalism", or picked the phrase up in the States, but it was apt. By using perfectly ordinary research methods, largely with published material, a very small group has been able to mount very damaging surprise attacks on the CIA, probably the most powerful and evil influence in the world. Mark and I became close friends and shared a flat. I don't think we talked politics much but it was clear that, while no ideologue, he had definite anti-imperialist views. He worked on other exposures of right-wing extremism: the South African Bureau of State Security, and Sun Moon's Unification Church. He wrote about the British Government's intelligence communications headquarters in Cheltenham, and he and I co-wrote a piece in the pilot issue of *The Leveller* on the role of British Intelligence in Zambia and Angola.

Mark has a tenacious manner of enquiry, blunt to the point of rudeness, which gets results. It is part of his approach to life, which is naive, sometimes even thoughtless and insensitive - and in his work which is, anyway, the most important thing.

It was also clear that he felt he was wasted on *Time Out*, where commercial pressures restricted the news staff to one and a half pages a week. So he decided to try for the London *Evening Standard*. His line at the interview was that they had no idea what young people, or the left, were doing. He got the job.

Unfortunately, Fleet Street has lured other and older left journalists before and turned them into disillusioned hacks. That hasn't had time to happen yet to Mark, but there was some hostility from *Standard* journalists to this 25 year old American from what they considered a fringe magazine, who had not been through the restrictive and exploitative apprenticeship scheme run by the newspaper bosses and the NUJ, being taken on while home-grown hacks were queuing up to sample the expense-account boozing of the Street of Shame.

The investigative stories he had wanted to do did not materialise. He rang me every day for stories and moral support, but he became increasingly isolated from his old friends on *Time Out* and *The Leveller*.

Even so, no-one was prepared for his reaction to the deportation threat. When he got the notice to quit, he rang me and said, "If I'm going to go, I'm going to go big." But by the time of his press conference, some six hours

later, it was clear that if he was going to go, he was going to go very small indeed. A low-profile strategy had been heavily imposed on him by his editor Charles Wintour, and lawyer Denis Muirhead.

Then it emerged that Philip Agee was threatened too, and virtually everyone who knew Mark tried to persuade him that the case had taken on a totally new political dimension. That he should join the public campaign and help Philip by linking their cases and persuading some of his well-connected supporters to work for both of them. The attempts proved fruitless.

Rumours have been thrown around that Mark's attitude means there is a deal being set up, under which he would stay, as sop to liberal opinion, and Philip would go. The behaviour of a handful of MPs and much of the influential Sunday press has made this look possible. But Mark insists no such thing is happening: not even the private interview he and his father, a top US civil servant, had at the Home Office, gave any such indication. Although the *Standard* quoted Mark as saying he had never worked with Agee, he says: "Of course I have never dissociated myself from Philip Agee or the Defence Committee. I have listed in my statement to the Home Office the number of occasions on which I met him, and I've said that he was a source on one or two stories on the CIA. I've said that I asked him once about British Intelligence, and that he knew nothing about it ... I certainly never gave him information on British intelligence. He wasn't interested."

Mark is convinced that he will win with, as he puts it, "My bosses, my lawyers and my friends in Parliament. I have told Charles Wintour everything, given him details of all the stories I have done, including the stupid ones - that is, the ones which he might consider were stupid. But I have told him, and I said at the Home Office, that I stand by the stories which I did on the CIA and British Intelligence. They were valid stories. I will not dissociate myself from stories which I have done. My defence relies heavily on the contention that organisations which abuse democracy, as the CIA has done, are as much a threat to it as anything else.

"I'm not going to do any more intelligence stories for a long time - unless my paper asks me to of course. But if I had a lead, I would ask them if they wanted me to follow it up."

It's difficult now talking to Mark. I have the feeling there's a whole area of the past he wants to play down. But it's important, even if he's forced by his dependence on his bosses and lawyers into keeping out of the Defence Committee and the campaign, that no-one should support any attempt to adopt him as a favourite son of the liberal establishment, while Philip Agee is pushed out into the cold. He doesn't want Agee deported either.

Phil Kelly

IF MARK Hosenball's deportation story started anywhere, it was when he returned from a visit to the States in late 1974 with a copy of *Washington Monthly*. It carried an article, "How to Spot a Spook" by John Marks, former State Department official who quit like Philip Agee and wrote a book exposing the CIA.

The article told how to identify CIA officers working under cover as diplomats in American embassies.

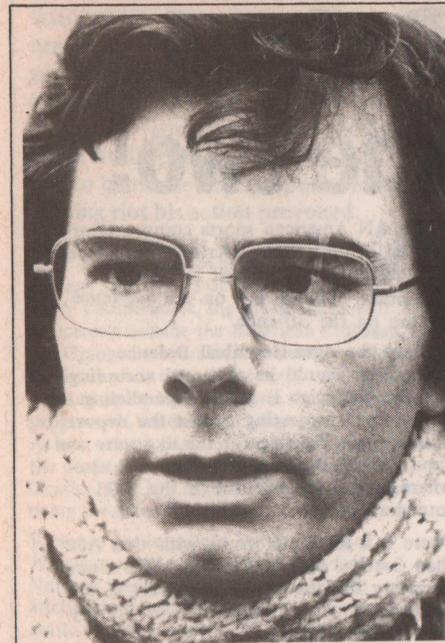
Mark was then a reporter on *Time Out* and I was freelancing for them. Mark brought the piece into the newsroom and handed it to me with a casual "You might be interested in this". My reaction was the delighted exclamation: "But we can do it here."

We did, and it was the start of the campaign of what Mark called "guerilla journalism" against the CIA that has brought him close to being shipped back to America, where he, the inspiration, and the CIA all came from.

But it took us a while to get the material together. We called on the help of an ex-CIA agent who had recently settled in England, Philip Agee. At the London party where we first met him was Victor Marchetti, another former agent who had quit, and who was the co-author of John Marks' book, "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence."

Journalists on *The Guardian* and the then *Workers' Press*, together with American freelancers in London were already working with Agee, and we all joined in the painstaking work of searching through American diplomatic records in the British Museum - that's where it all happened - for the tell-tale signs that betray CIA men among the diplomatic staff. I don't think most people realise how stunningly boring most spook-spotting is.

The first story appeared in London in March 1975, but not in *The Guardian*. It was too much for editor Alastair Hetherington, who told the reporter concerned, Martin Walker, that these people were "our friends". More exposures followed, naming more agents and revealing the CIA influence on the movement to get Britain into the EEC (on which we worked with Richard Fletcher, who had pioneered exposure of the CIA in Britain with his delving into the Agency's activities in the



## Agee on the Agency

"I don't have anything to publish, to tell other people how to get, or to give to anyone else, which could be damaging to British security. The fact is that I am not a danger to British national security unless that can be equated with the security of CIA operations. If British security depends on the sort of things the CIA was doing in Chile or that it has done all round the world - in Vietnam for example, or what it is doing right now in Jamaica - then indeed I am guilty of course. Because I've tried very hard to make it difficult, if not impossible, for the CIA to continue to operate in the old way."

"There are 70 or so CIA people here in Britain, and many of them will have had experience of working in this way in other places. I think the chances are good that they are operating in ways unknown and unacceptable to the British host services. They also happen to be the same people who are working with their British counterparts who have presented a scenario to the Home Secretary which "demonstrated" that I'm a threat to British security."

"If anybody thinks the CIA is all-powerful and all-knowing, they ought to think about Cuba, they ought to think about Vietnam, they ought to think about Laos, Cambodia and Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and all the other countries where right now the struggle is moving forward. This you can do right here in Britain too, taking the battle right to the doorstep of the CIA."

Philip Agee's personality lies behind the resolution to do virtually everything in public, which makes the establishment distinctly uncomfortable.

So the supreme irony of the campaign has been the sight of Merlyn Rees defending democracy with a panel of advisers meeting inquisition-like behind closed doors and the allegedly subversive Agee proclaiming his case on platforms round the country.

His work against the CIA will go on regardless of which country he happens to be living in. Every word he cares to write will be published in *The Leveller* if nowhere else.

# The Destabilisation of the Third World

Last month, the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee presented a Teach-In at the London School of Economics. Speakers focussed on the British immigration laws, and the activities of the British and American security forces. We present here edited extracts from the speeches by John Marks, co-author of *The CIA and The Cult of Intelligence*, and Tony Bunyan, author of *The Political Police in Britain*.

Marks opened his remarks by stressing that it was a basic issue of the freedom of the press that journalists should not be thrown out of countries when their work displeases the powers-that-be. He had suffered exactly the same treatment 18 months ago when he was thrown off a writing assignment in Vietnam by the CIA. He then went on to examine what has been happening in the United States.

We have had several years of ongoing intelligence exposes and to some extent scandals. It's a curious process because I don't know of any country that has ever really been down this road before, any country that has really investigated its secret police.

We found out that the government had been lying quite a bit. And that made a great difference to the way Americans perceived things.

Indeed, we should have known it for a long time. Because as far as CIA operations are concerned, lying is an implicit part of the operation. Every time a CIA operative is drawing up plans to overthrow this government or to subvert that Parliament, there is always something written-in called the 'cover story'.

They have a wonderful word for it in the CIA. It's called plausible deniability: that's important in the world of spies because you want to keep your tracks covered. What we've had is the last five Presidents of the United States plausibly denying - or lying - about matters that concern the CIA.

You can go back into the Eisenhower administration with the President lying publicly about CIA efforts to overthrow the Government in Indonesia, the Sukharno Government of 1958. Or Eisenhower lying about the U2 plane - Francis Gary Powers shot down in a CIA spy plane over the Soviet Union. Eisenhower lied about it and two days later had to admit the truth.

You had President Kennedy lying about the CIA role in invading Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The CIA had trained the whole Cuban exile army of several thousand people to go in and overthrow Castro. Kennedy lied directly about that and then had to admit it.

Or President Johnson lying directly about the CIA's covert operations in South East Asia in Cambodia and Laos, where the CIA got involved in a major way ten years before American troops were even called in.

You had President Nixon coming into office in 1969 and he lied about most everything. But among other things he lied about was the



John Marks

CIA's role in trying to stop Salvador Allende from becoming President of Chile.

President Ford came in and everybody figured, 'Well he's a nice guy. Maybe he can't chew gum and make foreign policy at the same time, but we could use a little honesty in American Government.' So what happens? A little over a year ago President Ford gave an interview to *US News and World Report* and they asked him, 'What about the CIA in Portugal?'

President Ford says, 'Gee, that's interesting you bring that up because Portugal would be a wonderful place to intervene except that we've got all these CIA scandals going on now and all the Congressional investigations and the like and we just can't do it this time. It wouldn't work with the public.'

Well it turned out that it was a little bit of that plausible deniability. It came out several months later that six months earlier President Ford had personally approved a decision for the CIA to help certain political parties in Portugal.

When you have this kind of lying at the heart of your system - the last five Presidents - it has a very destructive effect on society because the people don't believe their government.

We've gone through all this and a lot of information has come out in the process. We've had Congressional investigations looking into the CIA, and for the first time we've had an investigative press in this country. That's an awfully important factor because in the past we've had the kind of tradition where the press just plays along with those folks who supposedly know better - the national security managers, the leaders, the foreign policy establishment.

MIKE WELLS

# Britain's own agencies

Bunyan told the teach-in that the orders to deport Agee and Hosenball probably originated with the CIA in America. He then went on to sketch in the nature of Britain's own intelligence networks. He concentrated on four main agencies - MI 6, MI 5, Defence Intelligence, and the Police and Special Branch.

MI 6 is our equivalent of the CIA. It is responsible for overt and covert action on behalf of the British Government abroad, where it conducts intelligence-gathering and espionage operations. Its main role and strength is in our ex-colonies, particularly in Africa and Asia.

In Africa Britain is a very major influence and it doesn't surprise me to hear of collusion between MI6 and the CIA. Our intelligence there is almost certainly better: we after all are the oldest imperial power. America may have the money and the troops. But we have the strength of long-term intelligence in depth.

The second agency is MI 5. It is concerned with security in Britain and our colonies. Since we don't have colonies any more, it virtually boils down to Britain and Northern Ireland.

But their increasing role is internal, meaning that they combat internal subversion. On the one hand it's political activity - particularly where people are organising, or where workers are making links across struggles. On the other hand, it's industrial struggles. In their terms, a major national strike is internal subversion and a threat to the national interest.

The third agency is the Defence Intelligence Staff. It has about 90 sections and presents the co-ordinated defence intelligence viewpoint.

They come to some kind of scientific evaluation of any event and attempt to predict the future on anything that may affect the national interest. Their interests are not just military. They are also political, social, economic and industrial.

The three 'hidden' agencies are coordinated by the Defence Intelligence Committee which brings together the agencies and the ministries - Foreign Office, Defence and Home Office - to present to their own ministries and their political masters an intelligence viewpoint of what is happening. With the exception of Northern Ireland, its work is largely external.

The other intelligence-gathering agencies are the Special Branch and the Police. Most people don't think of the police in terms of gathering intelligence. But the point about intelligence is that 80-90% of it is freely available, and the strength of the police is their presence in every community in Britain.

In other words, every kind of industrial or political meeting, with the exception of local councils or Parliament, is logged by the local police. When the march or meeting is over, they will send in a report about what happened - how many people came, who the leaders were, all that kind of thing. In other words, the gathering of political and industrial intelligence is now a standard part of ordinary police work.

The next group is Special Branch, who are trained in gathering political intelligence. The most significant thing about Special Branch is its growth in size most recently. Until the 1960s, outside of war-time Special Branch had 200 officers. In the 1960s it went up to 300 and now there are almost 1100. Thus in all the local police forces there are about ten or fifteen officers permanently engaged in gathering political intelligence.

I would like to make some general points about these agencies.

First on their relationship. It is not really a question that MI 5 and MI 6 are more important than the police, but that each of them fulfill a different role in terms of gathering intelligence, and on the action to be taken on that intelligence.

Secondly: who are they interested in? In effect they have always kept under surveillance everybody who wants to bring about any change in the society. That is everybody to the left of the Tory Party.

A third point about the agencies is their non-accountability to democratic institutions. MI 5 and MI 6 have no statutory status: the people in them are civilians and they can't be held to account by the law except as a citizen like you or I. Special Branch and the Police are responsible to the law, not to Parliament. So that when it gets down to Ministers saying, "It's not in the public interest to answer that question," what he is saying is that it is none of our business to interfere in the operational practices of any of these agencies because they are not responsible to Parliament. There is a very tenuous constitutional link behind which they can hide. But the critical thing is actually the agreement by successive British Governments of whatever colour that Ministers do not actually want to know too much of what is going on.

I think we can now put together some kind of picture of what we do know in relation to the deportations about how the different agencies related to the different ministries.

Although we are all sending in our letters and petitions to Mr. Rees at the Home Office, it is now almost certain that it was not the Home Office which originated the request to deport. It seems to have come from the Foreign Office and from MI 5. In a sense, therefore, it is Merlyn Rees and the Home Office carrying the can.

What appears to have happened is that this particular request does not seem to have worked its way through the hierarchy of the Home Office as it would normally do. Instead it seems to have entered into the hierarchy of the Ministry at the level of Deputy Under Secretary from another Ministry.

The last thing I want to say is that, far from there being too much published here in Britain, obviously there's too little. And it has been said that one of the reasons for issuing this order against Mark Hosenball and Phil Agee was that it was to act as a warning against others.

I think that's failed. I think it's failed for three reasons. One: I think that by issuing these orders they point out one aspect - and it is only one aspect - of the arbitrary power of the British state. Secondly, they have drawn attention to the CIA and similar British organisations. And third, it will fail because far from deterring people who are interested in investigating this field, I think it's only going to encourage them.

# Defend the two!

WITH AN American sports commentator's delivery, Philip Agee describes the campaign building up round himself and Mark Hosenball, "We are not on the *dee-fence*. We are on the *off-fence*."

Perhaps the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee should be re-named accordingly. For the campaign is not just paralleling the lawyers and protesting against the deportations: it is fighting for the exposure and expulsion of the CIA in Britain and elsewhere, and for the repeal of the 1971 Immigration Act.

There is a lot more wrong with that Act than Section 3(5), under which the Home Secretary has the power to deport in the interests of national security without any kind of fair hearing.

So the AHDC has affiliated to the Campaign for the Repeal of the Immigration Act - secretary Franco Caprino, the Italian catering worker threatened with the Section 3(5) procedure in 1974 - and to the Cypriot Defence Campaign.

The AHDC campaign against the Act and the CIA will go on whichever way the current deportation cases are settled. And around these demands a movement has built up embracing not only the whole of the left - the National Executive of the Labour Party, CP, IS, IMG, WRP - all are supporting it but more than 100 MPs, many big unions and sections of the Liberal Party.

The Executives, or General Secretaries, of ten major unions (including Jack Jones and Alan Fisher) have protested to Merlyn Rees and the count of Constituency Labour Parties who have fired off angry resolutions (and have informed the AHDC) stands at 37.

This strength must be mobilised if Rees is to be shifted. There is a big national demonstration on Sunday January 9, which aims to make the political points by marching from the Home Office to the American Embassy, Grosvenor Square, and then to Speakers' Corner for a rally to be addressed by, among others, Judith Hart, Jo Richardson, NUJ General Secretary Ken Morgan, and Agee. He and Hosenball are, of course, both NUJ members.

The March will assemble at Embankment tube station, 12.45pm

Agee and Hosenball will appear before the so-called independent panel of three Home Office appointees on Tuesday January 11 and Wednesday January 19 respectively.

The venue chosen by the Home Office: 116, Pall Mall, London SW1. This is the United Services and Royal Aeronautical Club. An "away" fixture for the defence.

As part of its campaign against the CIA, the Defence Committee is producing a series of briefing booklets on the Agency's activities. The first three are out now. *Extracts from the US Congressional Committees into the CIA* - hair raising tales of murder and corruption (20p); *Jamaica Destabilised - the CIA's role* (25p) and *CIA Covert Action - What Next?* By Philip Agee (25p). Out soon: *The CIA in Britain*. Available from left bookshops or AHDC, 186, Kings Cross Road, London WC1. WC1. 01 278 4575

WHEN THE Prime Minister of Jamaica turned up for the funeral of his chief gunman, Winston 'Berry Boy' Blake, a couple of years ago, he led the cortege afterwards right through the middle of his rival's political territory. He had to be rescued by the police from the ensuing riot his action provoked.

When the carnage at the International Monetary Fund conference held in Kingston last January, the deaths of People's National Party youth leaders, the shootings of two policemen outside the American Embassy, the Orange Street massacre and the collapse in Jamaica's international credit rating all pointed to the existence of a destabilisation programme, he declared a State of Emergency. As part of this State of Emergency, he arrested the deputy leader of the opposition, Pernel Charles, and 208 other people suspected of being involved in terrorism.

Violence has long been at the centre of Jamaican politics. When Michael's father, Norman was leading PNP - long before Michael had declared himself for democratic socialism and the LSE view of the world - the gun was an accepted part of the whole. Not as violent as it has been in the last two years, but there nevertheless. For the Manleys, as for much of the political class, it isn't a question of morals but of power.

Manley's PNP now controls an overwhelming 80% of seats in Parliament. But they are faced with a balance of payments which has gone from a 130m dollar surplus when he took power in 1972 to an 80m dollar deficit today. To cover that deficit he has had to borrow through Caricom, the Caribbean Development Agency, whose main source of real money is Trinidad oil dollars.

In return for the loan he is locked into an agreement with Trinidad Premier Eric Williams to take manufactured goods. Effectively he has had to take paper money today in exchange for the opportunity to generate surplus value in manufactured goods tomorrow.

The Governor of the Bank of Jamaica put his finger on the heart of the problem as the island went to the polls shortly before Christmas. No matter who wins, he argued, the problem will remain: the country is facing bankruptcy.

If the deficit problem is to be resolved, Manley faces two choices. Either he takes his election victory as an overwhelming mandate for socialism, or he must systematically smash the emerging independent working class movement. The choice is stark as that.

When Manley came to power in 1972, he came on the slogan "Better Must Come". In 1976, the programme was democratic socialism - a mixed economy with the state playing a guiding role, individual initiative, an active private sector. The programme may have been socialism, but the slogan was "Heavy Manners".

What the election results showed was a whole-hearted move by the Jamaican working class and small farmers away from Seaga's policy of collaboration with American imperialism. JLP had no programme except a return to the exploitation of the 1960s. But JLP could no longer rely on memories of Alexander Bustamante and his leadership of the independence movement, and on the mythology of the struggle for independence to pull them in the votes of the working class and unemployed in Kingston.



# Now Jamaica has to pay up

Instead that key section moved significantly towards the promise that Michael Manley's PNP seemed to offer: jobs, homes, food in the belly, schools, hospitals. For the changes that took place in PNP in the period 1972-1976 had the affect of re-awakening within the mass movement the ideals that had lain virtually dormant since PNP threw out its entire left wing in the 1950s.

The young men like Senators Bertram and Small who had worked around the small journal *Abeng* in the late sixties now occupy Ministerial positions in Manley's Government. But their left-wing influence is probably not enough to turn the Cabinet down a leftist road. And the honeymoon period will be short.

For if Manley is to deliver on his loan repayments, he must start to generate a great deal of surplus value from the island's manufacturing sector: at the same time he must cut back on imports by increasing home food production or decreasing consumption. He has to convince the Americans and the British that their investments will be safe, that their luxury holidays will be enjoyable and that PNP is no threat to the Munroe Doctrine.

He has also to convince the expatriate middle class that they and their skills are welcome and that this initiative and enterprise will be well rewarded.

In other words, if he is to take the road of democratic socialism as outlined in the PNP manifesto, he has almost immediately to crack down hard on the very hopes to which his election gave rise. He will have to cut back on public spending that his social welfare promises entail; he has to use his Industrial Relations Act to smash firmly any working class independent action - backed by the police, army and State of Emergency regulations - and come down hard on the new left which has blossomed in Jamaica over the past three years.

But will this path be acceptable to the mass of Jamaicans? The short answer must be no: they have demonstrated at the ballot

box their support for the ideal Manley seems to offer and now they will demand the goods. Any attempt to back-pedal on the promise of the elections will be greeted with ever-greater resistance. The Jamaican people, unlike the British, do not have the accumulated value of centuries of imperialism to fall back on in times of crisis. For them the choice is stark: socialism or starvation.

To satisfy this very demand for survival, a minimum programme for Manley must include a ten-fold increase in the land-reform program so that agricultural self-sufficiency becomes a possibility; full nationalisation of the dwindling resource of bauxite; renegotiation of the international loans; power to the hands of the working class and small farmers.

Even if he wanted to, could Manley deliver such a programme? Theoretically it is a possibility but it is unlikely. Were he even to start such moves, he would face a propaganda barrage from the CIA and other foreign intelligence sources. This would be accompanied by continuing violence, economic sabotage and the very real possibility of civil war or a coup d'etat led by elements within the police and army trained in Britain and America. That Manley is aware of this possibility is demonstrated both by his own weapons training and by his decision to have the Cubans train his heads of the Special Branch and the Mobile Reserve.

But such a leftist programme is not within the Manley political consciousness as demonstrated in his books and speeches. Nor would the majority of the 'moderate' PNP executive support him if it were. Their own class interests determine their need to hang on to a share of state power, not encourage the people to intervene in the national politics.

1977 will be a crucial year of struggles for Jamaica. Manley has the mandate to take the people out of barbarism and onto socialism. What is more likely is that he will deliver them firmly into the hands of the multinationals while gaily whistling the songs of democratic socialism.

David Clark



# Vesteys' Interests

The profit motive

The Docks Labour Bill has been emasculated by the House of Lords, providing only a half mile corridor of labour rights for registered dockers, instead of the five mile cordon originally proposed. Press comment focussed exclusively on the influence of the big union battalions, the TGWU and Jack Jones in promoting the Bill. The Leveller examines on the big business empires with a vested interest in neutralising the Bill: the Vestey family.

If it is on the hoof and it moves, the Vesteys are keenly interested. For the Vestey's own Britain's largest meat combine, and now that Christmas gone the Vestey profits are fatter.

The Vesteys are the family joint in the biggest possible way. Through their companies they own the country's largest meat importing and wholesaling business, Weddel's, and the largest meat retailers, Dewhurst's.

Their operation affords a study of near perfection in business terms. The Vestey interests rear their own cattle on their own lands in Argentina, Australia, and elsewhere; the animals are slaughtered in Vestey-owned slaughterhouses, transported in Vestey-owned refrigerated ships, stored in Vestey-owned cold storage depots and sold in Vestey-owned shops.

There is no middle-man to take a cut. It is a lean operation, but it generates fat profits. Some idea of the size of the family's interests was revealed in the annual report for 1970 of the parent company, Western United Investment, which stated that a full list of its subsidiaries "would be of excessive length" and would be filed the following year. It was not, but even superficial research shows that it owns at least 69 companies in Britain, 18 in Australia, five in Argentina, eight in South Africa, six in Brazil, two in the USA, and others in Belgium, the Bahamas, Switzerland, Tanzania, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Western United also has controlling interests in companies in France, Canada, Germany, Holland, Hong Kong, India, Italy, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan and Singapore.

The joint managing directors are Lord Samuel Vestey, the third Baron of Kingswood, and his uncle, Sir Edmund Vestey. Behind them both, an even more shadowy figure, is Ronald Vestey, the Godfather of the family.

Lord Sam inherited his grandfather's title in 1954 when his father was killed during the war. Sam was then a 13-year-old fag at Eton. With the title went a fortune estimated at the time at £33 million.

Edmund, who lives in superb country style on his estate at Ashdon, Essex, is reckoned to be in the same wealth league, while his dad, Ronald, High Sheriff of Suffolk, lives in a fine Jacobean mansion only ten miles away at Thurlow, near the Suffolk-Cambridge border.

Both the Vesteys (Sam is the City-bound slicker) indulge their rustic pleasures to the full. A few years ago Edmund had an immaculate point-to-point course erected across the land of one of his farms at Horseheath in Cambridgeshire. At the same time his aging father, now 78,

catered for his more sedentary sport of fishing by gouging out several acres of his Thurlow estate to provide a well-stocked lake. In typical Vestey style, nothing was allowed to go to waste and the excavated earth was sold as top-soil for a project undertaken by the urban council at the London overspill town of Haverhill, some five miles away.

Little beyond their immense wealth and vast land-holding is known about the Vesteys in the villages of that pleasant corner where Cambridge, Essex and Suffolk conjoin. Here the name is usually uttered with hushed awe.

Someone who had no trouble in recognising his place was Ronald Vestey's personal butcher, who managed one of Haverhill's two Dewhurst shops for a working lifetime. For much of that period he would daily choose the best pieces of meat and deliver them personally to Great Thurlow Hall for the old buzzard to peck at. When the shop manager retired five years ago he was not forgotten; Ronald called at the shop and gave him a silver salver—but no pension.

Another Vestey servant retired in 1973. Frank Bebbington, head gamekeeper of the Thurlow estate, had put in 13 years with Ronald Vestey, and his impatience spilled over into indiscretion: "All my life I have been 'Bebbington' to my superiors, and now I want to be called 'Frank'," he said.

At least Bebbington had a name. The thousands of Aborigines exploited and displaced by Vestey companies operating in Australia do not. They are, like many others, simply anonymous victims of the ruthless application of Vestey business interests.

Vesteys control 17,000 square miles of Northern Territory, plus large slabs of Western Australia and Queensland. The Aborigines have fought unsuccessfully for the return of their homelands.

Western United is Britain's second largest private company - that is, one whose shares are entirely privately (largely family) owned. Turnover in 1973 was a staggering £516m. Its 17,515 employees were then paid an average of £25.36 a week, which compares with a national average for that year of £41.90 a week for men and £23.10 for women.

The major subsidiary, Union International, reported profits of £6m in 1975 and paid its 18000 employees an average of £38.17 a week. The national average then was £60.80 for men and £37.40 for women. More recently people in this country have fought the Vesteys for control of their worklands.

The historic battle in 1972 by dockers who insisted that jobs at the East London inland container depot, Midland Cold Storage, were theirs, was fought against the Vesteys, whose calculated ruthlessness led to the jailing of trades unionists.

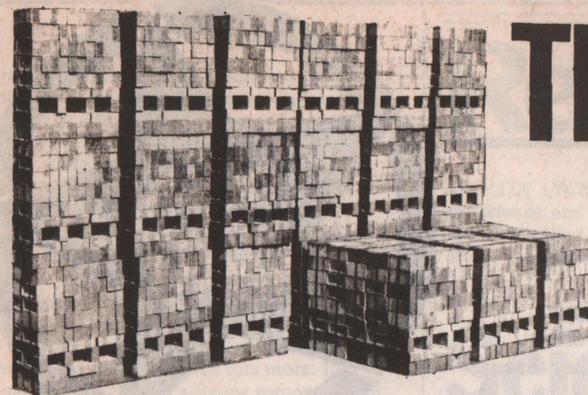
The depot was constructed by the Lamport and Holt shipping line, owned by the Vesteys, who also own the Blue Star Line and other shipping concerns. Following its construction, cowboy lorry drivers were introduced as a non-unionised labour force to replace the highly-organised and better-paid dockers. The dockers picketed the depot and stopped its operation, refusing to cover before the threats that the Tory Industrial Relations Act would be used against them.

Midland Cold Storage denied all links with the Vesteys. They even claimed to be in competition with them. But their lies were exposed by Socialist Worker reporter Laurie Flynn, who discovered that Ulster Bank Nominees, who held 99,998 of the 100,000 shares of the company were, in fact, a shelter for the Vesteys.

Five dockers were jailed and only released after mass trade union protests, but Vesteys and the rest of the bosses have now reversed that defeat. The Dock Labour Bill has been neutered to provide only a half mile corridor for the right to work of registered dockers. This will mean the loss of thousands of dockland jobs, with non-union labour in the container depots.

# The Stench of Money

The profit motive



That horrible smell of burning you get travelling up the M1 near Bedford is not your clutch falling to pieces. It's London Brick's chimneys. Two years ago, after much pressure from environmentalists, the company appeared to be doing something about the smell. But, as GEOFF GRANT reports, the chimneys still stink, and so does the company.

When Sir Ronald Stewart, chairman of the monopoly London Brick Company, holidays abroad he thoughtfully sends a postcard to his cat at its "cat hotel". A sentimental old thing, Sir Ronald.

On the other hand, in his business life, Sir Ronald and those acting for him are anything but sentimental, a fact for which the villagers of Elstow, Bedfordshire, can vouch.

London Brick Co. is one of the old breed of unreconstructed, unashamed capitalist exploiters. Travellers on the main London-Derby railway line can see some of the hundreds of acres of brick pits which disfigure the landscape of central Bedfordshire.

Drivers on the M1 can smell a pronounced odour of burning rubber which comes from the 101 chimneys of the kilns where clay is burned to make bricks. What they can't smell are the fluorines and sulphur dioxide also emitted. The latter, mixed with rain water, produces a dilute form of sulphuric acid.

In the countryside around you can see stunted trees, killed off by the pollution. Cattle develop fluorine poisoning.

Elstow is a historic village with connections with John Bunyan. Recently its ancient High Street was restored and the whole thing looks rather nice. Every prospect pleases, only London Brick Company is vile.

The village has the misfortune to be sited near an LBC pit. It should be explained that the planning consent granted to LBC permits the company to excavate on condition that the pits are filled with suitable material available at "reasonable cost".

The company has always regarded this provision as meaning that they are entitled to charge a "reasonable amount" for the use of the pits as a tip. This interpretation has been greeted with incredulity at one time or another. At a conference on the pits one delegate likened it to a pickpocket offering to sell the wallet back to the victim.

The attraction can be seen from the company's point of view. They excavate the clay, charge to fill the pit, and when the land is restored it can be sold. Very nice.

London Brick, however, are not satisfied with this. When they decided to start filling the Elstow pit (and their rate of in-filling lags far behind their rate of excavation) they did so with noxious waste.

The villagers objected and were told smartly and publicly: "It's our pit and we'll do what we like with it." LBC also denied they were using the pit to tip noxious matter.

Recently, however, it was proved that they had indeed tipped noxious waste. Their reaction, being London Brick, was not to give assurances that the noxious materials would be extracted and the practice stopped, but to apply belatedly for planning permission to continue to use the tip for that purpose.

The Elstow villagers need not have been surprised by the activities of London Brick. They have form behind them. Brother, do they have form.

In 1954 a farmer entered a suit against LBC, backed by the National Farmer's Union, for damages in respect of his cattle which had developed the bone growths and low milk yield which is a sign of fluorosis. LBC fought the case for 14 solid years. Without the backing of the NFU the farmer would have been forced to concede defeat as costs mounted.

The breakthrough came in 1968 when the farmer won a verdict in the High Court permitting him access to LBC's own monitorings of fluorine release. Within hours the company capitulated, settled with the farmer and made arrangements with the NFU for settlement of future cases involving their members (but London Brick is at the moment fighting against a non-NFU farmer).

What, you ask, was in those figures which brought about so devastating a collapse? The answer is that nobody, except LBC, knows. One of the conditions of the settlement, adhered to rigidly by the NFU, the farmer and LBC, was that no information whatever should be released.

For many years LBC disdained the cosmetic art of Public Relations, but a few years ago they

succumbed and appointed Colonel Bob Harvey their public relations officer. Not that it is any easier to get information out of LBC. It's just that you get turned down more nicely. On the other hand, if you wanted a guided tour round the brickworks, with information about the social value of the company's activities or the fossils excavated, gin-swilling Bob is the man for you.

The company has got sophisticated in other ways too. A few years ago a groundswell of objection seemed to be building up over the stink from the LBC chimneys. A technical magazine published a study (derided but not disproved by the company) showing that it would be possible to clean up some of the emissions.

Suddenly the company, which had a history of refusing to co-operate with any investigations into possible harmful effects of its activities, joined with local authorities to monitor emissions and announced that they had set up an experimental kiln to see whether the emissions could be cleaned.

That was a couple of years ago. Since then people have talked round tables, a medical consultant has consulted, periodic announcements have been made, the chimneys still stink.

The company has also played the power game with effect. A Monopolies Commission inquiry into the company found that it did not use its monopoly in such a way as to adversely affect the public interest. The Commission should try living near the brickworks.

Its power also extends into the council offices. A few years ago a journalist made an appointment with county council officers to talk about the environmental effects of the brickworks. When he arrived he was asked whether he had informed LBC of the appointment. Surprised, he said he had not and was even more surprised when he was told that LBC knew of the appointment and had demanded that one of their directors should be present at the interview.

Since the war LBC has recruited immigrant labour to work in the brickfields. It is hard work in a grim environment and has held no attractions for the local workforce. John Brown in his book on Bedford's immigrants, "The Unmelting Pot", describes how LBC organised waves of immigrant labour—middle European, Italian and, currently, Asian.

LBC have borne none of the costs involved in settling the immigrants, who are concentrated in ghettos of the poorest quality housing as a result of an unholy alliance between council officials and local estate agencies.

LBC's justification for its activities has always been—predictably—that it provides cheap building materials, and any attempts to clean up the air, restore dereliction or repair any of the damage it has done and continues to do would make bricks, and therefore, homes, more expensive.

LBC sits on a national resource, the Oxford clay which provides the raw material for bricks. That being so it is natural justice that it should be owned by the people.



**NOW SHOWING AT YOUR LOCAL BUTCHER**

**CAUTION**  
There are scenes that may be disturbing to some members of the public.

**The Vestey Chain Saw Massacre**

**"This is without doubt the most frightening and macabre shocker I have ever seen."**

The Leveller

Rob Cowan

# ...and now, people, It's AGITPOP

The group of men and women who make up the Kartoan Klowns, the agitprop theatre group which spawned the KK rock band, have been involved in the attempt to make theatre popular. Over the last few months they have put their energies to something new: the first music-based political campaign, Rock Against Racism, the IS-backed campaign to attack racist popular culture and bring revolution into rock. Wendy McFadden talks to organiser RED SAUNDERS of the KK Band, who have just released a single for the Right to Work Campaign.

**How did Rock Against Racism get going?**  
The idea had been floating about for a while but Eric Clapton's racist outburst at a concert in Birmingham last August was the spur that got things moving.  
**What did he say? Was he getting a bad time from the audience?**  
No, he was just doing the show pissed. For no apparent reason between numbers out comes this routine about "Stop Britain becoming a black colony... get the foreigners out. Vote for Enoch Powell". It was reported in the music papers but a lot of people didn't see it. The following week this letter signed by Red Saunders and six others appeared in *Sounds*, *New Musical Express* and *Melody Maker*. The response was amazing—letters started rolling in from all over the country. I had asked IS for the use of their Cottons Gardens address because it's a good strong building—you're not going to get bricks through your windows - and

also because Roger Huddle (who is the other main organiser) works full-time for *Socialist Worker*.  
**Did Clapton reply?**  
He followed up with a note in *Sounds*—scrawled in lower case, no capitals, apologising to all the 'foreigners' in Brum, but a 'foreigner' had pinched his missus' bum—a real bad scene, man. It was all written in that kind of laid-back language. He went on to say "Powell is the only politician mad enough to lead this country... Yrs eccentrically [crossed out] humbly etc."  
**What happened when the letters started coming in?**  
First thing was that *Socialist Worker* offered a whole page in the paper and we worked it out to give the history: our letter, the response and the manifesto of the Rock Against Racism Ad-hoc Committee. This brought in another wave of letters from musicians and fans, people

## The Letter That Started It All: RAR's Reply to Racist Rock Star

When I read about Eric Clapton's Birmingham concert when he urged support for Enoch Powell I nearly puked.

What's going on Eric? You've got a touch of brain damage. So you are goin' to stand for MP and you think we are being colonised by black people. Come on... you've been taking too much of that Daily Express stuff, you know you can't handle it.

Own up half your music is black. You are rock music's biggest colonist. You're a good musician but where would you be without the blues and R & B?

You've got to fight the racist poison, otherwise you degenerate into the sewer with the rats and all the money men who ripped off rock culture with their cheque books and plastic crap.

Rock was and still can be a real progressive culture not a package mail order stick-on nightmare of mediocre garbage.

Keep faith, black and white unite and fight.

We want to organise a rank and file movement against the racist poison in rock music—we urge support for Rock Against Racism.

P.S. 'Who shot the sheriff' Eric? It sure as hell wasn't you!

Red Saunders



CLAPTON: Spoke up for Powell on stage in Brum.



willing to give time, energy or donations. A lot of socialists said "great, at last rock's cool". They were really happy to see it—for too long it's been the pint of bitter and pullover brigade who ruled. I've been anti that lot from the start.

“**Rock Against Racism was formed to fight back against the creeping power of racist ideas in popular culture. We urge support from musicians and fans.**”

Kids kept asking for stickers, badges, so we had to organise that. I got in touch with every art-worker I knew to get them working on ideas. Dave King came up with the design for our logo, the sticker. At the same time kids were writing to say they'd been making their own t-shirts, knitting them up even—talk about self-activity of the class. We were getting Scottish pound notes from the Shetlands, stamps from Hants; a Rev. in Manchester wrote to say he's having a 'RAR week'—sermons from the pulpit and fund raising jumble sale!

**Meanwhile back in London...?**  
We'd had a few meetings by then—this was September—and decided we must have a gig very soon. Carol Grimes offered to play for nothing so with SW we set up the first benefit at 'The Princess Alice' in Forest Gate, E. London, on October 12. Four hundred people turned up in spite of it being so difficult to get to—we had to close the doors. Now gigs have been organised in Leeds, Newcastle, Glasgow, Edinburgh and about four or five in London—December 10th at the Royal College of Art being the biggest.

**Have these gigs gone down well?**  
We tried to make them a bit more than just another lefty social—trying to use rock to get the message across, to use it as a platform to fight racialism. Not only to use the music as a weapon but also the environment and the atmosphere: a palace of throbbing anti-racist propaganda! We've made up the best banners you've seen, twenty foot long with

huge lettering in yellow on red, red on green, plus lots of six foot blow-ups of photos of kids dancing in clubs, enjoying themselves. At the RCA we invited other anti-fascist groups to set up stalls for books, leaflets, badges, etc. **Have different RAR groups now started organising in other parts of the country?**  
Yes, those other gigs I mentioned were organised by local groups. On December 15 in London we had our first day school/conference get-together for everyone from the south. A week later at Leeds everyone from the north of the country had their inaugural meeting. And there will probably be lots more. It's something that brings a strong response from people, especially kids, it's their music and they want to fight this kind of racist garbage from the guitar gods.

**What are you planning next?**  
The next thing is to get the musicians together. We'd like to set up a RAR house band—get a permanent meeting place to keep it all going. We need a big room above a pub, with a bar, in the centre of town, and have a RAR night every couple of weeks so people could come and meet, musicians could jam, like a club. We're also trying to get the Roundhouse in early spring for a big event. Right now things are snowballing. The next important thing is what happens when it goes onto the streets: the picketing of the Clapton 'Old Grey Whistle Test' concert in London at Xmas challenged Clapton to make his position clear. We don't have big promotion money but we do have a lot of people to take a stand against racism, to seize the power of rock music.

**Keep in touch...** Rock Against Racism Ad-hoc Committee Box M, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2.

**"No Return to the Bad, Bad Times/Why Pay A Woman Worker Less Than A Man"** by the KK Band costs £1 + 10p postage by Bookmarks, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4—all proceeds to the *Defence of the Right to Work Marchers*.

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**"Public Statement on the Split within the Revolutionary Communist Group:** What are the political differences that underlie the expulsion of nearly half the membership of the RCG? This statement by the expelled members—now the Revolutionary Communist Tendency—explains the real issues at stake. Copies of the statement and more information available from: John Hill, 103, Helix Road, London SW2 (LE). Send s.a.e. and state number required."

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## Review

MARTIN INCE reviews *The Radicalisation of Science* and *The Political Economy of Science*, edited by Hilary Rose and Stephen Rose. (MacMillan Press. £3.95 paperback).

## Science and Socialism

**THERE'S no doubt that these books are a major piece of radical theory. They are a well thought out, thorough and very international Marxist look at science. Incidentally, the division of material between the two doesn't reflect the titles, and the books have to be read as a pair for maximum relief of confusion.**

It's best to start with *PES*, which leads in with the Roses' potted history of Marx and Engels on science. Despite its soundness it somehow fails to set the scene and its relevance to what follows never quite becomes clear. But what follows is excellent; Cicotti, Cini and de Maria on scientific production under capitalism, Gorz on class aspects, Cooley on the productive process, Steven Rose on the IQ racket, the Roses on biologism, Hilary Rose and Jalna Hanmer on reproduction, and Enzenburger on political ecology. The last is the only real duffer; his views seem little advanced on Ridgeway's years-old critique of the ecology movement, and his analysis is backed by little case material.

Some of the material is marvellous, but Cooley, matching theory with events at the point of production, is the most accessible and relevant of all. You ought to read it, but try this as a taster: "The Welder at General Motors who takes a robotic welding device and guides its probes through the welding procedures of a car body is on the one hand building skill into the machine, and deskilling himself on the other. The accumulation of years of welding experience is absorbed by the robot's self-programming systems and will never be forgotten. Similarly, mathematicians working as stressmen in an aircraft company may design a software package for the stress analysis of airframe structures and suffer the same consequences in their jobs. In each case they have given part of themselves to the machine and in doing so have conferred life on the object of their labour—but now this life no longer belongs to them but to the owner of the object."

By comparison, most of the rest of *PES* has the air of worthiness rather than excitement. In particular, the Roses allow their own chapter on biologism to go on unconscionably, in a fine show of editorial prerogative. Likewise, Steven Rose's chapter on IQ wanders from political economy into the ins and outs of zygotism of twins in a manner which adds little to the analysis and leads to a lack of tightness.

Apart from this, the Roses' obsession with the Indo-chinese victory, no matter what the con-

text, is at times annoying, especially after the writer has just read in the papers about Vietnam's "liberalisation" of the "foreign investment climate." (Incidentally, the Vietnamese are getting all the royalties on the books after Supermac has had his cut.) But all in all, *PES* is a marvellous book, although it isn't really about the political economy of science, and it leads very well into *ROS*, which isn't too much about its radicalisation.

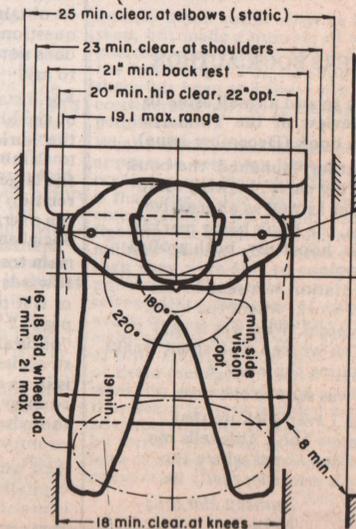
*ROS* consists of seven essays, starting with a sound general history of the radical science movement by the editors. Is it just bitching for an editor of *Undercurrents* to point out that they omit all mention of the world's biggest radical science publication? No it isn't, because it's part of the editors' practice of ignoring all radical science movements not couched in Marxist terms, which leads to some serious gaps.

This volume, too, has some dead wood, such as the chapter on Lysenkoism which adds nothing to knowledge of the Lysenko case and says nothing useful about radicalisation of science. But Monique Couture—Cherki on women and physics and Liliane Stehelin on science, women and ideology are both good introductions to "women and science", although the former depends too much on French experience to be very valuable in the UK.

The main pleasures of *ROS* are the Needham chapter on lessons from China and the one by Sam Anderson on science, technology and black liberation. No two could present a greater contrast. The first is a scholarly, light-of-touch essay on the history and current practice of science in China, emphasising its subordination to politics and its use for solving real problems. Wonderful, and well worth the price of the book as it's the only extant summary of Needham's work except for a short excerpt of the article in another magazine (named above).

The Anderson piece is a well-constructed semi-documentary on approaches to science and its politics by the black liberation movement in the USA; much of the work went on among blacks doing lab shiftwork, and their struggles were immense and not entirely successful. Of particular interest is the tying of their analysis of the role of science to more general political analysis. Well worth a read for anyone wanting to know about political organisation on scientific issues, or just about black liberation.

Overall, the two books have faults; there is some redundancy and much scope for improved editing if a second edition ever appears. But they are still one of the main radical theory events in years, so read them, even if you think you won't understand them!



# Letters

WRITE TO US : Send Letters to 155a, Drummond Street, London NW 1.

## BERUFSVERBOT—BRITISH STYLE

With reference to the article 'West Germany—Konsensus in Kommand', and especially the comment 'the berufsverbot is coming closer' referring to applicants for EEC jobs, I am enclosing a civil service sheet which shows similar probing into the political sympathies of prospective employees.

Here are some extracts from the document 'General Information for Candidates': 'Civil servants are subject to certain restrictions... on national or local political activities, including candidature for Parliament or a local authority; holding office in party political organisations; expressing views on matters of political controversy in public speeches or public writings; and canvassing on behalf of candidates in parliamentary or local government elections.

'... no one may employed in the Civil Service in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State if he is or has recently been a member of the British Communist Party or of a fascist organisation; or if in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his reliability, he is or has recently been sympathetic to communism or fascism, or is susceptible to communist or fascist pressure.'

Melanie Selfe  
London N19

## LONDON HEGEMONY

I'm disappointed with the paper, both the subjects covered and the political attitudes seem to me to be just too "independent", too "objective". Nothing is really being said. And, despite your hopes, the agitprop pages are just going to confirm and reinforce the hegemony of the south east. Nevertheless, best of luck.

Nick Sherington  
Aberystwyth

## TOLMERS BOOK AUTHOR

I'd like to add a small aside to your review of the Tolmers Square book. (December issue)

The author 'launched' the book with a big party, inviting establishment as well as alternative figures, the book being marketable to, hopefully, both groups of people.

An invitation was sent to the place I work, where the book was typeset. Who was it sent to? The women who spent weeks each doing the work?

No it was sent to the boss.

Before I even pick up that expensive book, this tells me something about where the author's priorities really lie.

Ramsey Margolis  
NGA  
Dahling Dahling Ltd.

## BRUM BOMBINGS—POLICE SUED

YOUR ARTICLE on the prisoners convicted for the Birmingham pub bombings [issue 1] was misleading in that it implied that no further remedy remained for them in this country.

In fact all six are to take legal action against the police officers who they claimed assaulted them. Because no legal aid is awarded for private criminal prosecutions, these actions will be civil ones to claim damages.

The prisoners hope that if these actions are successful, it will lead to a reopening of their case and doubt will be thrown on the way their so-called confessions were obtained. If this fails then the only recourse will be to the European Human Rights Court in Strasbourg.

Jacqueline Kaye  
Prisoners Aid  
Committee, London

# Fight the 'Mish-Mash' Menace!

Don't you think that there is a danger that a magazine like *The Leveller* may hide more than it reveals? The news, reviews analyses that it gives us come from different points of view and put forward different opinions. There is no relation of one thing to another, beyond an implied consensus of "the left" that all of us, readers and writers, share certain common beliefs and assumptions.

This may be so and it may be that "the left" can unite for certain limited objectives. But what are these and under what circumstances and between what forces could such unity be obtained? These are questions that your magazine does not ask and hides the need to ask.

For instance, in your accounts of the liberation struggle around the world - from Southern Africa to Cambodia and Ireland - the largest questions of the relation of these struggles to the overall world struggle for Socialism are unasked. Is the main trend in the world today towards revolution and war, or is it towards evolution and peace? Is the Soviet Union the "natural ally" of the liberation struggles, as it says it is, or is it, as others say, a capitalist country and therefore (in today's world) an imperialist country?

And what about China, is it capitalist or socialist? And what is socialism? Is the Labour Party a socialist party or is it, as some of your articles imply

# Need for policies —not just analysis

THE THREE contributions to "Understanding The Crisis" (*The Leveller* December 1976) offer some useful observations on Britain's current economic situation. But they are decidedly weak when it comes to the critical question of the left's response to the crisis and the kinds of alternative economic policies we should be fighting for.

This emerges most clearly from the piece by Ben Fine and Laurence Harris. Having acknowledged that the effect of working class struggle is ambiguous because "it can hinder capitalist accumulation but it thereby harms workers' living standards under capitalism", they fall back on the old socialist nostrum about the need for the development of working class consciousness to resolve this unpleasant dilemma.

But nothing in their analysis suggests how such a development might be set in motion.

If working class resistance to public spending cuts, pay restraint, high unemployment, rationalisation of the labour process and the rest will impede economic recovery in Britain, why should people not accept the logic of "pay now live later"? Why should anyone believe that things would be better under a different social order?

The multiple crises which, after a long maturation, came to a head in Britain in the train of the general world capitalist slump, exposed the political underdevelopment of the British left. During and since the political turning point of the EEC Referendum the organised left has signally failed to offer any credible alternative to mainstream definitions of national economic objectives and policies. Broadly speaking, the left has either worked for a revival of the halcyon days of mass economic militancy, or has engaged in political advocacy of abstract socialist aims.

The main exception to this general pattern has been Tony Benn and a section, though not all, of the *Tribune* Group, who have been seriously grappling with the questions of what kind of industrial regeneration we should be aiming at and how it can be achieved this side of a re-run of October 1917. The weakness of Benn's position has been the absence of any large scale organised self-activity outside Parliament and the various structures of the Labour Party to complement the struggle within these arenas.

Not that the ground has been completely barren. There have been the initiatives of the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards and of non-denominational bodies such as the Socialist Environmental Resources Association and Women and Health Groups.

But the organised left has failed to align itself with either kind of development. Demonstrating a poorer grasp of the conjuncture than its bourgeois opponents, the left has written off Benn and his policies as a left reformist cover for the Labour right, and as yet, only imperfectly grasps the full significance of workplace and community action around positive programmes of democratic social control informed by rigorous technical expertise.

It does not follow automatically that if the economic aspects of the class struggle are pushed to a point of decisive showdown with the ruling class, a revolution in which it becomes possible

Pat Ainley  
London E1

to replace capitalism rapidly with a fully socialised economy. Consider, for example, the repercussions of a sustained wages offensive against the Social Contract. It does not take much economic sophistication to realise that if this were successful it would quickly lead to higher inflation, a further fall in the exchange rate, and as capitalist confidence ebbed to even lower depths, a further drop in investment.

To argue that these consequences could be avoided if the Government were to prepare to impose draconian price and exchange controls and to nationalise the big monopolies, may be true in the abstract, but has no political leverage. The plain fact is that the overwhelming majority of the British people will not in the foreseeable future be prepared to support such measures. The main political result of a wages onslaught would be the fall of the present Government, its replacement by another more reactionary in character, the isolation of the militant sections of the trades unions and the consolidation of a developing right-wing bloc.

\* \* \* \*

None of this implies that the left should support the Social Contract in its present form. But we do need to distinguish the principle of the Social Contract from its content. The principle of matching pay increases to available resources and social priorities involves a deformation of the anarchy of distribution under capitalism. Naturally the ruling class would prefer to plan wages whilst leaving the rest of the economy as it is. We on the contrary need to push this deformation as far as we can by explicitly linking the regulation of pay to the need for generalised, conscious social control of the rest of the economy - for example over the scale, timing, location and character of investment, or over Britain's external economic relations.

In Britain's current situation the force of the labour and progressive movement should be directed not against the principle of the Social Contract, but against its terms. We should be concentrating our attack against the weakness of the Government and ruling class strategy for resuming economic growth and reducing unemployment through the appeasement of capitalist anxieties and reliance on market forces.

Resistance must be based on a realistic alternative economic programme for Britain. This in turn must be based on a recognition that building socialism and weakening capitalism is a protracted process in which the key to advance at every stage lies in the extent to which diverse social groups can be united around credible alternative policies.

"Credible" here means three

things: 1) If the policies are implemented they must have a reasonable chance of success in resolving the problems to which the development of capitalism in Britain has given



Benn: One of the few people to think out socialist alternatives

rise, though there can never be any magic formula for victory. 2) There must be a real possibility of the policies being implemented in the light of the likely development of the balance of social and political forces, which, of course, is a matter which calls for the most experienced and informed political judgement. 3) To capture the enthusiasm of millions of people, the programme must not simply address itself to the Central Government, but must project lines of action at workplace and community level which are an integral part of the

# Cambodia report too glowing

AS ONE WHO has some experience of reporting from Indo-China and who regards as a matter for rejoicing the fact that the countries of that region are now ruled by their own citizens, may I comment on Malcolm Caldwell's piece on Cambodia in the December edition of the *Leveller*?

Firstly, while I agree with Malcolm that we should not place much store by the Daily Telegraph and *Time* magazine version of events in that country, I don't think it is helpful to pretend that all is well in that country when this manifestly is not the case.

As regards the killings, obviously refugee accounts must be taken with a pinch of salt, but there is quite sufficient evidence that in the first months of the new regime large numbers of officers and civil servants of the old regime were singled out and beaten or shot to death. So too were the families of some of those who fled the country.

programme. It is only through the development of new forms of practice that popular consciousness can be released from the domination of bourgeois practices and the ideas which express and sustain them.

\* \* \* \*

What would be the broad contours of such a programme at the present time? Its main themes would be: 1) That state power should be used where the market has failed or can only provide solutions at immense social cost. 2) That all who are required to make sacrifices because of Britain's economic decay must have a real and meaningful voice in determining the allocation of resources and Britain's destiny. 3) That the burden of economic judgement must be placed most heavily on those best placed to bear it, that is, the large corporations whether British or foreign owned.

The central institutional vehicle for the implementation of the programme would be a comprehensive system of compulsory planning agreements within the framework of a national economic plan for resource development. The planning agreements would be negotiated on a multi-lateral basis between Central and Local Government, leading companies - particularly at the growth points within manufacturing industry - trades unions, shop stewards' committees and community organisations.

The agreements would be designed to achieve socially desired objectives: raising the rate of investment and innovation, import substitution, increasing exports, altering the pattern of Britain's trade, the regeneration of declining regions, environmental protection and so on. They could be enforced by a series of graduated sanctions,

# Cambodia report too glowing

There are quite sufficient eyewitness accounts gathered by honest reporters with no particular axe to grind (e.g. Martin Woollacott, *Guardian* Feb. 13, 1976; Jon Swain, *Sunday Times*, May 11, 1975) for this to be dismissed out of hand by people ten-thousand miles away from the scene of the action. There is no need to be especially surprised at this since it was known well before the fall of Phnom Penh that the Khmer Rouge took a hard line with prisoners. Unlike Laos or Vietnam, there was in Cambodia no recorded instance of any journalist - including many sympathetic to the Khmer Rouge - ever surviving captivity. That there has been killing is indisputable, all that is in dispute is the scale.

Secondly, it is quite misleading of Malcolm to cite the Swedish ambassador, Kaje Bjoerk, as reporting "no evidence" to support the "bloodbath", "slavery", and "starvation" school of thought. After his visit to Cambodia at the beginning of the year Mr. Bjoerk declined to

based on the Government's already formidable powers of taxation, lending, procurement and price control, with the threat of public ownership under the auspices of the National Enterprise Board as the ultimate weapon against recalcitrant firms.

The struggle to elaborate and win support for a wide-ranging immediate programme along these lines is vital to the future of socialism in this country. It would provide a solid base for left unity and place the hard-core Labour right on the defensive. It would begin to shift the terms of public debate so that left policies became seen as serious contenders and not as dreamy pieties or cries of anguish.

It would help to transcend sectionalism within the labour movement, and enable the working class to surmount the subordinate place to which capitalism assigns it. It would enable the left to emerge as a genuine popular leadership rallying all who can be united against the main enemy - big capital. Once the implementation of the programme was under way it would decisively weaken the centres of capitalist power in Britain, and without installing full socialism overnight would nevertheless inscribe a new socialist logic into the working of the economy and thereby establish material vantage points for subsequent advance.

There would be no smooth, upward haul. Defeats, setbacks and compromise must always be reckoned as possibilities and prepared for to minimize the damage they might cause. But in the kind of highly advanced bourgeois democracy in which we live any other road to socialism than this is a blind alley.

David Purdy

go into detail about what he had seen, but made a number of very guarded observations which included the following: "I do not doubt there has been and there still is considerable suffering among the people".

What has happened in Cambodia appears to owe very little to any revolutionary ideology. The tragedy is that, due to the venality and incompetence of the regime they were fighting, the Khmer Rouge made military gains at a far faster rate than they were able to consolidate politically. They thus found themselves within the space of only five years, taking over a country of eight-million people with an army of only about 50,000 men - many of them teenagers. Aware that they were too weak to rule by consent they seem to have decided well in advance, initially at least, to rule by terror. Those of us on the left have nothing to gain by pretending otherwise.

Chris Mullin  
London SW9

# GETTING WANDSWORTH TO WORK

Words : NICK DAVIDSON  
Pictures : TONY NICHOLLS

**IF YOU** happened to be driving into the London borough of Tower Hamlets earlier this year you might have noticed pickets beside the road. At the same time you may also have noticed in the papers that workers at Brentford Nylons in Northumberland were occupying their factory against its closure.

The Tower Hamlet pickets, part of a council-inspired publicity campaign to draw attention to high unemployment in the area, were demanding special Government assistance to attract new jobs. At Cramlington in Northumberland, the workers were fighting to stop the closure of a factory which had been attracted to the area by exactly the kind of local incentives being demanded in Tower Hamlets.

Two incidents at two ends of the country and, sadly, the two never met. Tower Hamlets went on—and may still be behind closed doors—demanding special area status, as if it were a magic solution. The fact that vultures like Brentford Nylon swoop in on the grants and out again only years later, never seemed to enter the heads, at least publicly, of Tower Hamlet's councillors or officials.

Of course it's not fair to highlight Tower Hamlets. In demanding jobs at virtually any price—be they in fly-by-night subsidiaries of multinationals, environmentally hazardous chemical works, or just sweat shops—it was and is no different from dozens of other 'right to work' campaigns.

One of the few exceptions to this is a recent report from the London borough of Wandsworth, which starts out by trying to face this dilemma. The report, 'Prosperity or Slump: the future of Wandsworth's economy', is now making its way through the council's committees. Branded by the press and local Tories as Marxist, it really does little more than try to come to terms with the problem of jobs—on what terms?

As it explains: 'A local authority seeking to promote an employment policy faces a dilemma. While jobs are a paramount need, other principles are also important. Importing firms which pay substandard wages, impose substandard working conditions, or infringe the rights of work people, would be unacceptable.' Furthermore: 'It would be intolerable for public money to be used to create new industrial assets simply so these could be looted and pillaged by a new generation of asset strippers.' And it concludes: 'Many of the traditional Battersea and Wandsworth employers provided dirty and dangerous working conditions, overcrowded and cramped factories, paid low wages and polluted the atmosphere. So it would be a mistake to believe

that the only answer lies in reconstructing a new wave of "dark satanic mills".'

Good stuff, and if nothing else we should be glad Wandsworth have raised it. Wandsworth's job crisis is fairly typical of many inner London boroughs. In the last five years 66 firms have left the borough, and jobs in manufacturing have declined by 20 per cent. The only growth sectors are banking, insurance, distribution and public administration. Nearly 90 per cent of the jobs lost in industry were caused by the departure of ten large companies. The report concludes: 'A large part of the jobs lost in Wandsworth's manufacturing industry were lost as a result of the decisions... of multinational and national companies, who were both making millions of pounds in profits and receiving government grants... the scant regard for the community shown by the practice of the multinationals and asset stripping concerns, [makes it] hard to escape the conclusion that the private sector [has] failed Battersea and Wandsworth, and has failed London.'

Music to many people's ears, and particularly sweet when coming from such an unlikely source as a local council, albeit Labour controlled. But to put the problem is one thing, to solve it another.

A lot of the report's recommendations are practical and commonplace. Such things as lifting Government restrictions and disincentives to industrial expansion in London, re-organising planning structures, expanding jobs through the job creation scheme, and trying to ensure local authority jobs are not lost or cut. (Something Wandsworth has taken a particularly firm line on.) But the heart of the report centres on, broadly speaking, three proposals:

- \* That all significant employers in the area should be subject to planning agreements which guarantee jobs and investment.

**The cities decline, and the working people who live in them carry the can. Central government does little to help, but the councils are faced with the mess on their own doorstep. Most councils lack the will to take any serious measures to stop the rot. They see the fundamental problem - jobs - as out of their province. In the London borough of Wandsworth the Labour Council has come up with a long-term plan to reverse the area's decline. But has socialism in one borough any chance in South London ?**

- \* That the Council should encourage, support and finance workers' co-operatives.
- \* That the local authority should expand its own work force.

At this point you can almost hear the disappointment; heard it all before. What made me, in any case, sit up and read on was that this is not another blue-print for the future from the Labour left or a trade union research department, destined for library shelves.

This is in a report which has been accepted by a local council (only in principle so far) and is now being discussed in those stale and soggy council committees. And which, according to the vice-chairman of the committee that produced the report, Trevor Watling, could be ready for implementation around March 1977.

This, for me, is the intriguing part about it. Has Wandsworth found a way in which a local authority can not only have a significant impact on the local job situation, but also, by putting forward fairly radical ideas related to practice, opened up opportunities for more socialist discussion and ideas on a large scale throughout the borough. Have I been wrong all along to ignore the political opportunities of local government?

The Council itself is modest about how much it

can do itself; the report envisages discussions with the Greater London Council, the National Enterprise Board and the Department of Industry; and it also depends in part on new Government legislation promised in the Queen's speech. Formidable obstacles, none of which have been surmounted yet. But the report only came out in October, so we shouldn't expect too much.

A more substantial concern is that the report is curiously timeless. There's no mention of the national (or international) economic situation; the Government created recession, the cuts, the flight from investment and the reorganisation of industry. What can a local authority do in the face of such massive forces?

Michael Ward, who chaired the committee that produced the report, accepts the problem: 'It's difficult to see locally and nationally where investment will take place.' But, he goes on: 'We probably feel that these kind of considerations would be outside our terms of reference', and adds, somewhat ingenuously, 'probably it's necessary to have some illusions for there to be any local activity.'

Personally I agree; and certainly I side with him against the cynics who turn 'political analysis' into an excuse for inactivity. But what 'illusions' and how serious are they? It's when we begin to look closely at Wandsworth's three central proposals—planning agreements, council-backed co-operatives and more municipal employment—that the obstacles begin to get truly enormous.

'The council,' says the report "should seek a stake in the planning agreement system. In the case of major national companies, this stake

should consist of involvement in the negotiations (with the NEB)... In the case of firms whose major significance is in the local economy... jobs and investment should be covered by a bargain between the Council and the company.'

But what planning agreement system? After some two years of trying, the Government hasn't (at least publicly) signed a single one. 'Yes' says Michael Ward; 'There has been a lot of disappointment about planning agreements.'

But in fine cavalier fashion (which we'd all agree with) he goes on: "Bugger national powers. If you can offer real incentives and real help to local employers, which we can do even under existing powers, then we are entitled to ask for something in return."

The problem is that although not all the Council's carrots cost money (for instance help from the Planning Department) many of them do. The 75 per cent industrial mortgages 'at attractive interest rates' and purchase and lease-back agreements, under which a company sells its premises to the Council, and then leases it back, so reducing its capital commitment. And where is this money coming from?

Moreover, while we can agree with the sentiment of ignoring national powers, if planning agreements are not enforced nationally, Wandsworth is going to have a hard time making them stick locally.

Council encouraged and financed workers' co-operatives are a slightly different problem. Again there's the cash question; the Council has allocated £100,000 for supporting them, and Labour councillors admit to being slightly worried this may come under fire from the Tories next year (1977). Well they might, it's one of the things they've picked on.

But there is also the ambiguity of workers' co-operatives in a capitalist society. Michael Ward: "It's ambiguous. People are still being exploited by the market place, but they're working for themselves. At some point you have to decide whether the dole queue is better or worse than the risks inherent in co-ops and the extra jobs they can create."

This somewhat pragmatic view of them doesn't quite do justice to the almost lyrical way co-operatives are described in parts of the report. For example: 'Co-operatives have the advantage of not being accountable to outside private interests... if the process of production (is) the creation of wealth then co-operatives could be equated with the creation of wealth by producers, for producers.'

In fact it's hard to dissociate the ideals contained

in co-ops from their immediate possibilities. This is why the local Tories hate them, the left approves of them (to a greater or lesser extent) and their reality remains ambiguous.

Planning agreements and co-operatives aside, the Council is probably looking to create the majority of new jobs by expanding municipal employment. It's already the biggest employer in the area, and the report contains fairly ambitious plans to expand the Direct Works Department, and the Parks and Recreation, and Technical Services (road repair and cleaning, dustmen, lighting etc.) departments.

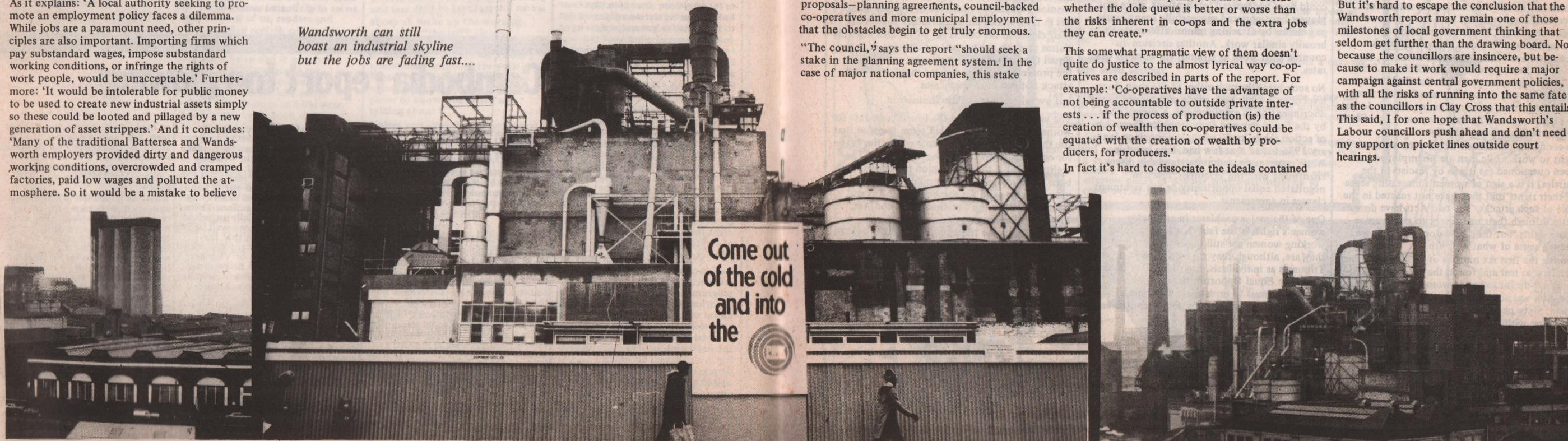
This is the point where Government legislation will make a difference. In the face of probably bitter opposition from the building and civil engineering employers, the Government is planning a Bill which will allow local authority direct works departments to operate as ordinary commercial contractors. (At the moment they can only tender for their own local authority's work.) Such legislation would at least provide Wandsworth with the opportunity. It depends on the Government not falling before it has time to pass it. A Tory Government would almost certainly oppose such a Bill.

This would not be a complete disaster for Wandsworth's plans. Even under existing legislation there's room to expand local authority departments, provided, once again, the cash is there. And this is the big if. According to Michael Ward: 'We haven't paid much attention to the cuts so far. We have not cut any posts, and we're continuing to build. Since we'll be encouraging more industrial jobs—which is the Government's aim—we think we should be all right'. Another moot point. Cuts in local authority spending will only really bite in the next financial year, and they look as if they'll be with us for some time after that.

Of course, it's far too easy to snipe at all these proposals, and as brother Karl once said: 'Dare to succeed.'

But it's hard to escape the conclusion that the Wandsworth report may remain one of those milestones of local government thinking that seldom get further than the drawing board. Not because the councillors are insincere, but because to make it work would require a major campaign against central government policies, with all the risks of running into the same fate as the councillors in Clay Cross that this entails. This said, I for one hope that Wandsworth's Labour councillors push ahead and don't need my support on picket lines outside court hearings.

*Wandsworth can still boast an industrial skyline but the jobs are fading fast....*





# Equality: rising to its feet on Trico's shop floor

Since January 1976 women have had the right by Acts of Parliament to equal pay for 'the same or broadly similar work', and not to be discriminated against in employment, goods and services, education, job advertising and on the grounds of marital status.

Before the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act were even on the Statute Book their loopholes and limitations and the weaknesses of their enforcement machinery were glaringly evident. They represented the classic compromise position of a Labour Government committed to a mixed economy and not to socialism. They were supported by a trade union movement very equivocal in its attitude towards equality for women. Even so the passing of the two Acts marked a great step forward in the long struggle for equal rights for women. 1976 was another year of the social contract which has meant that workers in return for accepting wage restraint have been given cuts in their social wage, continued inflation and rising unemployment. Women, along with black workers, have borne, disproportionately, the brunt of these. Between June 1974 and June 1976 unemployment of men doubled; but unemployment of women increased nearly three and a half times, and since many women do not or cannot register for unemployment benefit even that figure is conservative.

In economic conditions where even a woman's right to work while men are unemployed has been questioned (as it was by fascists in the thirties) it is a sign of women's increasing sense of their rights that they have not reacted in the face of such attacks. The two Acts have done little through their machinery to give women those rights, but they have done a lot to give them a sense of what they are.

During the first six months of 1976 women put the Law to test and found that the legal machinery set up for assessing women's rights under the Acts was acting almost entirely against them. Sixty per cent of cases brought to Tribunals were withdrawn, and of those heard, 72% of equal pay and 73% of sex discrimination cases were lost. As had been predicted, women faced with the costly, intimidating and often lonely job of bringing a case before a Tribunal either capitulated before it was heard, or lost it, outwitted by management-employed lawyers. Tribunal after Tribunal made a mockery of the

Acts: a woman community worker in Leicester was paid £400 less per annum than a male colleague; she applied to a Tribunal for equal pay and had her application turned down on the grounds that her job was senior and carried more responsibility than the man's.

In response to the high failure rate of claims at the Tribunals the women workers at Trico put two fingers up to the Tribunal who predictably turned down, in their absence, their claim for equal pay. They voted to fight for equal pay with strike action; 21 weeks later they returned to work victorious.

Although they rejected the Tribunal, their right to equal pay, as laid down in the Act, was a central force in their fight. It was important in the decision to strike, and the enormous support they received from other trade unionists.

About the time Trico were celebrating their victory the first rulings of the Appeal Tribunal were made. In two cases the women's initial application for equal pay had been turned down and the Appeal Tribunal reversed that decision and awarded equal pay. In a third case the Appeal Tribunal upheld the original decision of a Tribunal to give women equal pay, which the employers had appealed against. Appeal Tribunal decisions are precedential and can alter very substantially the success rate of equal pay cases, and by taking a broader interpretation of the Act then rulings can cut across some of the tactics used by employers. In one case the Appeal Tribunal ruled that trivial differences between the work of men and women did not constitute grounds for turning down a woman's claim that she did 'like work' it was enough that the work was broadly similar. That decision could have widespread implications, since employers have opposed successfully many equal pay claims by attaching minor differences to broadly similar work. Another decision discounted shift work as grounds for unequal basic rates.

No such breakthrough either at the shop floor level or at law has been made with regard to sex discrimination in employment. A survey done by the Equal Pay and Opportunities Campaign of action taken by 30 major unions since January 1976 found that few had done anything. While many expressed understandable disenchantment with the Tribunals, few had negotiated equal opportunity or fair treatment clauses in agreements.

One of the major problems in advancing women's rights is the fact that large numbers of working women are still unorganised. Until they are, although they may bring cases to Tribunals as individuals, their main line of hope lies in the Equal Opportunities Commission using its powers to investigate discrimination and make orders against employers contravening the Acts.

Not surprisingly the Acts have caused little change in attitude amongst employers. The Equal Pay and Opportunities Campaign commented, after surveying the policies of several major private sector employers, that they were "doing nothing and had no intention of doing anything."

Outside employment it is hard to get a measure of the effects of the Sex Discrimination Act. Cases of discrimination taken to County Courts have been few: a woman taking a case to court is unlikely to get legal aid, is unlikely to have any real support and is likely to be involved in an extremely long wait before the case is heard.

The Equal Opportunities Commission claims that women have found it slightly easier in the past year to get mortgages, credit facilities and HP agreements. Job advertisements have changed: few openly defy the Sex Discrimination Act though many advertisements still manage to convey a demand for a particular sex of workers. An inquiry into the internal workings of private employment agencies with regard to the Sex Discrimination Act (and the Race Relations Act) is the type of action the Equal Opportunities Commission should pursue to gain real credibility.

There is no evidence that the main problem of women trapped in ghetto areas of low paid work has been touched by the Acts. A reversal of Government policy would be needed to make any real impact. Expenditure, not cuts, could enable schools to provide the facilities for girls and boys to do any subject, and receive education, or at least day release training until the age of 18. Expenditure, not cuts, could give massive re-training for women returning to work after having children, and provide the facilities to have their children cared for.

The experience of the past year has shown, as predicted, that women as individuals having to cope with the whole paraphernalia of the law and pitted against the resources of the employers stand little chance of getting even the limited rights given to them in the Acts. Women's chance to make the acts really work lies in their trades unions seriously supporting their claims in the courts or, better still, fighting claims through the normal machinery; or in the Equal Opportunities Commission approaching the problem with broad based inquiries which attack not just individual cases but overall patterns of discrimination.

The victory at Trico and the low success rate for women at Tribunals have led some to argue that the shop floor is the only place where the battle for equality ought to be fought and won. The reality is that if the trade union movement had been totally committed to equality there would have been no need for the Equal Pay Act and limited need for the Sex Discrimination Act. There is still a long way to go in convincing a large sector of the trade union movement of the need to fight for equality for women.

Sarah Boston



# THE FASHION BUSINESS



Fashion marks the difference between this year and last year, the rich and the poor, the Kop and the college kids, the folk fan and the bopper. It's just another word for the way we look. Fashion is also big business. It's an idea and a commodity all wrapped up together, and everybody is involved because there's no such thing as purely functional clothing. The questions are: where does fashion come from/how does the industry work/ and do its origins determine the level of exploitation?

## THE SONG OF THE SHIRT

*Oh, Men, with Sisters dear!  
Oh, Men, with Mothers and Wives,  
It is not linen you're wearing out,  
But human creatures' lives!  
Stitch - stitch - stitch,  
In poverty, hunger and dirt,  
Sewing at once with a double thread,  
A Shroud as well as a Shirt.*

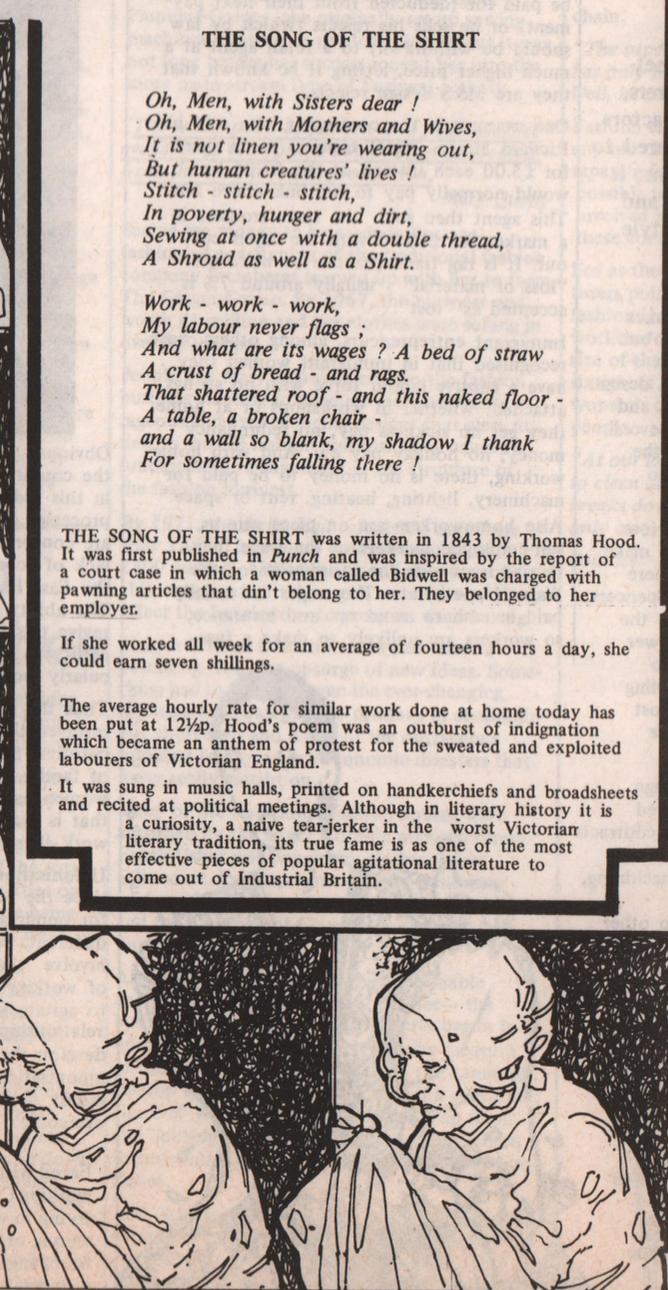
*Work - work - work,  
My labour never flags;  
And what are its wages? A bed of straw  
A crust of bread - and rags.  
That shattered roof - and this naked floor -  
A table, a broken chair -  
and a wall so blank, my shadow I thank  
For sometimes falling there!*

THE SONG OF THE SHIRT was written in 1843 by Thomas Hood. It was first published in *Punch* and was inspired by the report of a court case in which a woman called Bidwell was charged with pawning articles that didn't belong to her. They belonged to her employer.

If she worked all week for an average of fourteen hours a day, she could earn seven shillings.

The average hourly rate for similar work done at home today has been put at 12½p. Hood's poem was an outburst of indignation which became an anthem of protest for the sweated and exploited labourers of Victorian England.

It was sung in music halls, printed on handkerchiefs and broadsheets and recited at political meetings. Although in literary history it is a curiosity, a naive tear-jerker in the worst Victorian literary tradition, its true fame is as one of the most effective pieces of popular agitational literature to come out of Industrial Britain.





"Fake fur isn't as sensuous as the authentic stuff, more like a teenager's beard, but the final coat is a good second best."

The Observer

## The Rag Trade: Clothes made dirt cheap

THE RAG TRADE is a myriad network of links between manufacturers, wholesalers, contractors, sub-contractors, outworkers and homeworkers. Geared to short runs and seasonal fluctuations, it can respond efficiently to change and spread the losses if a particular style fails.

This loosely-knit and flexible system takes on many forms and several alternative, but complete, sub-systems of production. It begins with an input of material and a design. The material is cut into the new style, and the ready-cut material is put through several production processes before becoming the finished garment. Any one firm may do all or some of the processes.

But it is the contracting-out of the various stages that enables the entrepreneur to make his profits. At one end of the scale, there are the large retailers like Marks and Spencers, C&A and the John Lewis chain and at the other, the High Street chains. The power of the large chains lies in being able to order large quantities of clothing, enabling them to demand a lower production cost per unit. But they, of course, never see the seedy side of the business.

They hand over their material and design to whichever large contractor has offered the lowest price. This contractor then contracts out the work of cutting, overlocking, zipping, buttonholing, hemstitching, machining, to sub-contractors who, in turn, may parcel out some of their work to other agencies until it reaches the workers themselves in workshops or at home. There are 20-40,000 item contracts a year.

At the other end of the scale is the small factory where the owner buys his material from mills, cuts the cloth and sends out his 2-300 dresses to homeworkers (sometimes directly, sometimes through an agent). When they're finished, he collects them and sells them to small retailers. Whatever the scale, two important factors affect the wage received by the worker.

The more intermediaries there are, the greater the labour time spent on any one item: thus increasing the total value of what a worker produces and what she receives. Secondly, the absolute cost price of the garment determines how much there

is to spread among the links in the production chain. As most workers are paid 'piece rate', they are the most directly affected by the determined cost unit. The large companies, of course, offer their contracts to the lowest bidder. One contractor told us of an offer by the Lewis Group (owners of Chelsea Girl shops) to buy 20,000 shirts at £1.75 per unit. With the offer upped to "over 20,000", the price asked was £1.70 per unit. Knowing that "over 20,000" could mean only 20,001 the contractor demanded an extra guaranteed 10,000. This was agreed at £1.60 per unit. Finally, after much haggling, the price was knocked down to £1.55 with a guarantee of supply over two years.

The legendary quality control of firms like Marks and Spencers actually worsens the exploitation. If, for example, out of 2,000 delivered garments, 200 are returned as rejects, who pays for them? The contractor or sub-contractor can do two things. Either he tells his workers that "x" of the garments they made were of too poor quality to be paid for (deducted from their next payment) or he sells his rejects (which by law should be withdrawn) to a retail agent at a much higher price, letting it be known that they are M&S design rejects.

One example is the contractor who sold his Richard Shops reject trousers to an agent for £5.00 each instead of the £2.25 he would normally pay to the link above him. This agent then sold the same trousers in a market for £10.00 with the labels cut out. It is rag trade practice to write off "loss of material": usually around 7% is accepted as "lost".

Immigrant entrepreneurs, among others, have recognised that in immigrant women they have a captive labour force with no strings attached. Whether in workshops or at home, they get no sickness pay, no redundancy money, no holiday pay etc. And with home-working, there is no money to be paid for machinery, lighting, heating, rent or space.

Also homeworkers are on piece rate as self-employed workers so the wage they receive is outside the jurisdiction of the Wages Inspectorate. The wages are usually paid in cash to avoid tax and insurance, so workers are unlikely to make a fuss.



Corinne Pearlman



Obviously there is an urgent need to change the conditions and relations of production in this industry. Through the intricate processes of residential segregation, immigrants are concentrated in the inner city. The lack of economic opportunity is key. In the East End there was a dying rag trade. The ability of immigrant communities to revive this industry was linked to their ability to exploit other immigrants, particularly women, as productive labour.

Thus the racism of the "host" society is resolved through the sexism of immigrant cultures. So working within the context of family or kinship ties, immigrant women have a perception of work imposed that is more related to an extension of housework than waged labour.

Unionisation is not yet a viable alternative since the political-cultural relations of work for immigrant women are so completely different. So although it is important to involve these workers in the mainstream of working class struggle, it may be necessary to agitate for change in the political relationship of their work in order to develop the consciousness necessary for unionisation. The need to break down the family network of production must be overcome.

Samir Shah

Faced with this situation, the London Home-working Campaign was started. It has been trying to work on several levels: doing research, organising homeworkers and pressing for changes in legislation. Interested groups or individuals should contact:- The London Home-working Campaign, 214, Stapleton Road, London N4.

## Out of the sixties - Style for everyone

MASS FASHION originated during the inter-war years and has inaugurated an era of 'style' that is very different from everything that has gone before it.

Between 1918 and 1939, a completely new set of consumers—women wage-earners—started to look for something both economic and stylish. They were unable to afford the traditional 'custom-made' fashion.

But the smallness of this market—women's outerwear—inhibited technological developments while short production runs ensured the continued existence of handicraft methods and small workrooms. It was a full ten years before Britain caught up with America and started to use mass-production methods.

With the end of rationing in the post-war years, this began to change with the introduction of the 'new look'. Considered scandalously luxurious for this austere period, even Harold Wilson, the then Minister at the Board of Trade fulsomely railed against it. But even so, fashion was still conceived in terms of 'high-fashion'. The Paris collections, the autumn and spring seasons, and the pages of *Vogue*.

With the advent of the 60s this was all to change as one writer\* explains: "The Young wanted fashions that expressed their particular attitude and mood... and there was a scurry to meet their needs, for the very practical reason that market research showed that the young, living in a world of plenty, were earning their share of that plenty, and clothes were the biggest item in their expenditure. It was good business to see they got what they wanted."

## £940 million spent on clothes

Clothing and knitwear accounts for 7 per cent of the average consumer's expenditure. Since the beginning of the sixties, this has declined.

In 1971 a total of £940 million was spent on 'adult' clothing but this figure is dwarfed by the turnover of some of the large fashion manufacturing companies. The average gross margins on clothing as a percentage of the total price of an item increased during the sixties on average between 30-34%; the percentage being slightly lower for women and children's wear.

Just under 50 per cent of this clothing is bought in 'multiples'; chain stores like Marks and Spencers. As long ago as 1966, these 'multiples' controlled 6,359 out of a total of 14,326 outlets.

In 1975, we bought 225 million pairs of shoes. But if you think that's a lot, it may surprise you to know that this was a fall of 10 million pairs on the previous year and 10 per cent down on the early seventies. One point thirty eight per cent of the average consumer's expenditure is on footwear.

Sources: NEDO Reports: Industrial Review to 1977—Clothing  
British Footwear Manufacturers Federation Statistical Review—1975.

In 1967, the age-group of 15-19 year olds bought 48 per cent of all coats, 60 per cent of all dresses, 42 per cent of all knitwear and 48 per cent of all shirts. And those market researchers calculated that this proportion of the population would rise.

"All a designer can do is anticipate a need before people realise they are bored with what they have already got." Mary Quant

Suddenly it was immensely trendy to open boutiques and sell 'the gear'. Enthusiastic entrepreneurs blossomed everywhere. Few now remain. Of them, probably the most famous was Mary Quant. With her husband Alexander Plunkett-Greene, she originally set up sewing machines at home to produce clothes but it was not long before her success moved her into the more main-stream type of business activity.

"The whole point of fashion is to make clothes available to everyone. Fashion must be created from the start for mass-production." Mary Quant

Seeing the money to be made in 'instant-fashion', Leon Rapkin of the traditional fashion company Steinbergs teamed up with her to form The Ginger Group. By 1967, the business was worth £1 million and her clothes were selling in over 150 shops.

People like Mary Quant came into the fashion business wanting to produce ever more outrageous and ever-changing designs that were not tied to the old fashion seasons. They caused a fundamental re-alignment in the structure of the fashion business.

By 1971, the *Daily Mail* calculated that there were 15,000 boutiques doing business worth £300 million. Although this estimate is probably exaggerated it does give some idea of the effect the boutique entrepreneurs were having.

The traditional fashion houses had taken a pounding from the upsurge of new ideas. Something had to give. For even the ever-changing fashions were awkward to produce in economically short-runs and many of the outrageous so-called fashions were economic disasters that never really caught on.

Many of the traditional fashion houses were absorbed by the larger clothing manufacturers. Frank Usher was bought by clothing giant Selincourt. Dereta, owners of the Rembrandt trademark, were acquired by Ellis and Goldstein and the omnipotent Courtaulds snapped up Susan Small.

Also, seeing the potential of a fashionable environment in which to buy clothes—the boutique—the big department stores began to open their own boutiques. It is some measure of their success that I can reel off the names of the top three without having to think very hard; Harrods' Way-In, Dorothy Perkins' Top Shop and Selfridges' Miss Selfridge. And the fashion manufacturers opened up their own in-shop boutiques.

And like Mary Quant, many of the sixties' more successful entrepreneurs moved into partnership with big fashion clothing manufacturers. The Lord John chain that took a large part of the fashionable young suit market from the likes of Burtons is now owned by Raybeck,



"The 'Infinite' was born out of necessity. Lydia Basaluda was working as a journalist in Puerto Rico. She had appointments from dawn to dusk and neither the time to change clothes, nor the money to buy enough to cover every event. She conceived the idea of one totally versatile garment. Something that could adapt from office conference to smart lunch, interviews, cocktail party and grand evening functions."

Sunday Times

also owners of the massive Berketex fashion chain.

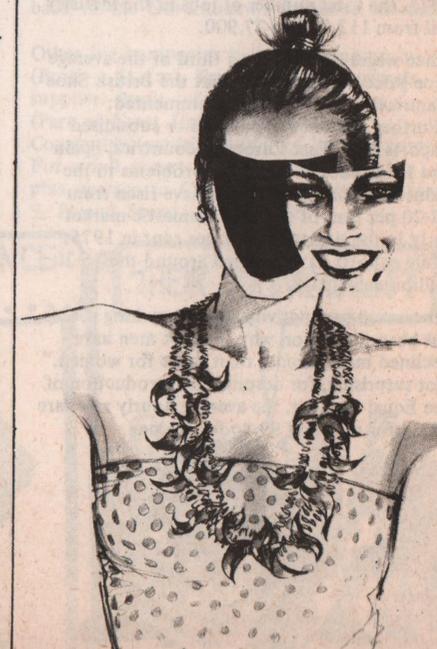
"The supervisors are very nice and fair. Mr X has only been here since Christmas, he's alright. Well, he's a manager, he's never spoken to me."

Fashion clothing is difficult to separate from any old clothing and even more difficult to separate from the textiles industry, but it is possible to point to some of the giant companies involved in fashion production. To single out these companies might be misleading.

For as the Association of Clothing Manufacturers points out, "for the most part today's fashion leaders rely upon contractors and outworkers to produce their clothes." The average size of these is 40-50 people. Also, in the mid-sixties, of the 9-10,000 establishments making women's clothes, 4,000 employed less than 10 people.

"At our last place we had one hour every Friday to clean our machines. Here we just wait till it breaks down and then call a mechanic. There's only one. We don't get paid till it's right again."

Sources: 20th Century Fashion by Elizabeth Ewing (Batsford)  
Two quotes from fashion workers in "What the girls think"—A NEDO Report.





# Sign or show.....? the same difference

Raybeck's biggest problem during the early 1970s was labour. They reckoned they could double their market and greatly increase their export figure of £880,000 if they could have got immigrant workers. The Government would not permit them to bring over large numbers of Cypriot girls. A company spokesperson commented: "We are being handicapped by the Government's restrictions on import labour."

## Low wages, redundancies and decline

Of all the firms studied in the NEDO Report, *Attainable Production Times In The Making Of Ladies Cardigans And Jumpers*, every single one paid 'piece-rate' wages, usually based on work-studied times. Only occasionally was this rate of production negotiated.

The same report threw up an interesting comparison of average international clothing wages (1969):

UK ..... £14.00-£19.50  
Hong Kong ..... £9.65-£12.80  
Portugal ..... £2.50- £2.60

Homeworkers are often paid as little as 2-5p an hour. According to the London Homeworking Campaign, average earnings per dress can vary from 12-40p. Over 40% of clothes production is centred on the East End of London. The Low Pay Unit estimate that there are a quarter of a million homeworkers.

Over 6000 jobs were lost in the footwear industry in the last year alone. Between 1959 and 1975, the total number of jobs in the industry fell from 113,000 to 77,900.

Since wages account for a third of the average shoe price, small wonder that the British Shoe Manufacturers Federation commented: "Further increases in dumped or subsidised imports from East European countries, Spain and Brazil caused particular problems to the industry." Imports of shoes have risen from 17-20 per cent of the total domestic market early in the sixties to 34.7 per cent in 1975; while exports have hovered around the 16-20 million pairs mark.

"Increased productivity in shoe-making rooms has been the reason why jobs for men have declined more steeply than those for women." Not surprising, for despite the introduction of the Equal Pay Act, the average hourly rates are £1.34 for men and 99.8p for women.



ALMOST EVERYBODY cares how they look: even the characters who make a point of not bothering are trying to make a considered impression. Yet it is probably a minority who think of themselves as "fashionable". It's a pretty trivial sort of interest to admit to.

All the same, there are styles of appearance which belong to the times which created them, and everybody fits into those styles. Old photographs have an atmosphere which dates them, and that atmosphere is made up of the clothes, hairstyles, even body shapes of the people in the snaps. Such details betray many secrets about the life and times the pictures come from.

Fashion means more than just the current style of personal appearance. It means all those traits of social behaviour for which there appears to be no good reason. But the fashion industry is generally supposed to be the one which caters for our appearance.

As an industry it appears more than usually unpleasant. Its record is of low wages, bad conditions, poor products, high profits. And at its top end, the couturiers, you have the intrinsically ugly sight of a wealthy man's woman-object spending six month's wages worth on an adornment which emphasises her value as a possession, and by transference, her master as rich.

Then there are those acolytes of fashion: the writers, photographers and admen whose business it is to try and get us to wear what is fashionable. They do this by presenting a subtle picture of a world in which everybody is sexually, economically and physically together, and engaged in the business of having a good time. Those of us who are scoring low marks in any of these departments are dropped a massive hint that it's because our trousers are too short or we are wearing stripes instead of patterns. And there is no doubt that people listen to them. In a massive survey of magazine readership by IPC, by far the largest firm in the business, they found that fashion was the major feature for the majority of buyers. In some magazines for younger readers the percentage was as high as 94. One nice touch is that while the kids tended to say fashion was what they preferred, the magazines which appeal to an older audience call it "clothing".

When a group of 12-18 year old readers were shown a list of 41 topics and asked to rate them on a scale between "very important" and "not wanted at all", 58% said "Fashion at a price you can afford" was what they most wanted.

Appearance is not only important to people, it has rules as complex as the law and a lot of people make a living laying them down.

Although being told what to wear is insulting to the intelligence, it is made worse because in six months time most people, if they bothered to look into it, would find they were doing what they were told.

The relationship between the press and fashion was explained to me by one of the buyers of Stirling Cooper, a fairly large fashion house with a good reputation in the trade. First she said that if her house and a couple of others decided that a certain 'look' was in, then the fashion journalists would have to run it. This confirms one of the fashion writers' myths about themselves: "all we do is tell the readers what is available, and how to wear it."

But then the buyer explained that the magazines are also looking for a story. So when they look through the samples, they will pick on the freaky and the extraordinary to be photographed, very expensively and often in exotic locations.

However, back at Stirling Cooper, they are delighted with the publicity, and they go ahead and make a very few copies of the photographed garment. Because when the customers go into the shop, enticed by the pictures in the magazine, they actually come out with some classic little number which the fashion editors would consider much too boring to feature.

Another striking thing about the fashion industry is that it changes its styles automatically twice a year, every Spring and Autumn. So the unchallenged assumption of a dedicated follower of fashion is that something is either coming in or going out, but that being 'in fashion' is a highly unstable state.

This naturally breeds the suspicion that fashion is an invention of the industry to increase the volume of clothes sold by making styles obsolete even quicker than the garments fall to rags in your hands.

It's not true. First, most of us don't buy what are thought of as fashionable clothes. Second, fashion seems to have a negligible effect on the proportion of our income we spend on clothes. Third, a high fashion content in an article of clothing increases the economic risks, especially to the retailer, and therefore threatens his profits. There's nothing worse than being stuck with a shop full of wedgies when everybody is wearing moccasins.

The importance of fashion as an economic component of clothes is very slight. We spend on average, about ten per cent of our disposable incomes on "clothes and consumer durables". That percentage is hardly affected by fashion and the cost of making the clothes fashionable is such a marginal proportion of the overall cost of manufacture that it can be ignored except in really high fashion clothes.

The biggest thing, as the fashion writers would say, in recent years has been denim, which hit a peak last year. The world seemed to blossom in blue but now it has had a good run for its money and its days are numbered. Starting this winter, corduroy is coming. The ordinary punters will hear about this revolution in their taste through the normal channels. The fashion writers will tell them. No doubt the street-strutters and style-watchers will rush out and get into cord immediately. And a few months later, when it really is time to get a new pair of 'trews', your average I-dress-to-please-myself customer will stroll around to his or her neighbourhood store and do the same.

## Who's who in fashion



Behind most fashion trademarks, you'll find a big company. Few are household names but they control a major part of the fashion business.

### SELINCOURT

Giant of them all, it produces nothing under its own name. It owns 22 main companies including Frank Usher, Hanella, Linda Leigh, Garlaine and Skirtex. Rather unusually, 95 per cent of its 50,000 garments a week output is produced in its own factories in Romford, Ilford and Brighton. Sub-contractors are hardly important. Turnover: £39 million. Profit: £1.4 million.

### STEINBERGS

Started as a one man enterprise by Alexander Steinberg in 1904. It introduced the Alexon range in 1929. Moved to Hawthorn New Pontypridd in 1935 with the first wave of regional incentives. Went public in 1947 as Steinberg (South Wales) Ltd and opened two other factories. In 1961, bought West Auckland Clothing Co. giving it another factory. It produces Dellbury, Horrockses' Fashions, Youngset and Butte-Knit. Recently in financial trouble trying to maintain a share of the ladies' coat and suit market. Axed footwear firm. Made loss of £140,000 last year.

### ELLIS AND GOLDSTEIN (HOLDINGS)

Manufacture Laura Lee. Luton factory produces 1000 garments a week and has a seasonal range of 200 styles.

### RAYBECK

Acquired Berketex chain in 1968 wanting to diversify from manufacturing into retailing. It owns three chains of shops, giving it a total of 2000 outlets. Also owns Carnegie, Mary Hornes, Alexander Green, May Fox & Co., Werff Bradware and Bobby Cousins Shops. Acquired Lord John chain from John Stephens, one of the sixties original entrepreneurs. Also owns Chicks Boutiques chain. Biggest operator of shops within shops with 160 of them, 55 in Debenhams alone. Use mainly homeworkers, only doing finishing in their factories. Supply a lot to Richards Shops. Turnover: £49.6 Profit: £3.73 million.

### WINDSMOOR

Founded 1933. Two-thirds of its output assembled by sub-contractors.

### NOTTINGHAM MANUFACTURING CO

Described as "possibly the most uncommunicative public company in Britain." Major Marks & Spencer supplier for underwear, trousers,

"We list here the products that fashion model, Marie Helvin used until recently, but as an avid animal lover she has been horrified since then to discover how animals are exploited in the manufacture of many cosmetics. So she is now switching totally to Beauty without Cruelty cosmetics, finding equivalents in their range for everything except really dark eye shadows—now being mixed for her."

Lifespan, *The Sunday Times*

stockings, etc. Owned by Djanogly family, headed by Harry. Mansfield Hosiery, a subsidiary, had a major strike by Asians over equal job opportunities; one-third of the workforce was later laid off. Government action on Far East import quotas enabled it to make £8 million profit despite Marks and Spencers cutting its stockholdings by 10 per cent.

### COATS PATON

Produce many clothing items involving 'Lady bird' range. Pulled a fast one on workers at Donaldson Textiles in Alloa. With threat of closure workers started an occupation which was only ended with a promise by Patons & Baldwins, another subsidiary, that it would operate the factory. As soon as the workers left, the company moved their machines and production to Darlington. Has big interests in Latin America. "Brazilian profits rose by 18 per cent justifying our faith in this market. Despite difficult conditions in Argentina, we improved profits and liquidity simultaneously."

### CARRINGTON VIYELLA

Part of ICI, it sells more than £200m of fibres and knitted goods each year. Brand names such as Van Heusen, Driway and Dhobi. Rocola Shirts moved out of Bermondsey (120 jobs lost) to Bogside Creggan on the back of the Government's incentive schemes.

Other big companies include Aquascutum (Profit: £1.1m), Forminster (Littlewoods supplier. Profit: £751,000) Burburys (Part of Great Universal Stores) and Courtaulds (sacked 14,000 of its workforce). For a full report on Courtaulds send 30p plus postage to Counter Information Service, 9, Poland Street, London W1.

So it is written. This is because big fashion is big business, and big business can't get involved with chance whims. The fastest fad-spotter in the rag trade can only play a hunch that the money is going to dress itself up like Berber beggar boys come the Spring. But the big buyers know that your average plain-to-fancy dresser is going to start sporting cord this winter. And they've got to be right.

It's quite simple. The little fluffy cotton seedbag that you'll be wearing next year has already finished its mad dance through the commodity markets and is being turned into corduroy.

This won't affect the denim manufacturers much, except they'll probably be able to fill their orders quicker. At the height of the boom, according to one trade estimate, firms like Levis were doing perhaps 20% greater business, and that had been planned and capitalised for years in advance. As the boom recedes, their sales will remain fairly constant. Fashion is not that important to them.

Except for those few who wish to announce through their appearance that they are fashionable, what most of us want, it seems, is nothing exceptional. We wear what we wear to express an image of ourselves. The one question that the fashion industry, from designer to fashion writer to lecturer at a college of fashion, can't bring themselves to ask, let alone answer, is where fashion comes from.

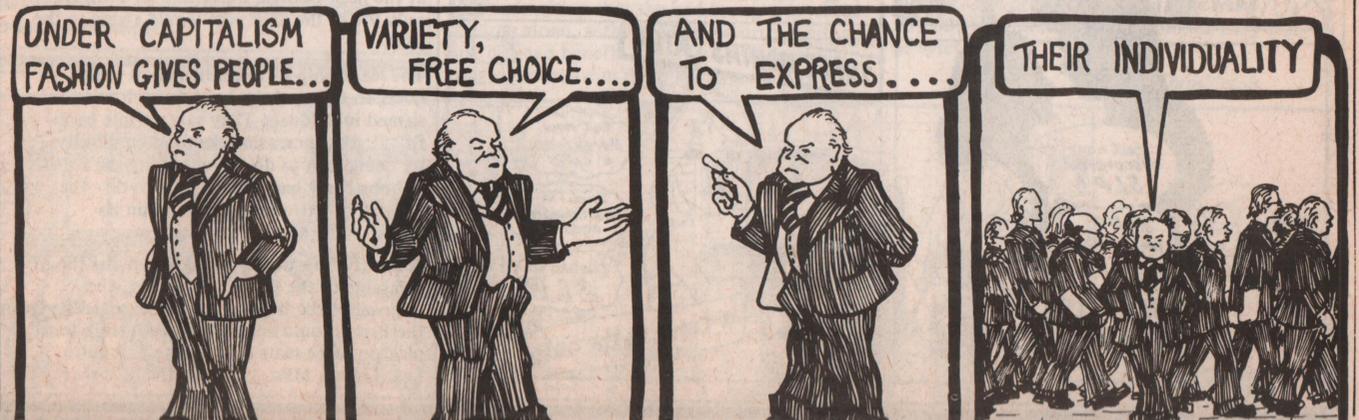
They prefer to believe that it wells unstoppably from the collective unconscious of the nation, and that the talent of the industry is in spotting the trend and getting it in the shops on time.

So in this myth, fashion becomes a tool of self-expression. And it is true that in some untraceable way, fashion is an expression of society's picture of itself. A hotch-potch of pictures really, because different groups of people wear fashions which distinguish them not only from last year, but also from all the Others of the world.

But in our society, which likes people to behave as if they were things, it inevitably becomes a tool of self-concealment. Our contrived appearance is a deliberate sign to others, it tells them where we want them to place us, in the tough end of the Kop, or the leftist end of the campus, or the successful side of the City or the smart streets of Kensington or the shady side of Jermyn Street. It replaces self with a role, and as the roles are complex and many, so are the fashions.

So the vast industry describing, explaining and broadcasting fashion is not just a method of advertising. It's a dictionary of symbols, outlining the many ways that just at this moment we can lie about ourselves and be both believed and understood.

Nigel Thomas



# Why the left was thrown out of the SLP

The Scottish Labour Party was set up last year by left Labour MP Jim Sillars as the attempt to bring nationalism into Scottish social democratic politics and to take the place of the declining British Labour Party in Scotland. Many Scottish socialists, disillusioned with the failure of English-based parties to cope with rising nationalism, and disgusted with the lack of politics of the SNP, joined up. But now the SLP has split: Sillars has expelled the left. Why? JOHN NAIRN, former British Labour Party and SLP official, now a leader of the "alternative" left SLP, the party of those expelled, explains.

Since the first Congress of the Scottish Labour Party in October, there has been an almost incessant cry from Jim Sillars, MP, the Party leader, that all the disruption was caused by the International Marxist Group members and their fellow travellers.

The Scottish media have promoted this Left witch-hunt with vigour. This is not surprising when one considers the number of media figures who are not only SLP members but who participated in the formation of the Party.

But at no time has any real evidence been offered to support this witch-hunt. The total IMG membership in Scotland does not exceed 50, and it is difficult to understand the fear which they have created in the leadership of a party which claims a membership of 2,000.

One must look elsewhere to determine the reasons behind the various expulsions that have wracked the new party, and I contend that the main reason for Sillars' actions was the forging of an electoral pact between himself and the Scottish Nationalist Party.

In the recent Glasgow District Council election in Darnley, the first campaign the SLP has undertaken, we took 15% of the vote as a huge swing against Labour saw the

return of an SNP Councillor, the only one on the Council.

It was obvious from an analysis of the canvass returns in Darnley that our vote had been taken almost exclusively from the British Labour Party. At the National Organising Committee meeting on October 9, it was decided that in the event of an early election, seven Parliamentary seats would be fought: Paisley, South Ayrshire, North Aberdeen, Central Fife, Pollok (a constituency in the southwest of Glasgow), one in Edinburgh and one other.

The fighting of the Paisley seat was regarded with some concern by the NOC as, with only 30 SLP members in the Paisley branch, no one could believe the probable candidate, John Robertson MP, would save his deposit.

The desire to contest North Aberdeen was presented to the NOC by two of its members Bob Tait and Danus Skene, both members of the Aberdeen branch. They claimed this desire had the full support of the branch and said nothing of the arguments which had been raised there against fighting Bob Hughes in North or Ian Sproat in South Aberdeen.

Bob Tait, formerly a member of the SNP,

is now on the new NEC of the SLP, and Danus Skene, who is expected to be the Party's prospective Parliamentary candidate in North Aberdeen, is now the SLP Executive Vice Chairman. Bob Tait has since expelled from the SLP those who agitated for the party to fight Ian Sproat in Aberdeen South.

Pollok branch, through expulsions and resignations, now has less than 20 members of which fewer than five are activists. It is impossible to believe they have any chance of fighting what is the biggest Parliamentary seat, in population terms, in Britain.

Looking at the Edinburgh situation, it was the general feeling of the whole SLP membership that they should fight the Leith constituency at a General Election. Jim Sillars, and Alex Neil, the SLP General Secretary, were strongly opposed to this and advocated that the SLP should put up against Robin Cook, the Tribune in Edinburgh Central. It is again difficult to understand this decision unless some form of electoral pact has been concluded with the SNP.

At the October 23 meeting last year of the NOC, the Secretary of the Standing Orders Committee, Litster Craig Gardiner, stated that the whole of the Leith branch would need to be suspended as it had been infiltrated and controlled by the extreme left wing. The only evidence produced against the branch came in a letter from Tom Nairn, a *New Left Review* editorial board member for the past ten years.

In his letter he stated that he had been in touch by phone with a personal friend who was a senior official with the IMG in London. This person had confirmed that it was IMG strategy to infiltrate the SLP.

Several individuals from four other branches were also suspended because of previous IMG connections. No evidence was offered against them.

Jim Sillars did not find it necessary to inform those present at the October 23 meeting of the NOC that the previous evening he had addressed a meeting of the SNP-controlled Andrew Fletcher Society in Edinburgh. He had stipulated that the text of his speech should not be published, or released to the press.

No other member of the SLP was present at the meeting. In spite of the embargo on the speech, it has been reported, without any disclaimer from Sillars, that the question of dual membership and joint work between the SNP and SLP was discussed.

There followed the first Congress of the SLP in Stirling, opening on a day when an Opinion Research Centre Poll conducted for *The Scotsman* revealed that 28% of the British Labour Party vote would swing to the SLP at the next General Election. In contrast, only 9% of the SNP vote would swing to the SLP.

The leadership were confirmed in their decision to expel the Leith branch and the named individuals. They saw a triple benefit: firstly, increasing electoral credibility by being seen to do the one thing the British Labour Party had been unable to do - the purging of extremists from within its ranks.

Secondly, this purge would also make the SLP palatable to the SNP; and thirdly, the removal of the bulk of the active socialists from the Party would enable the Leadership to pick on more seats held by the Tribuneite Left Labour MPs. Although the SLP share of

a general election vote would only be in the order of ten to fifteen per cent, it would be taken almost exclusively from the British Labour Party, so SLP intervention in a labour-held seat would almost certainly ensure SNP success.

The extraordinary undemocratic scenes which occurred at Congress culminated in the disbandment of Kelvin, Cumbernauld, Stirling and Stirling University branches. Their delegates were expelled on Sunday October 31 for "disruption" without any evidence being presented or discussion allowed.

The Kelvin branch had long been feared by the leadership, who had made previous attempts to destroy it. Their main fear seems to have been the wish of Kelvin to build a large Glasgow membership which could balance the artificial card-vote majority enjoyed by the Ayrshire branches.

A large SLP membership in Glasgow would also perhaps want to fight its own constituency seats, and this would not please the SNP, who need to make substantial gains in the industrial belts of Scotland in a General Election to justify their position.

The reasons behind the disbandment of the other three branches are not so clear. Not one of these branches has a single member who has either been a member or associated with the IMG. In fact the bulk of their membership is ex-Labour Party, and their only connection is that they are all members of the Central Area Federation of the SLP.

The Cumbernauld branch of the SNP was deeply involved in supporting the Cumbernauld dustmen's strike against an SNP-controlled District Council and also against the publicly-expressed wish of Jim Sillars. The branch membership was also seriously considering standing several candidates against the SNP at the district elections in May 1977, and has given consideration to fighting the East Dunbartonshire Constituency seat at a General Election. This seat was won by the SNP from the Tories in October 1974 by 22 votes.

Stirling Town and Stirling University branches have extremely good relations with the Labour and Trade Union movement in the Stirling area, and in the past, prior to joining the SLP, members from these branches were sympathetic to, and worked for Denis Cavan, Tribuneite Labour MP for West Stirlingshire.

It has been difficult even for myself, who was a member of the old National Organising Committee of the SLP, to understand the motivation behind Sillars' decision to destroy the major portion of the Party. I am convinced that time will prove my contention that only an electoral pact with the SNP can adequately explain one of the worst disasters ever to be inflicted on the Scottish Socialist movement.

# Welsh evictions

**MRS. P IS SCHIZOPHRENIC.** Her eyes bulge and it is difficult to follow what she is saying. She is under the delusion that her husband wants the impending eviction from their council house as means of getting rid of her. His rough reassurances force her into silence, but her eyes stay frightened, and she stalks out, slamming the door. It is her noisiness and supposed aggressiveness that has caused years of complaint from the neighbours, and hence the eviction.

They owe no rent. The house is neat and clean. Three of the five children are in care because it was judged they were not developing sufficiently. They come home at weekends and holidays. They want to stay home very badly. The eviction will wreck this fragile ship. Mrs. P. keeps going with a part-time job she can walk to. The homecoming arrangements for the children will be impossible in the "temporary" accommodation they will be evicted to. The Council, ignoring a consultant's report, will have completed eviction when this appears.

Mr. R. died directly after the bailiffs carried out his family's eviction. He was a sick man. The coroner exonerated the authorities, but we know how very hard he took the eviction, and how sick he was in any case. Mr. and Mrs. R. didn't owe any rent. They had a large family and the local housing officials on the estate judged that the volume of complaints about the boys focussed on the R's children.

The Rs lived in a row specially built for the bigger families. It faced an extensive open green space. And then in the green space directly opposite the homes they built blocks of flats—mainly for pensioners. Planning like this killed Mr. R.—and probably some pensioners.

Mrs. S. did owe rent when she was evicted. Recently, she became notorious when the gutter press fastened on to the fact that she had been kept with two of her children in a hotel for over 12 months at a cost of some £3,000 when the rent owed was £280.

What the press didn't say in its eagerness to prosecute the welfare parasites was (amongst a lot else) that she had refused to pay rent on principle; that the home she was evicted from had been boarded up and never used since; that the house was a so-called Rehabilitation house—a short life property "temporary" let to families by social services, and that Mrs. S. had been temporary there for 9 years, after her husband had left her with 7 children. The press didn't say either that she had brought up these children alone, without social security, and she first claimed benefit in the Bed and Breakfast Hotel because from there keeping a job is very

difficult. After the publicity Mrs. S. got abusive letters and phone calls.

There are many others—Mrs. K. who was rehoused from a £2 a week slum to the dearest flats in the borough. She fell into the gaps between Social Security, Social Services and Housing. A punitive Council (Labour) did the rest. It has almost dawned on some councillors that evictions cost a lot of money—for homeless provision (where it exists—one authority here disqualifies the evicted from its provision)—for children in care (a startling crescendo of a statistic). Circulars from both Tory and Labour Ministries have advised that there are more economical ways of extracting rent—Court orders for debt rather than possession—and attachment of earnings.

What hasn't dawned in this largely Labour neck of the woods is that evictions are deep traumas. Since they are executed largely upon families who already have problems, they are frequently crushing.

Mrs. and Mr. W., an elderly couple, were recently evicted from a private hovel they were supposedly buying for £5 a week. They are now squatting in a Council owned property. They are the oldest squatters in town and something of an embarrassment to the authority therefore. They were first expelled from a Council house in 1950 when they had 8 children, and he earned £8 a week. They never qualified again for a council house because of the rent arrears from that time. Housing has been their history since—written in their faces, their health—and inside their children.

Evictions are to do with the patchy performance of social work, social security and housing departments. But behind that there is the inherent subordination of council tenants—and for an increasing number who meet the bailiffs as mortgage repayments bite incomes.

Port Talbot Labour Council decreed that it would no longer store furniture from evicted tenancies, it should be deposited on the pavement outside. That Labour Council is now tarnished by a corruption conviction against its leader for some 20 years. And by losing power after 40 years domination. In the big council estate a tenants' movement ousted Labour. But the Tenants still believe in evictions. "Why should we pay our rent if somebody can get away with it" asks the sturdy Tenants' Councillor—a man who patently pays his rent not through fear, but because paying rent is an intelligible thing to do—and he can afford it.

Another policy which the Tenants (sharing power with the Ratepayers) have not changed is the relation with the town centre Property Developer. This deal set up a shop development with roads and car parks which cost the ratepayer £10 million—and years of loan charges. Such millions of pounds subsidy are invisible. One hundred pounds rent arrears is the mark of disaster. The property firm actually owes £39,000 ground rent to the Council. They won't be evicted.

Bob Dumbleton



# Gays in the unions - time to come out

IAN DAVIS and John Walburton are both gay. Because of it, one faced dismissal and the other was fired. Strike action by Davis's NALGO Branch saved him but he is not allowed to have any contact with the public in the course of his work. Two years later, Walburton has still not been re-instated. Bob Cant explains the difficulties of posing the gay question in unions.

The bureaucrats will resist your demands because they do not fit in with the pattern of cosy chats about wage negotiations with employers. Many trade unionists will be genuinely bewildered as to why you should want to raise the issue at all; not directly related to wages or working conditions it seems to them irrelevant to trade union business. And in a period of cuts and massive unemployment many more left-orientated activists will see it as diversionary.

When the question of being gay is first raised we are all afraid of the abuse and jeers that could greet us. Although in my experience, I have found that the indifferent 'refer-it-to-sub-committee-and-move-to-next-business' attitude is much more common; and so much harder to resist.

If unions are seen primarily as negotiating bodies which consciously or unconsciously operate on the employers' terms then it is not worth raising the gay question. For even if such a union did adopt a position on gayness it would inevitably be of a formal nature. It would not relate to the hidden nature of repression because such a union—a negotiating body—does nothing to involve or relate to any of its members.

A piece of paper from the Executive is not much use to the gay person afraid to come out because of the reaction of friends and fellow workers unless she knows she will be actively and warmly supported by her union brothers and sisters.

But if unions are seen as having a potential which extends beyond the level of bureaucratic paper motions, then raising the gay question takes on a different meaning.

Once the principle has been established that unions have responsibilities for their members away from work as well as at the 'workplace', it then becomes easier to raise the question of gayness.

Gays must argue for the right to be themselves at work—for the right not to have to pretend they are something else—for the right to say that 'Gay is Good' without fear of dismissal or being shunned by their workmates.

These kind of demands have been raised in those professions which have an ideological role, such as teaching and social work. Much publicity was generated by the cases of John Walburton, who was dismissed from teaching by the ILEA, and Ian Davis who was threatened with dismissal from a social work post in Tower Hamlets.

NALGO in Tower Hamlets came out on strike over Ian Davis's case. He was sacked for a

minor sexual offence committed out of work and went to an industrial tribunal who upheld the case of unfair dismissal. His employers defied the court ruling until his local union branch took strike action.

But two years later John Walburton still has not been re-instated, and Ian Davis kept his post only on condition that he did not have any contact with the public in the course of his work.

The success of the Davis campaign is, no doubt, due to the use of strike action by his NALGO branch. No such campaign ever got off the

ground in the Walburton case and despite extensive publicity, he remains jobless. What is also interesting about both these cases is that the authorities do not so much object to employing homosexuals as being seen to employ them.

But the need for the Gay question to be raised in jobs which do not have an ideological role is equally important. To go to work everyday feeling you have to hide what is a very important part of your life, and to make up stories about fiances in other towns, creates a terrible strain which damages the whole of your life.

The first thing to be done has to be done by Gays themselves. We have to set up a Gay group in our union—no matter how hard that might be. The way most Gay groups have got together seems to have been by advertising in papers like *Gay News*, *Sappho* and *Gay Week*.

This kind of group is an essential support for anyone who decides to come out at work, or to submit a motion to the union's Conference or Executive.

The NUPE Gay Group, for example, campaigned successfully for their union to adopt a policy against Gay discrimination. In my own union, NATFHE, the Gay group was for a long time myself and one other person. We raised the Gay question in the Rank & File group of the union and they then campaigned for it. NATFHE has now, as a result, adopted a policy of opposing discrimination against Gay lecturers.

The Gay Group must show itself to be aware of other aspects of trade unionism. There is no point in going to meetings only for the sake of the Gay question. We must involve ourselves in the whole work of the union.

The kind of support that was given by the Gay Socialists and Lesbian Left on the picket line at Trico is also important. Not only does it show you to be concerned about other union issues which do not directly concern you but picket lines also provide a fantastic opportunity for discussion of political issues including the Gay question.

A lot of hard work must be done to persuade other activists of the importance of the Gay question and to persuade other Gays to come out. It will not happen quickly and a continuous flow of propaganda must appear. But eventually it must become obvious that it is in the interests of all workers to take the question seriously. For a working class that is divided—on grounds of race or sexuality or anything else—is far more likely to be defeated.

Bob Cant

## Home sacks gay social worker

By JOHN ANDREWS

A social worker at a home for children in care claims that he is being unfairly dismissed from his job because he is homosexual. Mr John Williamson, aged 29, and with five years' experience as a secondary school teacher, is employed as an "assistant parent" at Shaftesbury Homes, a residential home for children in care. His three-month probationary period of employment expires on December 13 but Mr Williamson has been working from working since last month and has been told that his appointment will not be confirmed.



John Williamson: Gay, a social worker and ... sacked.

NALGAY—The NALGO Gay Group

Now over two years old, NALGAY was the first gay group to be set up in a trade union.

Early last year, the NALGO national conference passed a motion instructing all NALGO negotiators to attempt to add 'sexual orientation' to the model clause in all collective agreements and called upon the National Executive Committee to request the relevant change in the TUC's model rules.

For further information contact Howard Hyman, Secretary, NALGAY, Flat 3, 108 Foxhall Road, Forest Fields, Nottingham NG8 6LH.

### GAY UNION GROUPS

Gay NUT Group, c/o Tony Konrath, 25 Woodlands Road, Isleworth, Hounslow, Middlesex.

Gay Social Workers—phone Andrew on 01-741 1046 or Anne on 01-693 1619.

Gay Teachers, c/o John Russell, 1 Skelgill Road, London SW15.

Gay Rights Media Group, Keith Howes, c/o Gay News, 1a Normand Gardens, Greyhound Road, London W14.

ASTMS - Information c/o John Gallagher, 37 Eastbourne Avenue, London W3.

Post Office Engineering Union—Steve Gamble, 26 Hounslow Road, Feltham, Middlesex.

TGWU—Philip Long, 145 Angel Street, Hadley, Ipswich, Suffolk.

National Union of Students—c/o NUS Gay Rights Campaign, University College Union, 25 Gordon Street, London WC1.

NUPE Gay Group—c/o The Banks, Sibley, Leicester LE12 7RD.

Gay Claimants Union—01-733 4674.

Gay Medics and Dentals, c/o ULU Union, Malet Street, London WC1.

Gay Health Workers Group—ring St. Albans 69791.

Gay Working Peoples Campaign, 33 Mansfield Road, Nottingham.

East London Gay Centre, 19 Redmans Road, London E1 also acts as a focus and a meeting place for many trade unionists and is the contact address for Gay Socialists.

# RCG expulsions - the splitters split

WHEN THE Revolutionary Communist Group does anything, it does it thoroughly. And that includes splitting. We were alarmed recently to receive a letter from the RCG saying: "Only letters on this paper and signed Sheila Marston or Sarah Martin can be taken to be the authentic correspondence of the RCG"

Even more alarming on a visit to their Brixton office to find the door pulled back slightly and a cautious head peep around to deny entry lest your correspondent should rush in and seize the premises on behalf of the opposition.

But behind this display of uncomradely behaviour lies a serious factional split within a grouping many respected. The journal *Revolutionary Communist* has appeared sporadically since a group of 80 or so dissidents were thrown out of the International Socialists in March 1974. The rest of that year was spent in discussion and RCG surfaced with a Founding Document - "Our Tasks and Methods" - in January 1975.

Since then they have played a role in Troops Out, issued a pamphlet called "Ireland - British Labour and British Imperialism": they withdrew from TOM in October 1976. Their main theoretical platform was based on the economic theories of David Yaffe, particularly a series of arguments about productive and unproductive labour. Until the split they were engaged in developing a position on the women's movement which resulted in a 48 page closely-argued article in the current issue of the Journal.

Although RCG is shy about its membership figures, it probably amounted to no more than 50 before the split. But the respect of the left for its ideas can be gauged from the 5,000 print order for the current issue of its journal.

The circumstances of the split are hedged about with personal and political recriminations but the heart of the matter was the Group's approach to the recent Anti-Apartheid movement conference on the Labour Movement and Southern Africa.

The political committee decided that, since the liberation movements were working with the Communist Party and Anti-Apartheid, it was not for the RCG to use the conference as a forum for an attack on the CP. The Opposition felt that this was incorrect and that the issue had not been publicly or democratically discussed.

The Majority Faction of the Executive Committee then argued that the group around Frank Richards, Chris Davies and Judith Harrison "have held a different position on the political orientation of the group from that previously adopted ..... these comrades have failed to bring these positions out into the open so that they could be democratically debated by the membership." The dismissal of the three was carried out over the weekend of November 13 and 14, with the rest of the dissident group following the next weekend. The Executive Committee issued a statement on the 16th. It was a particularly bitter and public battle - hence

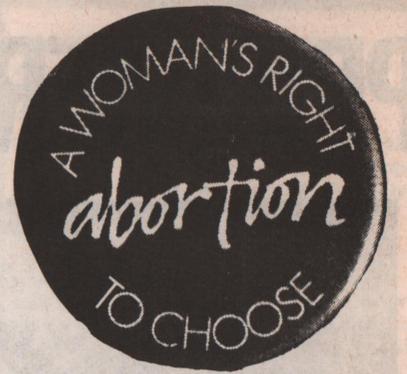
the struggle for control of the office, the stationery and the name.

The losers - if that's what they are - now call themselves the Revolutionary Communist Tendency and hope to open a discussion with the RCG as to who should own what of the Group's resources. While the majority faction have freely explained their point of view to *The Leveller*, the Tendency feel that their position is best explained in the following statement:

"The issues that underlie this split have been obscured by a series of charges made by the RCG leadership. These include the charge of 'Big Nation Chauvinism' in relation to the South African liberation movement. Those expelled have produced a statement which argues that this charge is a cover-up for the real differences which existed in the RCG. "The expulsions were designed to prevent political debate. This attempt to stifle discussion was further reflected on December 10, when seven members of the RCT were physically prevented from entering an RCG public meeting in Manchester. The RCT intends to publish a full critique of the RCG's new positions in January 1977."

The majority faction reject the charge of stifling discussion and argue that it should all have happened out in the open by the opposition writing down their views for circulation by the Group.

Both sides have prepared public statements of their positions and they are available from: RCG, 49, Railton Road, London SE 24 RCT, 103, Helix Road, London SW 2



## Abortion tribunal

THIS MONTH the National Abortion Campaign gears up for an assault on the anti-abortion lobby.

The NAC is calling on concerned people throughout the country to come to the Abortion Rights Tribunal on January 29 at the Central Hall, Westminster. On this day evidence will be heard from the people who count: women who have experienced the inhumanity of medical personnel who claim to respect life; groups who have evidence of the inequalities in the provision of service across the country; and charities who help women requesting abortion but who are seeing their right to do so whittled away in Parliament.

The Tribunal is sponsored by the 24 organisations who comprise the Coordinating Committee in Defence of the 1967 Act. These include the Socialist Medical Association, the Family Planning Association, The Brook Advisory Centres and so on. They are joined by more than a dozen MPs, the Communist Party, trade union branches and Constituency Labour Parties, half a dozen Community Health Councils and individuals.



The occupation of the Elizabeth Garret Anderson Hospital, London, reaches a crucial stage in February when the Area Health Authority is expected to announce that the hospital will have to move to another location - the Whittington Hospital in Islington. The workers are prepared to form a human barrier to prevent any attempt to remove stores from the hospital to the new site.

# PRISONER OF TERROR!



A plan to liquidate left wing militants on both sides of the River Plate has been approved at the highest levels by the military governments of Argentina and Uruguay. Evidence comes mainly from two independent sources. One is the testimony of an exile who left Argentina in August 1976 and is now living in Sweden. The other is an anonymous letter to Amnesty International.

## The Background

But first it is necessary to sketch some recent history. The armed forces took power in Uruguay in June 1973 and have ruled ever since through puppet civilian presidents; the current one, number three, is Dr Aparicio Mendez. Repression in the country has been systematic and well organised. In the months after the coup, however, a large number of militants fled to Argentina, where many attempted to organise and coordinate resistance in Uruguay

With the result that, during 1974 and 1975 the Uruguayan regime sought some form of understanding with the increasingly repressive Peronist government in Buenos Aires, to allow it to extend its repression into Argentina. This initial cooperation was quite successful—four

*Kidnapped, tortured, but when this picture was taken, still alive. Gerardo Gatti lies on a cot. Perez, used by the torturers as an intermediary, shows a paper to establish the date.*

Uruguayans kidnapped in Buenos Aires appeared murdered in Uruguay; other exiles were arrested and tortured.

So after the military coup in Argentina in March 1976, the loose 'understanding' solidified into a systematic plan to destroy the exiled Uruguayan left. And since then, over 60 Uruguayan exiles have disappeared.

Late last March, only days after the coup, six members of the Uruguayan group Worker-Student Resistance (ROE) disappeared. The bodies of two were later found riddled with bullets in the streets of Buenos Aires. Also around this time, mutilated bodies began to be washed up on the Uruguayan coasts of the River Plate.

In May, Zelmar Michelini (former senator for the Frente Amplio left wing coalition) and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz (former president of the Chamber of deputies, member of the traditional

Blanco party) were kidnapped, tortured and killed, along with Rosario and William Whitelaw.

On June 8th, a group of heavily armed policemen burst into Gerardo Gatti's house in Buenos Aires, and arrested him. Gatti was a militant trade unionist and founding member of the Uruguayan Workers' National Convention (CNT) the Uruguayan equivalent of the TUC.

On the nights of July 13th and 14th, many houses inhabited by Uruguayan refugees were raided. Approximately 30 people were kidnapped. Amongst them was Leon Duarte, a founding member of the CNT and former leader of the rubber workers' union. Both he and Gatti were members of the group Worker-Student Resistance (ROE).

The repression against the left in Argentina is carried out by police armed forces and death squads. There is no clear distinction between these groups, in specific cases, as they overlap in practice. So when Gatti's mother presented a writ of habeas corpus on his behalf through the courts, the authorities said he was not detained in any official prison institution in the country. The Minister of Justice repeated the same denial. Usually, this is the end of the

story. Nothing more has been heard from most of those who have disappeared last year, and families and friends can only hope that the unidentifiable bodies that frequently appear in different parts of Buenos Aires are not those of their relatives.

## The Evidence

On July 11th, an anonymous letter arrived at Amnesty International, written by a father, whose son had been amongst those who had disappeared in early July. In the letter, he listed the numerous unsuccessful efforts he made to find out his son's whereabouts: habeas corpus and the endless enquiries at police and military buildings.

No lawyer wanted to handle the case for fear of reprisals. Eventually, one extremely expensive one was found, who took 20 million pesos in advance and did nothing. Only when threatened with exposure for unethical professional conduct did he start to work on the case.

Excerpts from the letter give evidence of what he found out: "According to what the lawyer told us, the only thing that the hierarchy of the federal police—with whom he says he has connections of the strictest confidence—would tell him are the facts which I mention in what follows:

1st—As far as the Argentine Secret Service is concerned, they claim they cannot be held responsible for what happens to any Uruguayans since they are being directly dealt with by the Intelligence Service of the Uruguayan armed forces, who have been operating in Argentina for several months.

2nd—The Uruguayan Secret Service is directly responsible—with the known support of the Argentine authorities—for what has been happening to Uruguayan residents in Buenos Aires, at least since 1975.

3rd—At this time, it would be impossible to negotiate the freedom or guarantee the life of our son, since, there is now underway, a so called *Plan Mercurio* whose purpose is to eliminate all Uruguayan leftists in both countries.

4th—This plan has the official support of the political-military authorities in both countries, notwithstanding the heavy discussions between them about this plan which was linked to the recent crisis within the Uruguayan government.

5th—Since the death of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz, and since the kidnapping of Prof. Quinteros de Diaz from the Venezuelan embassy, a decision was made to go forward with *Plan Mercurio* to its conclusion. . . .

6th—According to his informants, the case of our son is even more serious because they accuse him of belonging to the Worker-Student Resistance, a group which the Uruguayan military now consider the principal target of its work of repression, just as the Communist Party was last December.

7th—The lawyer made reference to the existence of lists of names and photographs, each one with a prescribed punishment inscribed in the upper part of the photo, including a cross for those who had already been condemned to death. This is a confirmation of the version of the rumour that had been widely circulated in Buenos Aires for some time."

The testimony of Washington Perez, made on August 14th in Sweden, gives a different and more direct view of the same plan mentioned in the letter. Perez had been living with his family

## Uruguay's plan to destroy the Left: kidnapping, torture, murder

The military dictatorships in Uruguay have agreed on a secret plan to eliminate leftist Uruguayan exiles in Argentina. Called *Plan Mercurio*, it is a licence for the Uruguayan security forces to kill, kidnap and torture in Argentina. Peter Thorn explains how this deadly agreement came to light and how it works.

in Buenos Aires. A former leader of the rubber workers' union, long time friend of both Gatti and Duarte, Perez had fled Uruguay after the coup, and was selling newspapers to make a living.

At about 4am on the 13th July seven or eight heavily armed men burst into his house. He was asked to go with them, because 'they had someone who wanted to see me'. They said they had no specific grudge against him. "It was true I was wanted in Uruguay, that was a problem about which the judge was asking for more information, but it was not serious."

Perez and his son Jorge were blindfolded and taken in a car to a large building. They were able to identify the men as a group of Uruguayan and Argentine military and police officers. "I was able to identify them with absolute certainty, Commissioner Campos Hermda of the Uruguayan military. . . with Inspector Castiglioni of the Intelligence."

In the house, Perez was shown Gerardo Gatti, who was being held prisoner. He bore clear signs of being tortured, and had a major infection in his left arm, from being hung from the roof with his hands in handcuffs. The kidnapers' plan was simple—they wanted Perez to act as an intermediary, to negotiate a ransom for Gatti in dollars. As they put it: "There are means, ways that these friends of Gatti can obtain through groups of unions, solidarity organisations in Europe, the money that we want."

In the course of negotiations, Perez was taken several times to the house under armed guard, and had to ferry letters between the kidnapers and other Uruguayan comrades who were to try and supply the money. One of the Uruguayans' first demands was a picture, printed here, to show that Gatti was alive. A newspaper was included to show the date. But negotiations were slow and difficult: on one forced visit, Perez was told that the Gatti 'ques-

tion' was "over. . . Liquidated". He was not able to see him again. The kidnapers then produced Leon Duarte, thin, unhealthy, who also had obviously been tortured.

The ransom would now be negotiated for him. When Perez repeatedly asked what had happened to Gatti, he was told, "restrict yourself to what we said. Don't ask questions." Duarte hadn't eaten for four days. One of the men suddenly became embarrassed at this; and yelled at another kidnapper, "How can this man be without food, bring him food and everything, and some shoes." The other man replied that there were forty pairs of shoes downstairs. In his testimony Perez says he doesn't know whether this was just an expression or whether numerous people had already been murdered there.

Like the previous negotiations these did not work out. Perez was eventually advised by other comrades to leave the country as quickly as possible, as he and his family knew too much. This he did, arriving in Sweden in August.

Some other points he remembered are extremely important. When he first was taken by the kidnapers, one of them told him, "we are a Nazi-fascist group".

In the house they had a picture of Hitler, and they said, "Hitler is on one side and God is on the other". Other pictures included one of Moran Charquero, a Uruguayan head of police who was known as a torturer and was murdered by the Tupamaros guerrillas. The men were constantly asking for Uruguayan whisky and cigarettes; they kept referring to the urgency of obtaining ransom money, with phrases like, "the band is getting restless". Perez was also able to confirm that one of the senior members of the group was an Argentine colonel. On one occasion, when Perez was being taken to a meeting, they were stopped by federal police in the streets of Buenos Aires. The kidnapers flashed some documents, and were allowed to move on with no questions asked.

The best evidence of military cooperation concerns the announcement at the end of last October by the Uruguayan government that it had arrested 62 members of a new 'subversive' organisation, the Party for Popular Victory. Fourteen were named and put on show. Nine of the fourteen were in fact political refugees who had disappeared in Buenos Aires in June and July.

The leaders of the imaginary group, which was supposed to have kidnapped Jewish businessmen in Buenos Aires to finance the 'international marxist campaign to distort Uruguay's image' were named as, among others, Gatti and Duarte. The government did not make clear whether arrests were made in Uruguay or Argentina.

What has happened to them? It is highly probable, but not certain, that Gatti is dead. From what Washington Perez has said this appears to be the case. "Don't ask anything more about Gatti, because that's all over", they told him. It is possible that both men have been taken to Uruguay, and may be amongst those alleged members of the 'Party for Popular Victory' that have not been named. If this is so, it is possible that international pressure on the Uruguayan dictatorship may have some effect; how much is a difficult question to answer.

As Washington Perez says, "if we don't manage to save the lives of the comrades, at least we can spread the information, so that the whole world knows how these soldiers, gangs of thieves and murderers, kidnap and torture with the assistance of the Argentine government."

# Working class or not?

## Poulantzas on the petty bourgeoisie

"THE UNSEEN yet hovering presence of Poulantzas" was referred to by Stuart Hall as he presented the first paper of a two-day conference on "Class and the Class Structure" at the South Bank Polytechnic at the end of November. This indeed set the tone of the first day. Nicos Poulantzas, member of the Greek Communist Party of the Interior and author of four books,<sup>1</sup> was the ever-recurring reference point of the conference, although he himself did not speak (except to remonstrate with Stuart Hall for misrepresenting his views) until the final session of the first day.

Poulantzas, who now teaches at Vincennes University (Paris), came to the attention of British Marxists with the publication in English of his first book "Political Power and Social Classes" and his debate with Ralph Miliband on the nature of the state.<sup>2</sup> Debate with Poulantzas has escalated and broadened with the publication of his third book "Classes in Contemporary Capitalism". It was two of the concepts developed in this work that were at the centre of much of the debate at the conference.

Many of the speakers at the conference defined the working class "broadly" to include all those who sell their labour power. Poulantzas, however, defended a "narrow" definition of the working class; this includes only those involved in productive labour. An extract from "Classes in Contemporary Capitalism" clarifies this point: "In the capitalist mode of production, productive labour is that which directly produces surplus value. . . labour performed in the



sphere of circulation of capital, or contributing to the realization of surplus value is not productive labour; wage earners in commerce, advertising, accounting, banking and insurance, do not produce surplus-value and do not form part of the working class. . ." (Pg 211-212).

Those wage earners not involved in productive labour, like service workers for example, are not a part of the working class, but are a part of the new petty bourgeoisie.

Poulantzas also emphasised that political and ideological elements, as well as economic, are an integral part of structural class determination. In "Classes in Contemporary Capitalism" he states that: ". . . a social class is defined by its place in the ensemble of social practices i.e. by its place in the social division of labour. This includes political and ideological relations"

(Pg 14). When considering social class determination, Poulantzas stressed that classes only exist in the class struggle, and therefore in relation to other classes.

What then of the relationship between the working class and the new petty bourgeoisie? Poulantzas argued that the new petty bourgeoisie is being polarised towards the working class in the class struggle, but he insisted that this polarisation is not a "given". It has to be won and may subsequently be lost (as in Chile and Portugal). Thus he focused on the need for the dominance of the working class to be asserted within this alliance. His analysis has immediate political implications for revolutionary strategy. It raises the question of class contradictions "among the people" which are often side-stepped by the defenders of the broad definition. (We're all—or nearly all—working class now!)

Thinking about the conference as a whole, there is, it seems to me, a limit to how much people can really absorb of seven dense papers delivered in two sessions of eight hours and six hours crammed into two days. Would it not have been possible for the excellent organisation of this all-ticket conference to have been extended to include advance mailing of the papers? This would break down the speaker/audience division by making "the speaker" the focus of a full discussion. This would make more political sense than having a short discussion tagged on to the end of a paper. In addition it was clear that the papers were presented with a view to publication.<sup>3</sup> While this is positive as they will be accessible to more people than the 450 there, it presents further difficulties for those present. What is written to be read is often too concentrated for a listener to digest.

David Drake

1. The four books by Poulantzas published by New Left Books are "Political Power and Social Classes", "Fascism and Dictatorship", "Classes in Contemporary Capitalism" and "The Crisis of the Dictatorships—Portugal, Spain, Greece".
2. The Miliband/Poulantzas debate on the state appeared in "Ideology in Social Science" edited by Robin Blackburn (Fontana Paperback).
3. The texts of the conference papers will be published by Lawrence and Wishart.

## Classroom Consciousness

THE RADICAL Education Conference held in London at the end of November attempted to show the relationship between economic and ideological attacks on education. It was an extension of the magazine *Radical Education's* role as a "forum for those seeking to develop a revolutionary socialist critique of the present system. . ."

The conference was attended by a broad range of activists, some organised (IMG, Big Flame, Socialist Teachers Alliance) and others not. There was noticeable absence of Rank and File teachers; something of a missed opportunity for them!

It was an occasion not only to meet and make contact with school teachers but also Further Education teachers, students, research workers and community education people.

The conference concentrated on how the struggle in education has been transformed from

fighting against an oppressive education system to being forced to defend what's left of it; making the dual economic-ideological strategy so necessary. No one believed that if the cuts were restored tomorrow, there would be an educational system that would meet the needs of the working class.

There is a danger in believing that a 'vanguard' of revolutionary teachers can develop a strategy effectively against the right without encouraging the development of consciousness amongst the working class about education and its role in working class struggles.

This danger seemed to be ignored by the Teachers Action Collective, with the notion, as I understood it, of school as factory and teachers (students too?) as automatically members of the working class. There seems little point in developing revolutionary consciousness in the classroom if there is no material base in the working class. Many speakers made the point that the fight had to be as much in the trade unions and the community (especially parents) as with teachers.



The conference finished with the formation of a network of Radical Education groups, which should begin to develop throughout the country. These will provide a forum (in conjunction with the journal) for exchanging ideas, information and news about campaigns organisations and strategies. Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Huddersfield and London will all have groups in the near future. For further information contact Radical Education at 86 Eleanor Road, London E8.

Dave Carter



## IMPERIALISM

**CIA Briefing:** The first of series produced by the Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee on the CIA and its operations. This pamphlet is a reprint of relevant sections of US Senate reports on 'Alleged Assassination Plots involving foreign leaders'. Other pamphlets in the series are on the CIA and Jamaica, Phil Agee on Covert Operations; and the CIA and the Labour Party. For a copy send 30p to the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee, 186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1X 9DE.



**Campaign Against The Arms Trade** is holding a national week of action from January 24 to 30. Groups all over the country will not just be holding meetings and writing to MPs, but also picketing arms factories and other sites of conglomerates who have armaments subsidiaries. For example: EMI Cinemas, British Leyland showrooms. Supporters will also be staging sponsored fasts. CAAT's next national meeting is in London on January 15. Details from CAAT, 5, Caledonian Road, London N1. Tel 01 278 1976.

CAAT has also produced a report listing for the first time more than 300 major producers of military equipment (20p from CAAT) and four new fact sheets: *British Sales of Major Weapons Systems*; *Licensed Production of British Arms Abroad*; *British Production of Major Weapons Systems*; *Nuclear Technology, Nuclear Weapons and the Arms Trade*. Single copies free, 75p per 100 copies in bulk.

**ELTSA:** The End of Loans to Southern Africa campaign has two briefing papers on Hill Samuel and Standard Bank (50p each inc. p&p) which make good background reading after Leveller 2's theme on Southern Africa. For copies write to ELTSA 134, Wrotesley Road, Harlesden, London NW10.

**Portugal-Chile-Britain:** A planned three-day festival/conference being organised by the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee and the Chile Solidarity Committee. The organisers hope the event will appeal to the organised left and people working in the field of political culture in this country. If you are interested, write to John Hoyland, 6 Southcote Road, London N19 (Tel: 01-607 4845).

# Agitprop

**East Timor:** For information on the struggle for an Independent East Timor, send s.a.e. to the British Campaign, 40, Concannon Road, London SW2.

**Second World Defence:** "The Superpowers, The Threat of War, and the British Working Class" is a pamphlet discussing the problems of Soviet State capitalism and social-imperialism, superpower rivalry, and the danger of war in Europe; presents a working-class policy for national defence. Single copies 20p plus postage from: Second World Defence, 27, Priory Avenue, London N8.

## SEX/POL

**CP and Women:** The Communist Party is reviewing its programme, 'The British Road to Socialism'. There will be a discussion of feminism and its impact on Socialist practice and theory, during three evening sessions on Tuesday, January 4, Wednesday, January 5 and Thursday January 6 from 6-10 pm at the Polytechnic of Central London, 35 Marylebone Road, London W1. For details phone Jane Noble on 01-242 1776.

**Costa del Trico:** The Womens Theatre Group have now fixed the dates for their new musical, *OUT!* on the Costa del Trico. 11th-16th, 18th-22nd January at 9.30 pm, it will be at the Bush Theatre, Shepherd's Bush Green, London W12. 25th-29th January at 9.00pm at The Oval House, 54, Kennington Oval, London SE11. 4th-6th, 11th-13th February at 8.00pm at The Albany Empire, Creek Road, Deptford London SE8.

**Abortion:** National Abortion Campaign Tribunal. Information in writing wanted from all women, workers' groups, FPA and social workers, community health councils, abortion counsellors, GPs, union branches in schools, hospitals and elsewhere. If you can help, or would like further information, contact NAC, 30, Camden Road, London NW1 by January 29.

**Kent Women:** Forum/Conference will be held at St. Mary's Hall, College Road, Bromley from 10am-4pm, February 5. It is expected to have four speakers in the morning, whilst the afternoon will consist of discussion groups, creche and refreshments. Details from Frances Roberts on: 01 658 0499

**Lesbian Left:** A collective of lesbians who are also feminists and socialists. The group meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Womens' Liberation Workshop, 38, Earlham Street, London WC1.

**Acting Against Fascism:** Bolton Womens' Liberation Group is researching into fascist movements and women; the National Front now, and Asian women and their children. They also want to start a self-defence group and need a teacher or advice on good books. Contact Bolton Womens' Liberation, 52, Yewdale Gardens, Bolton, Lancs.

## THEORY AND PRACTICE

**CONFERENCE of Socialist Economists.** Weekend school on Regionalism, 5-6 Feb, details from Doreen Massey, Centre for Environmental Studies, 62 Chandos Place, London WC2. Weekend school on Changing Forms of Working Class Struggle, 19-20 Feb, contact Tom Wongref, 55 Mercers Road, London N19. Weekend school on the Restructuring of the State Apparatus, 12-13 March, contact John Holloway, Department of Politics, University of Edinburgh. 31, Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH 8 9 JT

**CSE's annual conference, on Class Struggle, The State and the Restructuring of Capital,** will be held in Bradford on 2-4 July. There are various local groups working towards this conference. For details of the London group contact Kevin McDonnell, 35 Colville Gardens, London W11. For the other groups contact John Urry, Dep. of Sociology, University of Lancaster, Cartmel College, Bailrigg, Lancaster.

**Marxist Education** There will be a Centre for Marxist Education conference on the "Problems of Marxist Education" on January 22 at :: Swarthmore Centre, Leeds. Speakers so far include Harry McShane, Ruth and Edmund Frow and Michael Barrett-Brown. Details from: John Schwartzmantel, Leeds CME, 70, Cottingley Heights, Leeds LS 11 0JL

**Marxist Poly:** 1-8 July 1977, Organised by NOISS, a week of lectures, discussions and debate around key aspects of Marxism, Want to contribute? Write to 6 Cotton Gardens London E2.

## CONTACTS

**STUDENT NETWORK:** There will be a national conference of the libertarian students network over the weekend 4th-6th February. It will take place at 'The Squat', Devas Street, Manchester University, Manchester 13. Details from the Libertarian Society, c/o Students Union, Manchester University, Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

**Socialist Art:** Tyneside Trade Unionists for Socialist Arts seek to promote links between socialist artists and the Labour Movement. They are keen to involve more people. Contact the secretary, c/o Newcastle Neighbourhood Projects, College of Arts and Technology, Bath Lane, Newcastle NE4 5TQ.

**Revolutionary Art:** A preliminary conference of progressive and aspiring revolutionary artists will be held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Details from The Provisional Committee, The League of Socialist Artists, 18 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5.

**POTLATCH in Manchester,** 28-30 Jan, proposed themes—Living in the City and/or Sexuality. Write with ideas for the potlatch to c/o Attic Library, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester.

## OTHER

**Bill Of Rights:** Right Wing proposals for a Bill of Rights, intended to protect capital and property from socialist or reformist Governments, have gone unanswered. The National Council for Civil Liberties is holding a one day conference to extend the debate, inviting trades unionists and workers from voluntary organisations, pressure groups and political parties and groups, to bring them into what has so far been an elitist debate among lawyers and politicians. Conference is at LSE on Saturday February 5 10.30-5.30. Fee: £5 but this covers background book and papers, lunch etc.

**Ostrich:** Poetry and short stories in this last issue include 'For countless dead Chileans', About Mayakovsky, and Snapshot from an album, Beirut 1975. It has closed largely due to distribution problems, despite having a Northern Arts Council Grant, Send 40p (includes postage) for a copy to Ostrich, 10 Greenhaugh Road, South Wellfield, Whitley Bay, Tyne & Wear NE25 9HF.

**Welsh Housing:** As housing misery grows in Wales, probably a third of Wales unemployed are building workers. To fight this 'absurd end of absurd economic policies and political priorities', get in touch with South Wales Housing Action 35, Deri Road, Penylan, Cardiff.

**Future Studies:** A conference on 'Industry, The Community and Appropriate Technology (ICAT 77)' is now being planned for April 15-20. It will be five days of events in Leeds and the North of England as a follow-up to the ICAT conference in Bradford last year. Further details from the Future Studies Centre, 15 Kelson Road, Leeds LS2 9PR.

