

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY APRIL 27 1973 ● No 1058 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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**FROM ALEX MITCHELL**  
Tokyo  
Friday



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At one station railwaymen were 'tried' before a kangaroo court and then forced to walk several miles to another station as 'punishment'.

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'The masses are usually sympathetic to labour, but the unions must be reminded that Tuesday night's events show that the patience of the masses is running out.'

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In the face of this sharp class conflict, the three opposition parties, including the Japan Communist Party, have asked for an urgent meeting with premier Tanaka 'to discuss ways to settle the situation'.

This opposition pact is between the Communist Party, the reformist Socialist Party and the extreme right-wing Komeito Party, the political arm of the fanatically anti-communist Sokagakai Buddhist sect.

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FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN GLASGOW

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Mr Douglas was announcing his resignation as director and deputy chairman of Govan Shipbuilders, the government-backed company which succeeded UCS.

He told a Press conference that at the formation of UCS the company had been ill-equipped by modern standards.

'It was under-capitalized and the whole thing was not practical,' he said.

'The question of whether the amount of money which has been pumped into this operation justifies itself . . . is for someone

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The other 250 will be progressively paid off by the liquidator between now and June.

TURN TO BACK PAGE

## Beermen bitter over Pay Board



Pickets stop a van outside the Mortlake Watney Mann plant. See p.12

**£100,000  
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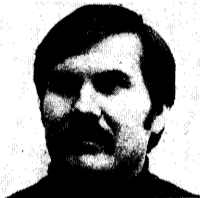
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# Stalinists cover-up for the TUC

## What we think

ACCEPTANCE of the Tory government's pay laws, announced by Victor Feather on behalf of the TUC this week, is the inevitable outcome of the reformist politics pursued by the Communist Party and the Labour 'lefts' Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon.

From the very beginning of the fight against the state control of wages, the Stalinists have sought to compromise this struggle in the alleged interests of the 'broad unity' of the trade union movement, to be achieved through the unity of the 'left'.

That 'unity' has been achieved and it has led to the most colossal betrayal of the working class.

The Tories are now in a position to kick the trade union leaders harder and harder to make them become the policemen for disciplining trade unionists to accept Phase Two and the dictates of the corporatist Pay Board.

This process has already begun, and with the full connivance of the Stalinists.

At the National Union of Teachers' conference, Communist Party members led the fight against the militants on behalf of the right wing. Rank-and-file activities have been outlawed and militants were witch-hunted and then silenced in the conference.

Stalinists also voted to abolish the militant Young Teachers' Conference. Prior to this, Communist Party members accepted the Phase Two pay deal, voted to compromise with the Pay Board, and acquiesced in the right-wing's rejection of a May Day protest for teachers.

The 'Morning Star' remained silent about these betrayals until yesterday. It then announced that some of the decisions taken by the NUT conference were 'regrettable', but refused to deal at all with the conduct of its own Party members, particularly NUT president Max Morris, formerly on the CP executive.

This is not accidental. The CP has all along covered up the step-by-step preparations for this week's final retreat by Feather. Their comment on the surrender was that it 'disgracefully attempted to degut and play down the May Day protest and will shock and infuriate millions of trade unionists who will be taking part'.

And that is all. Not a single word about the role of Scanlon and Jones who paved the way for this development

by allowing the TUC to abandon the hospital workers, the gasworkers and other sections, and by sidetracking moves towards a General Strike with their plan for the May Day protest; not a word about the preparations for the next treacherous talks with Heath to introduce Phase Three of the wage controls; not a word about the enormous danger the working class has been placed in by these developments.

The Stalinists are silent on these questions because discussion of them raises fundamental political issues about the way forward for the working class, about the necessity, in fact, to challenge the ruling class for power. The Communist Party cannot speak because, now that the economic crisis has forced developments in the class struggle to the threshold of a revolutionary crisis in Britain, their reformist 'peaceful road to socialism' politics are utterly bankrupt.

The inescapable logic of reformism at a time of such unprecedented political upheaval is for the bureaucracy to close ranks with the ruling class in order to preserve the evolutionary *status quo*.

Workers Press, on the other hand, has been in a position to warn the working class throughout of these treacherous plans being hatched against them.

Last September at the TUC Congress, we warned of the dangers in allowing the TUC leaders to open talks with the Tory government about a prices and incomes package deal. Later on, we exposed the sell-out that was being prepared at the Chequers and Downing Street talks, not officially revealed until several months later when Scanlon spoke of the wage restraint deal they nearly signed. The 'Morning Star' made no comment.

Workers Press campaigned for the recall of Congress immediately the pay laws were introduced and warned repeatedly about the dangers of delay. When the bureaucracy finally acceded to this campaign on March 5, we exposed the pre-Congress double-dealing by Jones and Scanlon which enabled Feather to present a fatuous report without any commitment to action. The 'Morning Star' remained silent about the role of these 'lefts'.

Workers Press then denounced as 'Black Monday' the compromise outcome of that Congress when the TUC bureaucracy was saved from having to call a General Strike by the intervention



Victor Feather opening an exhibition of union banners in London after 'acquiescing' to the Tories' state pay laws.

of Jones and Scanlon with their one-day protest proposal after the General Council had been beaten on its 'do-nothing' attitude. The 'Morning Star' welcomed this protest and said nothing about the treachery of Jones and Scanlon.

The 'Star' kept silent while the shameful betrayal of the hospital workers was acted out, with Jones and Scanlon refusing to implement the March 5 Congress decision to co-ordinate TUC action in support of sections in struggle.

When Scanlon finally revealed at Torquay the 'lefts' real intentions to do a deal

with the Tory government, the 'Morning Star' covered up for him all the way.

The Stalinists refused, and refuse now, to condemn the forthcoming talks with the Tory government which will discuss plans for imposing on workers Phase Three of the state control of wages and place Britain firmly on the road to the corporate state.

Workers Press will continue to expose the degeneration of the bureaucracy and to give a lead to the working class which will enable a successful fight back to be mounted against these betrayals.

# Pleading letters over Renault strike

THE STALINIST-LED union CGT has followed up its appeal to Prime Minister Pierre Messmer to intervene against management in the Renault strike with a letter to the leaders of all the parliamentary groups.

Although the CGT and the Catholic CFDT have both called on other workers to press for their own demands in solidarity with Renault, this is obviously intended merely to bring pressure on the government.

The union chiefs are mortally afraid that strikes will spread throughout the car and engineering industries outside their control. Hence a combination of feigned militancy with desperate efforts to bring the management and the government to the conference table.

The series of strikes and lock-outs in the state-controlled Renault concern began on March 21 when nearly 400 workers in the press shop at the main Boulogne-Billancourt factory stopped work. They demanded better pay, improved conditions and a regrading of their jobs.

They refused an initial compromise which the CGT negotiated and the strike went on while the management locked out 7,000

other workers. The dispute also spread to the provincial plants at Sandouville and Flins.

When the press-shop dispute was at last settled, the workers who had been locked out demanded full pay for the days lost because of the strike. This the management refused to concede and the men came out on strike.

The gains won by the press-shop men had an electrifying effect on the workers of similar grades at Flins and Sandouville. Strikes broke out in one shop after another, without the support of the union leaders.

The strikers imposed the demand for equal pay for all the semi-skilled workers instead of the different rates preferred by the management and accepted by the CGT in the past.

The dispute at Flins has resulted in the complete closure of the plant. The management wants to sack 26 workers for alleged acts of violence.

Production of two models, the R-5 and R-12, has been prac-

BY JOHN SPENCER

tically stopped since the end of March and production of the R-16 has been partly stopped. Over 40,000 cars have been 'lost' so far.

If the present strike goes on it will have a serious effect on the competitive position of Renault in the export market.

The strike at the Peugeot plant in St Etienne is now three weeks' old. A compromise deal has been proposed which in-

cludes a wage increase to be spread over the rest of the year.

Days lost through the strike will not be paid, but the strikers will receive a lump sum which they will have to repay over the next seven months.

The strikers have rejected these propositions, which fall short of their original demands. They also want the management to withdraw the threat to sack four CGT stewards and seven other workers.

The Peugeot strike has been fought under very bitter and violent conditions. The management brought in strongarm men

to eject strikers from the premises.

As class relations become increasingly tense employers are building up their own forces to smash pickets with the aid of the police.

Specially trained and armed bands are recruited from ex-paratroopers and criminal elements. They are placed on the payroll as 'security men' and paid substantial bonuses.

The situation in Renault and Peugeot is being watched by workers in every part of France and it would take very little to bring about a general strike situation on the scale of 1968.

## Silent majority 'spoke up'

AS THE silent majority remained silent when President Nixon ordered the mining of Haiphong harbour last year, a Republican Party committee spent more than \$4,000 sending him approving telegrams on its behalf.

The telegrams were presumably intended to boost Nixon's morale and enabled his Press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, to point to the large volume of

public support which his policy was receiving.

Vice-President Spiro Agnew, in another of his well-timed political interventions, has expressed his 'full confidence in the integrity of President Nixon'.

This comes 12 days after he was rumoured to be 'appalled' by the White House's handling of the Watergate affair.

Nixon is preparing to talk his

way out of the Watergate affair by making a candid admission of the involvement of top-level members of his staff. Bitter infighting is believed to be going on among those who fear that they may be made scapegoats.

'The New York Times' claims that White House officials were regularly supplied with information obtained by bugging Democratic Party headquarters during the election campaign.

# Communist Party rejects defend democratic rights call

THE LEADERSHIP of the British Communist Party has rejected a call for unity of working class organizations to defend democratic rights.

The Socialist Labour League and the International Socialists have received a letter from CP general secretary John Gollan refusing to join in a common statement pledging to support any working class organization subjected to repressive action by the Tory government and its state machine.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League initiated a campaign on January 20 this year, aimed at warning the left and the working class of the great dangers of oppression. We declared:

Heath and the Tories, behind the mask of an anti-inflation campaign, are in fact taking a definite step towards Bonapartist dictatorship in preparation for massive state repressions against the working class and the Marxist movement in the coming struggles.

The future of every party and political tendency based on the working class is inseparably tied to the successful preservation of basic democratic rights. The attack on these rights is part of the ruling-class strategy to ultimately legalize and suppress every form of political representation of the working class.

Soon provocation will be heaped upon calumny to create



The Conway Hall meeting on April 16. On the platform: Duncan Hallas (IS), Gerry Lawless (chairman), Gerry Healy (SLL national secretary) and Tariq Ali (IMG secretary).

the conditions to arrest, to detain without trial and to jail militant trade unionists, socialists and communists.

The Socialist Labour League pledges to defend unreservedly all such victims of Tory repression whether they belong to the Labour Party, Communist Party, International Socialists or Inter-

national Marxist Group.

We are prepared to discuss with all working-class political groups and parties to support this struggle now.

In the Workers Press of February 24, Gerry Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, wrote that

'the responsibility for defending the rights of the working class rests with the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the IS, the International Marxist Group, the SLL and others on the left.'

He went on: 'What is now needed is a meeting of all these groups and parties to issue a joint declaration that, as an

integral part of the defence of the basic democratic rights of the working class, they will provide the staunchest support for each other in the event of any of our organizations being singled out for attacks by the Tories.'

Our warning words were proved true on April 14 when police raids took place all over Britain against Irish people and members of the International Marxist Group.

In accordance with our declared policy, the Socialist Labour League participated in a joint meeting with the International Marxist Group and the International Socialists on April 16 in the Conway Hall, London. This meeting was the start of a campaign to defend the left and the labour movement against police attack and oppression.

Speaking at the meeting, SLL national secretary Gerry Healy said that the deeply-held differences between the participating organizations represented the movement of class forces.

But the responsibility to wage the ideological battle in order to develop a revolutionary consciousness within the working class had to be protected against police and state interference and that was why joint defence was necessary.

It was following this meeting that the Socialist Labour League and the International Socialists wrote to both the Communist Party and the International Marxist Group.

## LETTER TO CP AND IMG

Dear Comrades,  
The SLL and IS have held joint discussions on the threat posed to the left by increasing police repression, infiltration and developing counter-insurgency techniques. The inspiration for this growing menace clearly derives from the general Tory attack on working-class conditions and organization.

Both our organizations believe that this problem is one in which both the Communist Party and the IMG have with us a shared interest and concern which, on this subject, transcend our differences.

IS and the SLL have prepared a statement (copy enclosed) which we intend to publish in Workers Press and 'Socialist Worker'.

We invite you to join us in this declaration, if necessary amended by agreement, and to consider simultaneous publication in our respective newspapers.

Yours fraternally,

G. Healy  
National Secretary  
Socialist Labour League  
Jim Higgins  
National Secretary  
International Socialists

## DRAFT PROPOSALS TO CP AND IMG

1) A joint declaration on behalf of the Communist Party, International Marxist Group, International Socialists and Socialist Labour League should be issued which says that:

A) The four organizations pledge themselves to jointly defend the democratic rights of the working class against the legislative attacks of the Tory government which seriously affect the trade unions and the working class as well as all groups on the left of the labour movement.

B) We believe the threat against democratic rights arises from:

i) Raids carried out by the police, the purpose of which they do not feel obliged to explain. These raids generally lead to large

quantities of documents and addresses being taken away under conditions in which the work of the organization can be disrupted.

ii) Holding suspects for lengthy periods before they are brought to trial.

iii) The secret decision to arm the police.

iv) The use of telephone tapping, tape recording and letter opening by the police to illegally incriminate those on the left who are under surveillance.

v) Planting spies and provocateurs within the working class movement. This is based on the so-called theories of counter-insurgency developed by Kitson, Calvert and Clutterbuck with the support of the Tory Cabinet.

We (CP, IS, IMG, SLL) believe that the fight for demo-

cratic rights must become an integral part of the struggle of the trade union movement and the working class to expose the operation of the National Industrial Relations Act and all activities of the Tory government through laws which are directed against the democratic rights of the working class.

In the event of an attack involving democratic rights by the Tory government, or its agencies, against working class organizations, we will together organize such public campaigns as are considered mutually necessary to protect these organizations and their membership from such attacks.

The fight to end all bans and proscriptions in the trade union and labour movement is an essential part of the struggle to defend democratic rights against the attacks of the capitalist state.

## THE CP's REPLY

25th April 1973

Dear Comrades,  
Thank you for your letter enclosing draft statement on Tory action and measures aimed to undermine working class democratic organization and intimidate working class militants.

We believe this is a tremendously important problem. Our Party has consistently campaigned against these new dangerous authoritarian trends and to safeguard democratic rights and institutions, and will continue to do so.

Precisely because of what is at stake we believe that only the involvement of the organized Trade Union and Labour movement can be successful in reversing this authoritarian trend.

The disruptive policy and actions within the organized Labour movement which you have pursued will, in our opinion, make your proposal counter-productive in what must be the aim—the involvement of the Labour movement.

For these reasons we do not believe that it would be useful to join with you in publishing the statement.

Yours fraternally,  
John Gollan,  
General Secretary.

## May Day could backfire against CAV right wing

MAY DAY will form the main topic of discussion at a mass meeting of CAV workers this morning at Acton, west London.

But behind the arguments for and against joining the TUC's 'day of protest and stoppage' against the pay laws will lie a deep-going crisis of union leadership in the factory.

Although the shop stewards' committee has voted against supporting directives from the engineers' and transport unions to come out on May 1, the factory has been racked by sectional disputes sparked by CAV's use of the pay laws to 'freeze' piece work prices.

The calling of today's meeting is seen by some stewards as a tactic to get the right-wing leadership of the stewards' committee off the hook.

But a significant number of workers will back their unions' directives regardless next Tuesday and the discussion provoked by the mass meeting could well backfire in the right wingers' faces.

Over the last four years, piece-work 'drift' at the CAV factory—part of the giant Lucas combine—has amounted to between 18 and 30 per cent.

Following Heath's announcement of a total pay standstill on November 6 last year, Lucas headquarters in Birmingham decreed that all prices agreed before that date must remain unaltered.

The only exceptions, it was said, would be jobs where new methods had been adopted since November 6.

The effect of this has been to put a block on long-established methods of pushing up rates section by section all over the factory.

Yet when the shop stewards met just over a week ago they first discussed the issue of May Day simply as an item of correspondence.

There was no recommendation from the stewards' executive committee. A steward who moved support for the unions' directives had his motion defeated by 24 votes to seven.

Later in the agenda the matter was raised again and it was agreed to hold today's meeting.

The convenors have made clear that they will report the defeat of the motion to back the stoppage to the mass meeting, and one has already stated he believes this will serve to dissuade large numbers of workers from striking.

Technically speaking, of course, there should be no question of a vote this morning since unions represented on the stewards' committee have been instructed to call their members out.

## Govan demand sparks boilermakers' bonus fight

A CLAIM for an extra 5p an hour for shipyard welders was lodged with employers yesterday.

The welders, who are key workers in the yards, want the money to compensate for health hazards and the extra skill involved in their job.

The original demand was made locally at Govan Shipbuilders, the company which inherited two of the old Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' division in Glasgow.

But management there insisted that the 5p was a national claim and yesterday boilermakers' leader Danny McGarvey met shipbuilding employers in London to discuss the issue.

As welders' leaders point out, the fumes connected with their jobs have caused severe chest trouble in the past.

They also say that they are the only tradesmen to get a test of their skills and they claim that their pay should reflect this.

The employers, however, are strongly resisting these demands.

They want to end all pay differentials between crafts in the shipyards.

This principle has already been established at Govan Shipbuilders where the boilermakers reluctantly signed a deal which brought their rate down to the level of other crafts.

Govan Shipbuilders appreciate that to return to differentials will mean that the boilermakers would become the pacemakers in the yards once more.

# BEHIND THE EMPLOYERS' VISIONS OF ECONOMIC MINI-BOOM

BY ROYSTON BULL

The latest spiral in the growing economic crisis makes last month's glowing economic predictions from the capitalist system's enthusiasts look very sick.

The president of the Engineering Employers' Federation Tom Carlile was telling his annual meeting in February:

'Lately the signs have been more encouraging. In sharp contrast to 12 or even six months ago, the major economic indicators are all giving rise to optimism for the majority of the industrial sectors.'

This just is not true. As the April trade figures have quickly made clear, Britain's ruling class are playing a most desperate gamble with the economy.

Far from 'the major economic indicators ALL giving rise to optimism', many of the most important ones are unhealthy and have been so for a long time.

The rate of profit is falling, the world-wide level of monetary inflation is rising steadily—as registered, for example, in the free market price of gold; currency stability has been completely undermined, witness the recent dollar devaluation crisis; and the value of the pound is sinking steadily under its so-called 'free float'.

## Disastrous

All of these symptoms, which were well in evidence in February, indicate a trade war in which the weaker-organized economies like Britain's will suffer enormously. The balance-of-payments position was already bad in February. It is not at all surprising that by April, it has become disastrously bad.

And some of the consequences of all this were also not difficult to foresee in February—such as a further devaluation of the pound leading to a still worse balance-of-payments position, as essential imports cost Britain even more and its exports produce even less revenue.

Developments beyond this point are less easy to predict.



Tom Carlile (left) the president of the Engineering Employers' Federation, with other members of the Federation at a Press conference in 1971.

However, one obvious obstacle preventing a further devaluation of the pound from helping a British export revival is the near certainty of tariff barriers or competitive devaluations being introduced by rival capitalist powers to safeguard their own positions in a situation where there is an overall shortage of profit.

So what was Carlile on about? A clue is given in the very next line of his address.

'The reflationary measures

are filtering through to capital goods equipment.'

Carlile is interested in profit, like all good capitalists. British industry generally has been having a thin time for over a decade and it has been steadily getting worse.

One of the consequences of this was the high unemployment of last winter, which became so politically dangerous that the Tories had no alternative but to turn the money supply tap on again

and go for reflation, however unfavourable the circumstances.

That, coupled with the chronic world inflation caused by America's economic rake's progress since World War II, led in part to the April trade figures.

But on the way there, the Barber reflation did cause the economy to temporarily pick up as far as the immediate level of industrial activity was concerned.

## Misleading

THAT was what made Mr Carlile smile in February, coming as it did after such a long lean period. The dire cost of this inflationary mini-boom did not concern him then.

Carlile, and all the other capitalist pundits who have been forecasting a healthy period of economic expansion, will have time to dwell on this during the dramas of the months ahead.

But the only trouble with these prophets who are blinded by the thirst for profits is the disorientation they create about what is really happening to the economy.

Academics, columnists and business experts regularly churn out totally misleading analyses. The people who suffer are the working class who are prevented from taking political action to deal with the crisis through being misinformed, mainly by their own leaders.

The responsibility for that rests with the bureaucracy of the labour and trade union movement. The TUC and the Labour Party have produced utterly worthless proposals for mild reforms which have made no analysis at all of the nature of the capitalist crisis.

But even greater blame rests

with the Communist Party, still masquerading as Marxists and 'lefts', whose only contribution has been three articles in the 'Morning Star' by a London economics lecturer, who even had to fight to get them in.

The working class must suffer because the only way out for British capitalism now is the most savage onslaught on wage rates in order to make exports cost competitive again.

At the same time, a fierce curb on imports is due sooner or later. Food and all other essential raw materials must be priced off British markets to an even greater extent in order for the balance-of-payments deficit to be rectified.

It means that the price of meat and all other goods must go higher and higher so that much less of it is consumed, because foreign creditors will not allow Britain's debts to get any higher than they have now reached.

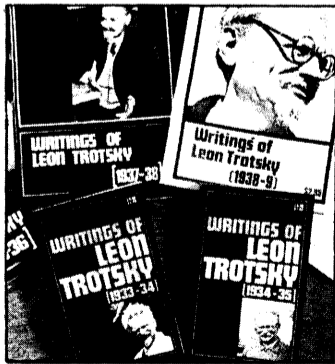
All of which means a dramatic tightening of the screws on the working class and the raising of the class struggle to an even higher pitch.

This is what the ruling class has been so assiduously preparing for over the past three years with anti-union legislation of the Industrial Relations Act, the pay laws, and the growing harassment of pickets by the police.

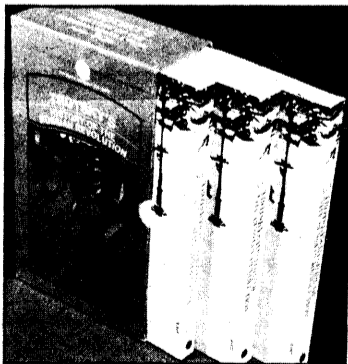
And this is why the reformists, the 'lefts'—and the Stalinists who cover up for them—have carefully avoided too much concentration on the crisis.

They don't want the working class to know too much about the appalling situation capitalism is in because they don't want workers to become interested in the revolutionary implications of this crisis.

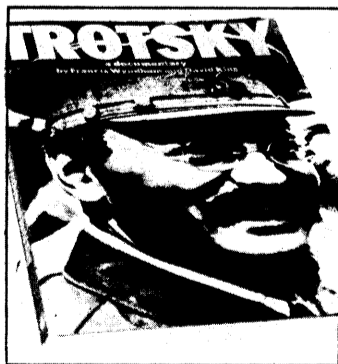
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## Yugoslavia

### BUREAUCRACY MEETS OPPOSITION OVER STAFF DISCIPLINING

Philosophy teachers at Belgrade University have clashed with the leadership of the Yugoslav League of Communists over an attempt to discipline eight so-called 'anarcho-liberals' on the staff.

Matters came to a head when a number of professors stayed away from a meeting called in the university and it was therefore impossible to proceed with disciplinary measures.

#### 'Leftists'

The offending teachers are described as 'leftists' and have made contacts with various self-styled Marxists outside Yugoslavia. They are accused by Petar Stambolic, a member of the Presidium of the League of Communists, of undermining confidence among young people in the organizational and leadership qualities of the League.

#### Permanent ban

A Belgrade district court has imposed a permanent ban on a book by one of the condemned philosophers, Mrs Zaga Pesic-Golubovic, called 'Man and Contemporary Civilization', on the grounds that it does not give sufficient attention to the role of the working class.

The party group in the philosophy faculty has denied the allegations against Professor Golubovic and the seven others and called for an open debate on their views.

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## Husak: stifling the memories of 1968

Just two days before Harold Wilson arrived in Czechoslovakia for a back-slapping, let's-forget-the-past visit, Gustav Husak, the man the Soviet bureaucracy installed in place of Alexander Dubcek, made an important speech to a Communist Party conference in Bratislava.

He told the assembled Slovak bureaucrats that Party unity must be further strengthened and consolidated and called for the fulfilment of the current Five-Year Plan.

A big effort is being made to dampen criticism and stifle memories of 1968 by improving the standard of living and keeping down prices.

Referring to the Dubcek

period, Husak said that 'the tragedy began when the leadership after January 1968 gave free scope to the revisionist, anti-socialist and indeed counter-revolutionary criticism and propaganda, when the doors were opened to it and when one instrument of power after another was surrendered to it'.

He confined his criticism to the Dubcek leadership of that period, a liberal wing of the bureaucracy itself, a number of whose members in exile have slithered still further to the right. He said nothing about the deep current of resistance to the bureaucracy which found, and still finds, expression in the working class and which resulted in the purge of thousands of CP members.

The Dubcek supporters not only played into the hands of reaction, but they also provided an alibi for the Stalinist

bureaucracy and for the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, which was aimed against the signs of a political revolution based on mass working-class support.

The Husak regime was only able to consolidate itself with the help of outside military forces and by a vigorous repression of all dissident elements.

Despite Husak's claims that the country is now facing a stable and prosperous future, the second part of his speech was devoted to an attack on 'negative aspects in our society'. He addressed some serious warnings to members of the bureaucracy who dip their fingers too deeply in the till.

'You know of one influential director-general,' he said, 'who was recently dismissed from his post as well as expelled from the Party because he did not see the difference between

Above left: Gustav Husak, the man the Soviet bureaucracy installed. Right: Alexander Dubcek, played into Stalinist hands.

his private matters and state funds and property.'

He denounced 'parasitic phenomena — sloppy work, shirking, covering up, nepotism that's how things are done in some places, isn't it?' he asked an audience who certainly knew all about it.

As they did, too, when he drew attention to the frequent pretexes found for holding drinking parties in factories and offices with some picturesque examples.

He concluded his speech with a reference to the way in which Czechoslovakia was improving its relations with the capitalist world, including particularly West Germany—one of the crimes of which the leaders of 1968 were accused.

## ARREST OF BRAZILIAN NEWSPAPER EDITOR



Costa e Silva—a leading man in the Brazilian military regime.

The military regime in Brazil has imposed a severe Press censorship under which weekly papers have to submit their entire copy to the censor at least four days before publication.

A leading paper, 'Opinio', was seized when it came off the press and its director and editor held by the police overnight. It is a 'liberal' paper owned by a wealthy industrialist. It contains a four-page supplement of articles translated from the Paris daily paper 'Le Monde'.

Before the new system came into force, a police department functionary was stationed on the journal's premises to censor its contents. The editors wished to demonstrate that

they could not have all the copy ready four days before publication and went ahead with printing the paper before the censor's decision was known.

The constitution is supposed to guarantee 'freedom of information', but in practice such a right does not exist in Brazil, even for the mildly critical Press.

## DKP DENOUNCES THE 'ULTRA-LEFT'

The Communist Party of West Germany, the DKP, has been alerted to the danger of ultra-left forces by one of its leading members, Manfred Kapluck.

He accused 'Maoist-Trotskyist forces' of pursuing a policy opposed to the interests of the working class and of being splitters.

The 'so-called left groups—in reality anarchist groups—direct their main efforts against the USSR, against the CPSU, against Socialist Unity Party, the German Democratic Republic and the DKP', he said.

This blanket denunciation and identification of all the 'left' with anarchism is intended to assure the Brandt government of the DKP's loyalty. Kapluck even accused the 'leftists' of being allies of the Christian Democrat-Christian Social Party opposition.

He claimed that many young workers and students who had been drawn to the 'Maoist-anarchist groups' were now turning to the DKP.

## THE TAKE-OVER OF ARGENTINA

Foreign-owned multi-national corporations have secured a dominating position in the Argentine economy in recent years.

Of the top 100 companies by sales in 1969 only 17 were really Argentine-owned, accounting for 28 per cent of sales. If the state-owned petrol company is excluded, however, the share of Argentine companies falls to 14 per cent of total sales.

While in 1956 four of the top ten companies by total sales were Argentine, by 1970 only one, the National Steel Company, was in the top ten. There are only six Argentine firms among the top 20.

There has been an accelerated take-over by foreign companies since 1969. In fact, nine of the ten directors of the Argentine Industrial Union, the big employers' organization, are representatives of foreign companies.



# WHAT NEXT FOR DOCK WORKERS

Part two of a statement by the All Trades Unions Alliance docks section.

The implications of acceptance of the £2.60 state pay offer will be far-reaching. The employers intend to use this victory to introduce a new 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. shift without any extra shift payments and at their convenience.

They also intend to propose a new system of labour, graded to capability, which will replace the flat-rate system introduced three years ago after the abolition of piece-work and the old system of manning.

Consolidation of skills into the pay structure has been heralded by the capitalist Press as 'the biggest change in the dockers' status since casual labour ended in 1967'. It is nothing of the sort.

The new pay structure is designed to condition dockers to acceptance of a corporate system which splits the dockers' unity and encourages the worst forms of individualism and a selfish loyalty to the company at the expense of the union.

As the 'Sunday Times Business News' (April 8, 1973) so aptly stated: 'In the long term, some port employers want to see a proper career structure, so that dockers can rise up through their firms into top jobs.'

This concept is not new. Some stevedoring firms in London and elsewhere have for-

mer dockers in top jobs.' (Our emphasis.)

Indeed it is not new. Only recently dockers' stewards were being sent from Tilbury to Hamburg to negotiate contracts from Hapag-Lloyd with all expenses paid by their employers. Other such corporatist measures have already been taken in a number of firms in the West India docks.

On the one side they threaten and cajole with the Pay Board and the Industrial Relations Act while on the other they try to seduce dockers with the incentive of a bogus career structure which creates a fifth column for the employers.

The other equally sinister side to the capability grading scheme is that it is calculated to undermine the Dock Labour Scheme and intensify the disciplinary powers of management.

As dockers climb up the career-status ladder they will be excluded from the scheme. Those who cannot qualify for capability grading will be condemned to live on a wretched basic rate.

But this does not exhaust the reactionary nature of the proposed new wages system. As is well known the application of work study schemes has been seriously held back in the ports: first because the changeover from labour-intensiveness to capital-intensiveness is still proceeding at a rapid rate and secondly because of the hostility and

scepticism of many dockers whose wages have fallen after the abolition of piece work.

The employers—and union leaders—hope to use the new grading scheme as the thin edge of the job-evaluation wedge.

This is another reason why the union leaders are in favour of continuing with the 18-man committee which was set up when national wage agreements were abandoned in favour of local port agreements under Devlin Phase Two.

## NO GUARANTEE

This body will become the instrument by which productivity dealing will be introduced into the enclosed docks.

Even after all this there is no guarantee that the employers will be able to go ahead with this corporatist venture. As Mr Newman said:

'We could go through a whole series of protracted meetings with the employers and come to an agreement with them. But how do we know what the government have in mind for Phase Three? They could veto anything we agreed.' ('The Port', March 18 1973.)

If the Tories do veto the agreement we can be sure that Messrs Newman and Shea will accept Tory policy with the same resignation that Newman expressed in his famous last words to dockers: 'The last

thing anybody wants is a stoppage in London.'

The existence of the counter-inflation Act and the cowardly collaboration of union leaders now mean that the struggle for decent wages, adequate pensions and job security through the Scheme is indissolubly linked to the defence of our basic democratic rights to organize and strike and the struggle for new leadership.

These rights cannot be preserved any more without the destruction of the capitalist system, the downfall of the Tory government and the exposure of the reformist policies of the so-called 'lefts' on the docks.

The greatest source of demoralization and confusion in the docks are the Stalinists and IS revisionists who tail behind them. The CP and the 'Morning Star' while they defend and justify Scanlon's collaborationist remarks at the same time maintain an ominous silence on the issues of grading, the supplementary register and the role of the 18-man committee which has sold Phase Two to dockers.

In the past it has covered up for Jones's role in every dock strike as it today protects Scanlon. Stalinist policy in the docks is not determined by the dockers' interests, but by the selfish foreign policy interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

This bureaucracy is mortally afraid of and hostile to the independent struggles of the

European and world working class since its power is based essentially on the big defeats of the working class in the 1930s.

Stalinism is the incarnation of working class defeat. But today the great resurgence of the European working class and colonial peoples threatens to shatter imperialism and Stalinism into a million fragments.

At the same time the financial and economic crisis of imperialism drives the imperialists to step up their war preparations against the USSR, China and Eastern Europe to regain lost markets and fields for capital investment.

Caught between these forces the Stalinists in the name of 'peaceful co-existence', try to prevent war by neutralizing the ruling classes through the policies of protest and diplomatic pressure and try to prevent revolution by restraining, confusing and betraying the working class. These politics far from preventing war, only make the victory of fascism and the outbreak of another imperialist attack on the USSR inevitable. This was the lesson of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the invasion of Germany.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the British Stalinists in the docks, engineering and other industries are the most contemptible defenders and advocates of Tory corporatism and trade union collaboration with the monopolies.

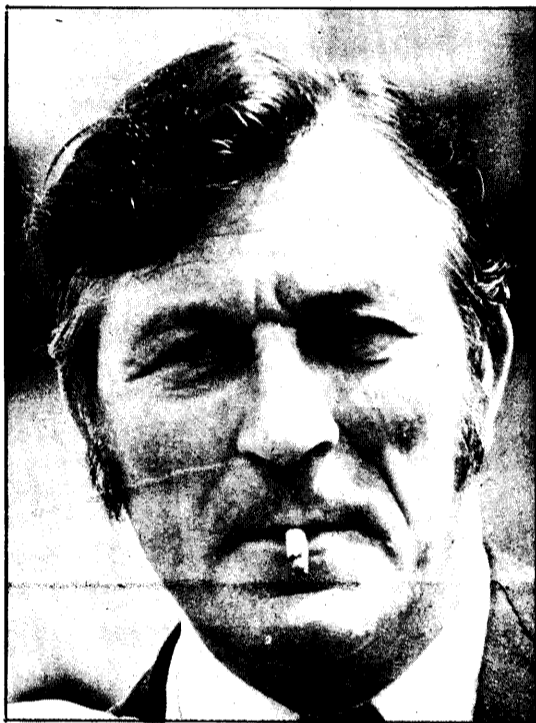
In the docks the CP, having led the campaign to sell Devlin







Left: Dockers expressing their anger when the Jones/Aldington report was finally accepted and dockers returned to work from the national dock strike last year. Above: The vote to return to work on April 6. Below: Two members of the 18-man committee—Mr Vic Turner (left) and Mr Jim Carpenter.



# WORKERS?

and to abandon the demand for nationalization in 1972, now tries to substitute for the political struggle against the Tories a reformist and Utopian campaign to get round Phases Two and Three by a return to piece work and a unified wage structure for the ports.

This is a blind alley because the port employers would rather shut down and get out than reintroduce a system which cost them hundreds of millions of pounds to get rid of. In fact it is easier to get socialism than to bring back piece work on the docks.

This argument is nothing more than a red herring to divert dockers' attention from the fact that CP representatives—like Carpenter and Lyons—were associated with the 18-man sell out on Phase Two.

The attitude of IS supporters on the docks—particularly those who edit the 'Dockworker'—is, if anything, just as unprincipled and bankrupt. This group is typified by its complete lack of political independence from Stalinism and union bureaucracy, despite its anti-communist philosophy and its venomous hatred of the Soviet Union.

Like the CP, the 'Dockworker' supporters fight consistently against any development of revolutionary political consciousness amongst dockers. Its tactics are based on a crude worship of the spontaneous struggles of dockers and an idealization of the syndi-

calist consciousness of certain dockers.

It is no accident that this group constituted the greatest obstacle to the unity of dockers and lorry drivers in 1972. Their policy of tail ending the working class led them to support, uncritically, the picketing of container bases to the point where an open conflict between dockers, drivers and container workers very nearly came about.

Up to now they have peddled the falsehood that lorry drivers were paid to picket the docks in the summer of last year.

They avoided any political criticism of the Jones-Aldington commission and refused to challenge the Stalinist collaboration with it.

By rejecting Marxist policies and relying on blind militancy the IS have now placed themselves in an extremely sinister and reactionary position in relation to the dockers.

When the employers threatened to close down Thames 65 and move the meat trade to Southampton the 'Dockworker' refused to give a lead and confined itself to the following lame comment:

'It is a disgrace [sic] that the trade unions have allowed the employers . . . to play one port against another, and it is about time the trade unions adopted a NATIONAL AGREEMENT.' ('Dockworker', February 13.)

This was a conscious evasion of responsibility to call for unity of dockers and lorry

drivers to force the union leaders to act in defence of dockers' jobs. The real 'disgrace' which the 'Dockworker' carefully omitted to mention was the opportunist acceptance by the shop stewards of the vicious work norms imposed by the shippers as the price of keeping the meat trade in the Royals.

In the same way the 'Dockworker' for all its rhetoric has refused to give a political lead in the struggle against Phase Two and the state control of wages. In a joint article written by Ted Gates—a member of the 18-man committee—and Bob Light—a frequent contributor to 'Socialist Worker'—in the February 1973 'Dockworker', the tasks of exposing the union leaders and of forcing the Tories to resign are consciously ignored. Messrs Gates and Light write:

## LEADERS HIDING

'Now the employers must be made to live up to their promises, to honour the agreements made and to stop hiding behind the freeze. The employers can certainly afford it . . .'

Whether this nonsense is the product of ignorance or conscious deception it is difficult to judge. What is absolutely certain is that Messrs Gates and Light confuse dockers by ignoring the political

significance of the dockers' struggle against Phase Two and the absolute necessity for revolutionary political leadership in the docks industry.

It was not the employers who were hiding behind the so-called freeze, which suited their needs completely, but the union leaders—and the stewards' leadership.

Having refused to face up to their political responsibilities and having indulged syndicalism in the docks, the 'Dockworker' now predictably covers up for the reformists and officials in the 18-man committee and—of course—blames the dockers:

'The pay battle is now over. Dockers in ports throughout the country have accepted the employers' offers of around £2.60. And now after a week's strike a mass meeting of men in London's enclosed docks has voted to return to work. And they did this, despite a lead from the negotiation team (the 18-man committee) and officials of both unions.' ('Dockworker' April 1973, our emphasis.)

As we have already pointed out there was no lead from the 18-man committee who did nothing to educate or prepare the dockworkers politically for the wages struggle.

This does not exhaust the role of the 'Dockworker', however. To cover up their retreat they maintain that they 'opposed the 18-man committee's policy of withdrawing Clause 12 . . . as we did not feel it was the answer.'

The facts are slightly different. 'Dockworker' supporters opposed the 18-man recommendation in March but supported unreservedly the identical resolution on April 6 because the officials of both unions backed it.

The contradictions of the 'Dockworker' and its supporters in IS are too numerous to enumerate in one statement but there is one flagrant distortion which cannot go unanswered.

The 'Dockworker' in its latest issue informs its readers that 'one of the major reasons for the defeat of the strike was the T&GWU's failure to make it official . . . In our opinion this was the deliberate policy of certain high-up officials.' This omission, according to 'Dockworker', left the men 'with no idea whether they were on official strike or not'.

If this was so—and IS supporters on the 18-man committee knew all along that the committee did not have plenary powers from their executive committees—then why did the 'Socialist Worker' inform dockers on the week of the strike that 'their action is officially backed by the union'?

Wasn't this a conscious attempt to con the portworkers? We leave dockworkers to make their own inferences.

As far as leadership is concerned the 'Dockworker' has none to offer. In place of a revolutionary policy and a leadership which aims to appropriate the port employers and their bankers these syndicalists conclude with a pathetic plea to the bureaucracy:

' . . . we would hope [sic] that the leadership [!] shown by officials in London will next time be channelled into the fight for a national agreement.' And again: ' . . . for once, both unions gave a lead [!], as we have been demanding for years. But when we had a lead from the unions, the men didn't see fit to follow it [!].'

For this shameful reformist rubbish the editors of 'Dockworker' deserve a Churchill Fellowship Award.

The distortion of the syndicalists notwithstanding the fact is that the 18-man committee, which was originally formed to assist the introduction of Devlin Phase Two, will now become, under Heath's Phase Two, an integral part of

the corporatist set up on the docks.

Lay delegates on this committee will become impotent hostages of the union bureaucracy and administrators of the state pay control laws. No class conscious docker can serve his class and the 18-man committee at the same time.

Dockers must demand the resignation of all rank and file representatives from this corporatist body immediately. As the 'Port' journal correctly remarked:

'The 18-man committee is more official than it is unofficial . . . because of the unique set-up in the docks it has been found to be the most convenient way the officials of the two docks can get a true representative feeling of the unions of their entire membership.' ('Port' April 21, 1973 No. 159.)

## THE 18 MEN

### WHO ARE THE 18-MAN COMMITTEE?

Ocean Lay Group (T&G)  
Chairman: Maurice Foley  
Vic Turner  
George Hughes  
T. Nelligan  
E. Gates  
M. Day

PLA (T&G)  
J. Connolly  
G. Learmouth  
J. Carpenter  
D. Lyons  
J. George  
P. Payne

NAS&D  
F. Roffe  
D. Sheen  
W. Knight  
T. Peterson  
D. McLaughlin  
L. Burley

These methods and policies of the CP and IS confuse and deceive the working class about the true nature of the crisis, the bureaucratic leadership and the organized repression of the capitalist state. They prepare the working class not for victories and lasting conquests but for savage defeats and monumental betrayals.

Dockers must completely reject their policies and build a new leadership based on the principles of Marxism and the policies of the All Trades Unions Alliance which are:

1) A campaign to force the TUC to create the industrial and political conditions leading to a General Strike and a General Election.

2) The election of a Labour government which must be forced, as a first priority, to nationalize the port, haulage, container and shipping industries without compensation and under workers' control.

3) The cancellation of all capital debts on the ports and the nationalization of the banks. This will not only end inflation but release large capital resources for improving the port industry in the interests of dockers and put an end to the scandal of casual labour.

4) Complete opposition to the fraud of 'worker participation' and 'joint consultation'. A national campaign of agitation and propaganda to expose the union leaders' collaboration with the Aldington proposals and for a policy of nationalization and workers' control.

5) Unity of dockers, lorry drivers and container workers in a joint struggle against the union leaders' betrayals and government operation of Phase Two.

6) No redundancies. Oppose severance pay schemes.

7) Reject the Jones leadership and replace it with a leadership which will fight for the basic democratic rights of dockers and the independence of the unions from the State.

8) No collaboration with the National Industrial Relations Court or the Pay Boards.

9) Fight for a stewards' leadership which will combat Stalinism and reformist syndicalism.

# REVISIONISTS SLANDER HISTORY OF BRITISH WORKING CLASS

BY PETER JEFFRIES

What the revisionists seek at all points to do is to write off the unions, or, more accurately, to confuse the rank and file of its unions with the leadership.

This is particularly clear in the article by A. Jones of the International Marxist Group when he deals with the early unions of the skilled workers, formed after 1850 of which the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) was typical.

'In this situation the trade unions of the "aristocrats" could quite plausibly see themselves as having just as much, if not more, in common with the employers than with other sections of workers,' writes Jones.

Now we do not need the IMG to tell us that the aim of the leaders of the 'New Model' unions was class collaboration with the employers. But this was never an absolute development, as Jones wishes to present it, but a relative one. However narrow the outlook of the craft union leaders, they remained at the head of working class organizations which at that period (the 1850s and 1860s) were unique in Europe.

And at a later stage, towards the end of the century, when international competition began to intensify and technical changes undermined partially at least the privileges of layers of the old 'labour aristocracy', many of the former 'New Model' unions were at the centre of crucial developments in the working class movement.

This was true of the ASE itself which from the 1890s allowed first semi-skilled and later unskilled workers into its ranks and was at the heart of the movement during World War I which saw the creation of the shop stewards' movement.

Again, what this IMG 'theoretician' ignores is the great impact which the emergence of imperialism had upon the working-class movement. The relations between the leaders of the New Model unions, the employers and the state could last only for that relatively brief period in which Britain enjoyed a monopoly position in world markets and production. He is therefore quite wrong when he states:

'For a really permanent servant inside the working class, the bourgeoisie was forced to wait until the late 1840s and the development of the classical labour aristocracy.'

No. The creation of a layer inside the leadership of the working-class movement who carry out policies inspired directly by the needs of capitalism was a product of imperialism. Reformism is not, in this sense, a product of the working class movement. From the onset of the imperialist epoch, the strength of reformism, its ability to retain its grip on the working class, depended upon the support it derived from the capitalist state, not from a

trend within the working class movement.

Reformism has drawn its strength from the exploitation by British capitalism of a vast pool of labour throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world. It is because this Empire has now disappeared and capitalism internationally is in deep crisis that all the reformists inside the working class movement are thrown closer and closer towards the capitalist state in service of its most direct needs.

Unlike Jones and his revisionist friends, Marx paid the greatest attention to the development of the British trade union movement.

While acutely conscious of its many weaknesses and limitations he realized always its great potential. Yet Jones is forced to slight Marx's entire work with the English trade union movement during the period of the First International. After the collapse of Chartism, there was a 'degeneration' in class consciousness, according to Jones.

'Even the brief interlude when some of the trade unions were involved with the First International did not really reflect any real change in attitude.' And later: 'The English trade unions affiliated to the International took no real political action however.'

Here again we see the idealist search for a 'perfect' working class. However 'confused' the union leaders were about the historical implications of the decision to found the International in 1864 (and such confusion was in any case an inevitable starting point) without the active support of the union leaders and members who affiliated to the International Marx would never have been able to defeat Bakunin and later draw the real lesson from the defeat of the 1871 Paris Commune.

It was in this period that the principle of the legal eight-hour day was made part of the policy of the International, a demand which provided the rallying call for the resurrection of the International (as the Second International) in 1889.

## DISMISSES

Jones' attitude to the struggle for Marxism inside the British working class movement is, if anything, even more reactionary. He dismisses as 'absurd' the politics of the Social Democratic Federation, which, from its foundation in 1884, remained the major Marxist organization in Britain. And despite its many grave defects and the splits which it experienced it still provided the major forces from which the British Communist Party was founded in 1920-1921.

Again we do not need Jones to lecture us about the sectarian weaknesses of the early British Marxist movement. But like all revisionists he wishes to transform these relative weaknesses into a fetish, again as part of his implicit acceptance of the fact that a re-

volutionary movement cannot be built by the British working class.

Engels, more than anybody, was only too well aware of the weaknesses of Hyndman and other SDF leaders; but this did not for a moment affect the patient way in which he tried to turn the young and inexperienced movement towards the unions and the working class as the only way in which its isolation could be overcome.

And whatever faults the SDF might have had it certainly played a leading role in the early developments of the great moves to unionize the unskilled (New Unionism) from the late 1880s onwards. People like Will Thorne who worked closely with both Engels and Marx's daughter Eleanor, were in the vanguard of those who fought successfully to turn the unions in the direction of politics and towards the creation of an independent workers' party.

As against today's revisionists like Jones we have everything in common with these early efforts of the Marxist movement. For the IMG, along with the International Socialists, are now engaged in policies designed to turn the working class AWAY from revolutionary politics towards the crassest forms of syndicalism, which if successful could only lead the working class to the most bitter defeats.

Instead he tries deliberately to underplay the role of the New Unionism and its role in the formation of the Labour Party. Thus while he waxes eloquent on the failings of the SDF he consciously misses out the main point of criticism which Engels levelled against this group—namely that they tended to stand aside from the efforts to establish a Labour Party.

While affiliating initially to the Labour Representation Committee, Hyndman and the SDF soon withdrew on the grounds that the unions who had joined in many cases did not accept socialist ends.

Jones 'misses out' this point because the whole politics of his group involve the same sectarian attitude today towards the Labour Party and a Labour government for which Engels criticized the SDF. It ill behoves Jones and the IMG to lecture the SDF for its sectarianism when a leading member of his group, Robin Blackburn, advised workers in the pages of 'Red Mole' to abstain in the General Election of June 1970.

But it is when we turn to the question of Stalinism that Jones plays his most pernicious and dangerous role.

Every worker must realize that the manner in which he treats Stalinism is no 'mistake' on the part of an individual. For the whole history of Trotskyism—for which the IMG spuriously claims to speak in Britain—has turned at every stage of its history on the theoretical and political struggle against Stalinism. The question of Stalinism is the question of the international working-class movement and has been ever since 1923-1924 when Trotsky and his supporters first took up the fight against it.

The training of a cadre of revolutionary fighters, either workers or intellectuals, now depends vitally upon educating them daily in the struggle on every question concerning the theory and practice of Stalinism. This is by no means a 'British' question.

The vilest part of Jones' entire article is the point near the end where he equates Stalinism and Bolshevism. . . . the structural relation between the working class and a Stalinist and Bolshevik party is different from the working class and a social and democratic party such as the Labour Party. This profoundly affects the political line of such organizations and determines to a considerable extent

the political struggle within them.'

Every Trotskyist will only feel a sense of revulsion that this renegade can equate Stalinism (the force which betrayed the Russian revolution and then proceeded to murder all those in Russia and internationally who defended that revolution) with Bolshevism (the force which made possible the 1917 revolution).

Here alone is living proof of the absolutely principled nature of the split within the Fourth International in 1953 when the International Committee (to which the Socialist Labour League is affiliated) broke from all those who wished to capitulate to Stalinism and destroy the theoretical basis of Trotskyism.

## COVER-UP

For Jones, the British Communist Party is not the product of international counter-revolution, the slavish servant of the Kremlin bureaucracy within the British working class movement, but merely a reflection of British conditions.

Given that the Labour Party's philosophy leads it to turn away from the fight for politics in the unions, a 'gap' is created which is filled, says Jones, by the Communist Party. 'At "the base" perhaps the most important effect of this entire structural situation has been how it has allowed a tiny and hopelessly reformist Communist Party such as the CPGB to survive as a significant force within the working class.'

And earlier: 'The British Road to Socialism conception of left unity in fact corresponds to the political practice and habits of several generations of CP militants.'

This is nothing but the crudest cover-up job for Stalinism. Jones knows that the 'British Road to Socialism' was a document specifically approved by Stalin. He also knows that the origin of the present politics of the British Communist Party stem from the international right turn made by Stalinism after the 1933 debacle in Germany and that these politics were not ones of 'left unity' but of counter-revolutionary 'popular frontism' with sections of the capitalist class in order to destroy any revolutionary developments in the working class.

This being the case his 'criticism' of British Stalinism as 'hopelessly reformist' is both fraudulent and inaccurate. Stalinism is not reformist, but consciously and deliberately counter-revolutionary.

Throughout his article Jones implicitly denies this. 'The relation of a Stalinist party to the working class means that its politics can be drastically affected by the state of the

struggle in the work place. The most dramatic example of this was in Renault in 1947 when the PCF (French Stalinism) had to change its entire strategic line because it feared being outflanked to the left in the industrial struggles within the company.'

And later on the same page: 'Because a CP is directly organized at the point of production, it also means that there is relatively little room for manoeuvre by a CP trade union leader in a Stalinist party . . . These features together create a situation where trade union leaders are directly under pressure of the working-class in struggle and like the CPs he must frame his policies accordingly.'

Here is the clearest example of the counter-revolutionary 'theory' of Pablistism to the effect that Stalinism can be 'pushed to the left' by the 'objective strength' of the working class.

Certainly the IMG have not failed to carry out this treacherous line in practice. Thus despite the fact that Jones sees Stalinism as 'hopelessly reformist' this has not prevented his organization from striving might and main to build up dishonestly the Stalinist-controlled Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions into the only body which is fighting the Tory anti-union laws.

In recent weeks the 'Red Mole' has written articles which have grossly exaggerated the support enjoyed by this body while at the same time deliberately ignoring the principled fight of the All Trades Unions Alliance, a fight which is winning more and more workers into its ranks.

It is becoming clearer to increasing numbers of workers that far from being pushed to the left by the strength of the working class, Stalinism moves closer and closer to imperialism all over the world. In Britain it is being consciously built up not merely by the revisionists but by organs of the capitalist state including the Press and BBC.

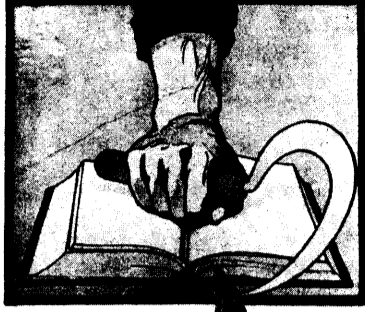
Jones' article is thus useful in one respect. It vividly illustrates the fact that the study of history is a battleground. The Socialist Labour League will give no quarter on any historical question to these revisionists distortions. For they involve not merely the past but the immediate future of the working class. Only the revolutionary movement can have a correct, that is revolutionary, relationship with history. The defence of the real history of the British and international working class is tied inseparably to the struggle of the Socialist Labour League to go forward and transform itself into a powerful revolutionary party.



A scene from the Pageant of working class history showing Frederick Engels and Karl Marx in the section which dealt with the formation of the First International.

# THE INTERNATIONAL BEFORE STALIN

## BOOK REVIEW



'The First Five Years of the Communist International.' Volume One. By Leon Trotsky. New Park Publications. Paperback, £1.50. Review by Tom Kemp.

A warm welcome and a wide circulation should be accorded to the first volume of Trotsky's speeches and articles for the Communist International which has been out of print for a number of years. This new edition also contains a number of items which have not been published in English before.

Lenin and Trotsky were agreed that the foundation of a new international was a priority task after the successful taking of power in Russia. It was necessary to rally revolutionary forces in all the main countries and assist their transformation into parties of a Bolshevik type.

The First Congress of the Communist International, the Third workers' international, was held in Moscow in March, 1919.

During the next five years, Trotsky was, next to Lenin, the leading figure in the Communist International. He wrote, or helped to draw up, the theses and resolutions which defined its tactics and strategy.

His speeches were among the most authoritative. Communists from many countries came to consult him about their problems and he played an important part in the formation and early history of a number of Communist Parties.

This volume contains Trotsky's contributions to the work of the International down to its Third Congress in 1921. In all there are 38

items, some only a few pages long while others are lengthy reports and theses adopted by the Congresses to which they were presented.

Trotsky deals with all the fundamental questions facing the international movement and takes up in detail the problems and differences of particular national sections. To give some idea of the key role which he played in the Communist International it may be noted that he wrote the Manifesto which the First Congress issued to the workers of the world, he also wrote the Manifesto of the Second Congress, gave the theoretically important report on the World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International to the Third Congress and wrote the Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern which the International subsequently adopted.

All these documents require careful study as part of the theoretical heritage of Marxism. The policies which they embody were accepted at the time by the entire communist movement. They had no place for the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country' which had not yet been invented, nor for 'peaceful roads' or 'parliamentary roads' to socialism which every Communist would recognize instantly as a revision of Marxism worthy of Kautsky and other renegades.

As Trotsky put it (p.83): 'The conceptions of proletarian revolution which prevailed in the Second International did not in reality transgress the framework of self-sufficient national capitalism. England, Germany, France, Russia were regarded as independent worlds moving in one and the same orbit towards socialism. The hour of the coming of socialism strikes when capitalism attains its utmost limits of maturity and thereby the bourgeoisie is compelled to surrender its place to the proletariat, as the builder of socialism. This nationally-limited conception of capitalist development provides the theoretical and psychological grounds of social-patriotism: "Socialists" of each country deem themselves duty-bound to defend the national state as the natural and self-sufficient foundation of socialist development.'

Here is Stalinism defined even before it appeared! This is the policy which the so-called 'Communist Parties' practise today. No wonder they hardly like to recall the early years of the Communist International or encourage their members to study its documents.

Trotsky goes on: 'But this conception is false to the core and profoundly reactionary. By becoming world wide, capitalist development thereby snapped those threads which in the past epoch bound the fate of the social revolution with the fate of one or another more highly developed capitalist country.'

If 'socialism in one country' was reactionary when applied to the advanced capitalist countries it was still more so when taken up by Stalin as a goal for backward and predominantly agrarian Russia.

Together with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Trotsky saw the Russian revolution as a blow at world capitalism and the beginning of the European revolution. To extend the revolution was the task of the Communist International, a task which it set out to fulfil by 'the building of revolutionary parties to lead the working class to power. The fate of the Russian revolution itself was bound up with, and subordinate to, this task.'

History decided that the revolution should come first in Russia: 'The revolutionary epoch burst in through the most weakly barricaded door'. But the priority of the Russian proletariat, all Communists believed at that time, was only temporary. They looked forward to the meeting of the Communist International in Berlin, Paris or London:

'A World Communist Congress in Berlin or Paris' as Trotsky said, 'would signify the complete triumph of the proletarian revolution in Europe and consequently throughout the world.'

However, for reasons which are explained in this volume, the revolution did not move ever - victoriously forward. Revolutionary parties were not built in time to take advantage of the immediate post-war revolutionary wave which reached its crest in 1919. Instead it began to ebb.

The old reformist leaderships retained their grip on a substantial part of the working class. The ruling class recovered from the blows of the



At the Second World Congress of the Third International in the summer of 1920. Left to right: Serrati, Trotsky, Levi, Zinoviev.

war and capitalism moved into a phase of temporary stabilization.

Trotsky analysed these developments with great clarity in the speeches and articles collected in this volume. From the analysis of objective trends the Third Congress was obliged to work out a new tactic which comprised, essentially, a turn to the masses through the United Front as a means of breaking the workers from their reformist leaders and building the party on a solid foundation.

In the course of his work for the Communist International Trotsky entered with great patience into the problems of the national sections with which he was best acquainted. He sought to win over those elements from the pre-war syndicalist movement whom he thought could be broken from their old conceptions. He warned against the dangers from the reformists who had come from the parties of the Second International.

A decade later Trotsky, equipped with this experience, was able to enter in the same way into the life of the sections of the Fourth International which were being built under much more disadvantageous conditions.

This volume covers a period of great historic importance in the history of the working class movement when it was presented with revolutionary opportunities of an unprecedented kind as a result of the crisis brought about by the imperialist war. It was the period which saw the foundation of a new international precisely to take advantage of those opportunities, led by Lenin, Trotsky and a generation of other outstanding Marxists.

The work of the Communist

International in its first five years made a vital contribution to the problem of building revolutionary parties in the advanced countries. But it is also necessary to understand why these parties were not built in time in order to learn the lessons from the errors and setbacks.

Only the Trotskyist movement carries on today the traditions of the heroic period of the Communist International. The Stalinists dare not print the resolutions and proceedings of its Congresses because they are a condemnation of its own revisionist betrayals. The leading figures in the International—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin—were to perish on Stalin's orders.

Stalin destroyed the Communist International just as he destroyed the Bolshevik Party. He first turned it into an instrument of the foreign policy of the bureaucracy, divesting it of its revolutionary character while conserving something of the old terminology. Finally, in 1943, he wound it up altogether in order to strengthen the alliance with the ruling classes of the United States and Britain.

The contrast between the theory and policy of the Communist International in the days of Lenin and Trotsky and under the control of Stalin is stark and revealing. In this volume we have the authentic voice of Communism speaking through Trotsky.

In the building of the revolutionary party today a study of the documents and resolutions of the Communist International before it became an instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy is indispensable. A start can be made with this new edition of Trotsky's own speeches and writings.

## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

we become run down,' said laird Lithgow to Glasgow businessmen.

'Why is it a mystery that militancy should be in the ascendancy when responsibility and power have been sundered one from another.

'We should be grateful to the militants for their warning. They have come close to reducing us to the state of a banana republic without the bananas.'

Lithgow then passed on to the question of basic rights and made it clear there were one or two he wants to see abolished.

'We must be willing to question what we have persuaded ourselves are sacred rights. He would be heretic who would suggest that no man has the right to strike. But that heretic can claim the right to work in this day and age when striking means preventing others from working.'

The rights in question, of course, hardly affect Lithgow who needs neither as the boss and owner of one of the largest shipbuilding complexes in the country.

## NO BANANAS

One of Britain's most powerful shipbuilding bosses has suggested that Britain is like a banana republic without the bananas.

Sir William Lithgow, head of the Scott Lithgow consortium on the lower Clyde recently got excited about the state of Britain and the subversives who undermine his stability as an employer.

'Subversion and militancy can be likened to a bacteria—always present in our system, but liable to take over when

A new English edition of the 'First Five Years of the Communist International' incorporating hitherto unpublished material from Volume XIII of Trotsky's 'Works'



## NEW EDITION

**The First Five Years of the Communist International**  
This first volume of Trotsky's writings and speeches for the Communist International covers the period of its first three Congresses when the post-war revolutionary upsurge reached its peak and then began to recede. It establishes, without fear of contradiction, the important role which he played in the foundation of this, the Third workers' International, and in the formation and early development of the French, German and Italian Communist Parties. At this time the theory of 'socialism in one country' had not been invented and Joseph Stalin was still a second-line Bolshevik leader who played no part in the international movement which he was later to pervert and eventually destroy.

Price: £1.50, 421 pages. Available from:  
**New Park Publications**  
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG  
or the Paperbacks Centre  
28 Charlotte Street, London, W1  
(Enclose 10p for postage)

# Providing a safety valve

**'Social Work'.** Jenny Barraclough. Tuesday April 24. BBC 1. **'Men at Work: Drudgery'.** Series editor Tony Mathews. Wednesday April 25. BBC 1.

MARY THE ALCOHOLIC with eight children in care and husband inside; Miss Holborn and her dog stinking in their refuse-strewn apartment; Mr McNally and his financial and family problems; the old blind woman who lives alone . . . all to one degree or another are casualties of our society.

Their numbers increase daily and as the pressure of their demands, spoken and unspoken, gathers momentum, the rest of the population—threatened from all quarters by economic, political and social crisis—pretends they do not exist.

Or, when forced to face them, they hand them over with vast relief into the apparently bottomless pit of compassion that the social worker is expected to sustain for the job.

Shoring up the holes and cracks in a sick and crazed society is a ghoulish business. And it requires an absolute 'faith' on the part of its workers in order to keep them going against a sea of difficulties.

Yet in a democratic, liberal environment, it is essential that the social services thrive to bring about the release of a great head of steam; they exist 'as dustbins for their [the rest of the populace] consciences' as one social worker put it succinctly.

The human waste is poured into the ever-open maw.

No one wants to know what becomes of these people, the dregs who own nothing, earn nothing and produce nothing. Yet the solicitous attentions of social service workers sustain the illusion that 'they are being cared for'.

The process is a gigantic farce and a distraction.

Even producer Jenny Barraclough tentatively raised the point that perhaps some other way should be found—that preventive measures might be taken.

The camera roved about the damp, miserable flats and worn faces with relish; we watched the social workers themselves locked to their telephones, showing the utmost concern and acting as ultimate guardians of the good of the state.

**Rose:** 'I think you have to be something of a judge and jury—otherwise you're better not in the job.'

**May:** (having turned over Mary's final and ninth child to court care) 'Sometimes a job turns out a little different than expected and that's good for you and your work—stops you getting too confident.'

The programme followed working-class Rose who, through persistence and undoubted hard work of the most praiseworthy kind, had reached a step in the ladder of social work. (It is now a reasonably esteemed profession and contains many of the promotional perks of any functioning industry in this country.)

We saw the enormous efforts to give aid to the needy, constantly overcast with despicable shades of morality and 'lady bountiful' attitudes which have prevailed through English history with its abominable puritan-liberal heritage, soup-kitchens, charities, helping the natives and, of course, always the needy poor.

We saw the abortive attempts to alleviate hardship in wretched housing, lack of food and decent conditions—all dealt with as

## Anne Blakeman's TV REVIEW

stemming from 'emotional' problems.

Sociology in its truest form; social services as they stand—all are nothing better than a kind of excrescence on the face of society since in the final analysis they merely bolster up capitalism and attempt only the most puny and ineffectual reforms.

All the zeal and dedication is, ultimately, meaningless and obscene in its misdirection.

But capitalism does not misdirect—these services are calculated and serve as safety valves to keep these people, mis-educated and dispersed.

ANOTHER finger stuck in the dyke can be seen in 'Men At Work: Drudgery'. The final pro-

gramme in this elevating series gave us the ins and outs of the 'job-enrichment' process that is becoming such an obsession in industry today.

Flow lines are being out-moded.

Instead of the dreadful monotony of moving one piece at a time on a production line; screwing one screw; guiding one wire, now there is the enriching business of putting several pieces together at once.

The management, covering up with fine words of concern, are obviously finding higher efficiency and production levels and cutting labour forces while at the same time, giving workers the illusion that they are entering into greater participation.

The slavery has been raised to a subtler level.

Everyone is pleased—except the worker, who soon subsides

back into boredom and apathy after the initial excitement of some petty change in the routine.

A cheery commentary by a worker who says he's an electrician's shop steward makes us all feel at home.

The obsequious and patronizing manner of the film only managed to illuminate the oppressive activities that persist in factories all over the country and which in quality seem to have changed remarkably little since the 19th century.

Not only has the BBC the gall to produce such stuff in all seriousness, but it also reminds us at the end of the programme that the thing is on sale from BBC Enterprises as out-and-out propaganda for management showings, no doubt during lunchbreaks or any other moment when workers might pause long enough to reflect dangerously that 'job enrichment' is not all it's cracked up to be, except where the profits are concerned.

## TODAY'S TV

### BBC 1

10.00 Magic roundabout. 10.05 Banana splits. 10.35 Steam horse. 11.00 Out of school. 12.30 Holi hynt. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Chigley. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05 Openline. 3.05 International ice skating. 3.35 Tomorrow's world. 4.00 Huckleberry hound. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Coal hole club. 5.15 You are there. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.50 TOP OF THE POPS.

7.25 STAR TREK. Requiem for Methuselah.

8.15 THE GOOD OLD DAYS. With Beryl Reid, Roy Castle, Lorna Dallas, Gino Donati, The Valla Bertini.

8.00 NEWS. Weather.

9.25 THE REGIMENT. Heat.

10.15 STARS OF THE YEAR. David Nixon introduces Danny La Rue, Charlie Williams, Freddie Davies, The New Seekers.

11.15 LATE NIGHT NEWS. Weather.

11.20 FILM: 'Man and His Mate'. Victor Mature, Carole Landis. Prehistoric monsters.

12.25 Weather.

### ITV

9.30 The Charlie Brown show. 9.55 Film: 'Sword of Sherwood Forest'. 11.20 Home of the blue water men. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Happy house. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Cuckoo in the nest. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 2.50 Racing from Kempton Park. 4.15 Cartoon. 4.20 Lassie. 4.50 Lift off with Ayshea. 5.20 Arnie. 5.50 News.

6.00 KIDS ABOUT TOWN.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 SKY'S THE LIMIT.

7.30 FBI. The Fraud.

8.30 WHO DO YOU DO?

9.00 JUSTICE. Covenant for Quiet Enjoyment.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 POLICE FIVE.

10.40 FILM: 'The Comedy Man'. Kenneth More. Down and out actors desperate for work.

12.10 CHURCHES ARE FOR PEOPLE.

12.15 JASON KING. A Thin Band of Air.

## REGIONAL

CHANNEL: 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Serenade. 2.50 London. 4.20 Flintstones. 4.50 London. 5.20 Junkin. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Report. 6.35 London. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.35 Film: 'The Hound of the Baskervilles'. 12.05 News, weather. WESTWARD. As Channel except: 10.00 Film: 'Boys Will Be Boys'. 11.20 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Sport. 10.32 News. 12.05 Faith for life. SOUTHERN: 10.05 Paulus. 10.20 Yoga. 10.45 Dr Simon Locke. 11.15 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 2.50 London. 4.15 Weekend. 4.25 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.35 Upper crusts. 7.05 Sky's the limit. 7.35 Cool million. 9.00 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: 'Corridors of Blood'. 12.10 News. 12.20 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 10.00 Sara and hoppy. 10.15 Nuts and bones. 10.25 Ice gala. 11.20 London. 2.30 Women. 2.50 London. 4.25 Rainbow country. 4.50 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Doctor in charge. 7.05 Film: 'The Pistolero of Red River'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Comedians. 11.00 Profile. 11.30 Our kid. 12.00 Dr Simon Locke. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25-4.50 Stesion cantamil. 6.01-6.18



Hollywood—the Dream Factory, BBC 1's movie series, presents a very young Victor Mature and Carole Landis in 'Man and His Mate' tonight.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

7.05 MISTRESS OF HARDWICK. Dangerous Alliance.

7.30 NEWS. Weather.

7.35 GARDENERS' WORLD.

8.00 MONEY AT WORK. The South African Connection. British firms in South Africa.

9.00 FILM: 'It Happened Here'. Pauline Murray, Sebastian Shaw, Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo's film about what it might have been like if the Germans had occupied Britain in World War II.

10.35 FILM NIGHT. Alan Price.

11.05 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

Y dydd. 10.30 Sports arena, 11.00 Outlook.

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

ANGLIA: 9.30 Royal Marines. 9.50 Paulus. 10.00 Animated classics. 10.50 Galloping gourmet. 11.15 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 2.50 London. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 London. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.30 Hawaii five-o. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.00 Film: 'Shock Treatment'.

ULSTER: 11.20 London. 1.29 News. 1.30 London. 4.23 News. 4.25 Rainbow country. 4.50 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 7.30 Pathfinders. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Spectrum. 11.00 Film: 'The Return of Mr Motto'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.55 Acres for profit. 11.15 London. 12.05 London. 4.20 Forest rangers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Police surgeon. 11.00 Film: 'Berserk'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.45 Ed Allen. 10.05 Gilbert and Sullivan. 10.50 Dr Simon Locke. 11.20 London. 4.25 Flintstones. 4.50 London. 5.20 Me and the chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.30 Who do you do? 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Roman Spring of Mrs Stone'. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 Enchanted house. 9.40 Gilbert and Sullivan. 10.30 Galloping gourmet. 10.55 Spiderman. 11.20 London. 4.25 Joe 90. 4.50 London. 5.15 Dick Van Dyke. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.20 Sky's the limit. 6.50 Film: 'One of Our Spies is Missing'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Kick off. 10.55 Film: 'Double Bunk'. 12.40 Spyforce.

TYNE TEES: 9.20 Religion. 9.30 Enchanted house. 9.45 Arthur. 10.10 Felix the cat. 10.20 Cowboy in Africa. 11.10 How life begins. 12.05 London. 2.30 Yoga. 2.50 London. 4.25 Woobinda. 4.55 London. 5.20 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 5.45 Cartoon. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Who do you do? 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Parrish'. 12.35 News. 12.40 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 10.00 Seven seas. 10.45 Batman. 11.15 London. 2.30 Dateline. 2.50 London. 4.10 Serenade. 4.25 Nanny and the professor. 4.50 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 London. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Friday night. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Film: 'The Pot Carriers'.

GRAMPIAN: 11.20 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 Dick Van Dyke. 2.30 London. 4.10 Let's face it. 4.35 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'California Conquest'. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Job look. 10.35 Greig. 11.20 Theatre of stars. 12.05 Meditation.

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# Holiday pay fight at Perkins

SHOP STEWARDS at the Perkins diesel engine factories in Peterborough yesterday accused management of 'deliberate provocation' in their threat to withhold Easter holiday pay because of their members' overtime ban.

A stewards' spokesman said this was the feeling of all 6,000 workers in the factories, and that some assembly workers had sought legal advice on the issue.

The workers have banned

overtime after rejecting a company offer of £2 in reply to their claim for parity with much higher paid Massey-Ferguson workers in Coventry, now part of the same combine.

The company offer is in line with Phase Two of the Tory pay laws.

Perkins retaliated by withdrawing their guarantee of employment from the workers.

On Tuesday the company threatened not to backdate the £2 to April 1, when the old pay agreement in the factories ran out, unless the unions accepted it by the end of this month.

Then it followed up by saying that because of the overtime ban holiday pay for Good Friday and Easter Monday would be withheld from 1,000 workers who had to be laid off on Tuesday.

Production was halted on Wednesday when 60 key assembly workers held a meeting to protest against this declaration.

It was there the decision to seek legal advice was taken.

The stewards' spokesman said yesterday that it was now up to the company to make the next move.

'We have at all times been

available to work our normal, basic 40 hours as per our contracts of employment,' he said. 'The question we are asking now is: are they trying to force us all outside the gate?'

'We have put these issues in procedure and we are now waiting to see whether the company has just been attempting to bluff us.'

He commented that the management's attitude had apparently been stiffened by the feeling that the union leaders of other sections who had been in conflict with the pay laws were backing down.

## Work-to-rule walk-out at Basildon

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

RADIATOR assembly at Ford's Basildon, Essex, tractor factory was hit yesterday when 90 day-shift workers walked out in sympathy with a man disciplined for taking part in the union-backed work-to-rule over pay.

Similar action had been taken by 70 night-shift workers from the same section. In both cases the walk-out also involved a protest against men who failed to take part in similar action last week.

Elsewhere in the combine yesterday, however, things remained relatively quiet in advance of next Thursday's meeting of convenors and union officials to review progress in their campaign against Ford's £2.40, government-controlled pay offer.

AN ASSEMBLY worker dismissed for alleged poor workmanship at Halewood has been taken back—but under conditions of a 'final warning'.

Ford's yesterday denied workers' allegations of a 'toughening up' of their disciplinary procedures in an attempt to break their resistance to the £2.40 offer.

A spokesman claimed discipline cases had been only apparently on the increase in recent weeks, and that this was because the company had 'bent over backwards' in the early stages to avoid trouble.

He admitted, however, that it was unlikely workers would accept this explanation.

## Rubery Owen strikers meet today

STRIKERS at the Rubery Owen factories in the Midlands will be meeting today to hear a report-back from 'explanatory talks' yesterday afternoon on their four-week battle against a Measured-Day Work-type pay scheme.

The strike, which has been made official by the Transport and General Workers' Union and the engineers' union, is now biting deeply into car, truck and tractor production.

Rubery Owen produces wheels, chassis frames, petrol tanks and other components vital to a number of the big Midlands vehicle factories.

Six hundred Massey Ferguson tractor workers, who were sent home soon after the dispute at Rubery's started, remained laid off yesterday.

One thousand eight hun-

dred Jaguar workers were laid off.

XJ6 production is at a standstill and E-type production is expected to dry up at the weekend.

British-Leyland has now laid off 3,000 workers at Longbridge and Castle Bromwich, Birmingham.

Mini production is at a standstill and 800 workers are laid off at the Rover factory, Solihull.

The Triumph and Chrysler car plant in Coventry was said to be keeping a close watch on component supplies.

Rubery Owen claims it has promised compensation to make sure no one loses from the MDW-type system it wants to introduce, but the 2,500 strikers insist that in some cases it will mean an eventual £12-a-week wage-cut.



Rubery Owen workers' previous mass meeting

## Extradition case will bring UDA onto streets

THE RIGHT-WING Ulster Defence Association has threatened to take to the streets in Northern Ireland this weekend over a Londonderry man who faces extradition to the Irish Republic on a double murder charge.

The man—a UDA member—is Robert William Taylor (18), whose home is in the Protestant Waterside district of Londonderry.

Police from the Republic have been granted an extradition order for Taylor in connection with the murder of a man and a

SEAMEN'S union negotiators have recommended the executive to accept the shipowners' increased pay offer of £8.10 a month to the able seamen's basic rate, raising it to £94.20 a month.

woman just across the border in Co Donegal last New Year's Day. Taylor's appeal against the order is due to be heard in Belfast next week.

The UDA council yesterday announced that it would start its demonstration by disrupting traffic in Belfast and Londonderry and that its members will resume the wearing of masks.

## Uruguayan unions' rights are curbed

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE URUGUAYAN government is pushing through legislation to curb trade union rights as well as to make anyone having 'sympathies' with the Tupamaros guerrillas liable to six years' imprisonment.

The proposed laws have no precedent in the history of a

country which was once held up as a model of democracy.

The law will be a blow to the 500,000 strong Convention Nacional De Trabajadores which in February expressed 'more points of agreement than disagreement' with the programme imposed on President Bordaberry by the military.

## Toolroom men hear Pay Board report

THE 211 GEC Coventry tool-makers meet today as their strike enters its fifth week. The strike, which is official, is over a demand for a £2.88 a week wage offer to be paid in 12 monthly increments.

The firm has adamantly refused negotiations on this. It has declared that payment by this method would be outside Phase

Two of the government's state pay laws and is inflationary.

A letter on this issue from a Mrs Collinbridge, a Pay Board official, is to be read to the strikers.

Toolroom stewards met this official ten days ago.

The GEC strikers have asked a meeting of toolroom stewards to organize financial levies in their factories.

But they must see that as far as the Tory government is concerned, Phase Two is in itself a wage-cut and the intention for the future is a new law against the background of ever soaring prices.

The toolroom strike can only progress further by district action against the company and the government.

### All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

GLASGOW (Engineers' and Shipyard Workers' meeting): Saturday April 28, 10 a.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall. 'Make Scanlon retract'.

BIRKENHEAD: Sunday April 29, 3 p.m. 'Chester Arms', Hamilton Street (near tunnel entrance).

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. Room 2, Adeyfield Hall, Queens Square. 'Defend Basic Democratic Rights'.

EAST LONDON: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E.3. All out May 1! Force the TUC to call a General Strike!

WANDSWORTH: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. 'Kings Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Trotskyism and Stalinism'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Report back from May Day'.

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. 'The Bell', Hoe Street. 'Report back from May Day'.

WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Report Back from May Day'.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, S.E.18. 'Report back from May Day'.

FELTHAM: Thursday May 3, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', Feltham High Street, Feltham, Middlesex. 'The Fight against the Tories after May Day'.

BRIXTON: Monday May 7, 8 p.m. Control Room, Brixton Training Centre. 'Report back from May Day'.

LEWISHAM: Monday May 7, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opp. New Cross Station. 'The role of the TUC in the fight against the Tories'.

BATTERSEA: Tuesday May 8, 8 p.m. 'Nags Head', cnr. Wandsworth Road and North Street. 'Report back from May Day'.

### All Trades Unions Alliance Public Meetings

## What next after the miners' ballot? The fight against the Tory government

DONCASTER Monday April 30, 8 p.m. White Bear Hotel, Hailgate.

Speaker: Mike Banda (SLL Central Committee).

KNOTTINGLEY: Thursday May 3, 7.30 p.m. Railway Hotel, Hilltop.

Speaker: G. Healy (National Secretary SLL).

OLLERTON: Monday May 7, 8 p.m. Blue Tit.

Speaker: Mike Banda (SLL Central Committee).

BARNESLEY: Thursday May 10, 8 p.m. Masons Arms.

Speaker: Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee).

CASTLEFORD: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Sagar St Rooms.

Speaker: G. Healy (National Secretary SLL).

### SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE MEETINGS

Make Scanlon retract!  
No collaboration with the Industrial Relations Act!

No acceptance of Phase Two!

Force the Tories to resign!

Build the revolutionary party!

### Luton

FRIDAY APRIL 27 8 p.m.

Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road

### East London

SUNDAY APRIL 29 7.30 p.m.

Abbey Hall, Axe Street (Behind Barking town hall)

### Sheffield

WEDNESDAY MAY 2 7.30 p.m.

'Grapes Inn' Trippett Lane

Speaker: Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

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£2.40 pay offer is disallowed

# Brewery workers are bitter over Pay Board's intervention

BY DAVID MAUDE

**WATNEY MANN strikers at three London breweries yesterday reacted bitterly to the intervention of the Pay Board in their dispute.**

At all three—Whitechapel, Mortlake and Isleworth—determined picketing backed up their demand for guaranteed overtime pay.

Talks with the company on this demand are expected to take place today.

Jack Barnard, craft unions senior steward at Mortlake, condemned Watney's attempts to cause a split among the 800 strikers.

'We're all Watney Mann workers, all employed by Maxwell Joseph,' he said. (Joseph's Grand Metropolitan Hotels group recently took over the powerful brewery chain.)

'This dispute is over an agreement that affects all of us, so everyone's involved.'

The Pay Board has advised Watney Mann that a £2.40 increase it sought permission to implement from April 1 would exceed the limits allowed under Phase Two of the Tory pay laws.

So the strike leaders are demanding the company withdraw five 'strings' agreed in a pay deal last July—and that it guarantee five hours overtime pay a week to all those on strike, even if these are not worked.

Said Jack Barnard: 'We're extremely bitter about the Pay Board's intervention, but it's obvious we can't defeat the Board on our own.'

'What's required to do that is

**DOCKS** leaders of the T&GWU yesterday decided to campaign against the growth of the 'casual', supplementary register in Britain's ports.

No decision was taken, however, on an immediate re-call of the union's national docks delegates conference to discuss the National Ports' Council report on unregistered ports. But it was understood that such a conference would be called soon once the report had been discussed in the areas.

united action throughout every section of workers throughout the country. Obviously we're looking to May Day in this connection, but we have to look beyond May Day as well.'

Hughie Wilson, a shop steward at Whitechapel, said the fight had to continue.

'As far as I'm concerned this must go on to the end,' he said. 'If we lose this one we've lost everything.'

# Share prices in Wall St fall

BY JOHN SPENCER

SHARE prices are falling sharply across the board on the New York Stock Exchange amid fears that the US government will intervene to deflate the economy and put an end to the artificial boom.

Since the beginning of the week the Dow-Jones industrial average index has shed nearly 40 points. On Wednesday it closed at 930.54, compared to Monday's opening level of 963.10.

This figures hides the true extent to which the share market has dropped in the past four days. The more broadly-based common stock index registered the tenth largest daily decline in its history on Wednesday.

Announcements that company

profits are up by nearly a quarter on last year's have failed to stem the slide. The market operators are well aware that these figures largely register the tearaway inflation racking the US economy.

The big money operators of the New York exchange have been frightened by the news that inflation is putting nearly 10 per cent a year on consumer prices and by fears that the Nixon government will have to impose tax increases.

Earlier this week, Herbert Stein, of the President's Council of Economic Advisers dropped a broad hint that increases in taxation are on the way to try and 'cool down' inflation.

Such a measure could finally put an end to the artificial boom, bringing about a wave of selling on Wall Street and sending share prices over a cliff-edge.

## Print ballot against May Day

MEMBERS of the National Graphical Association, the craft workers in the printing and newspaper industry, have voted decisively against taking strike action on May 1.

The result, announced yesterday at a ballot of the membership on whether there should be strike action was:

In favour 20,386; against 46,755.

The 67,141 votes cast represented a ballot of 81 per cent.

An official of the NGA said: 'This means our members will be reporting for work on May 1.'

In spite of this decision by the NGA members, there is little possibility of the national newspapers and many provincial papers publishing on May Day.

The other print unions have decided to call out their members on a one-day strike during periods which will prevent the publication of morning papers and evening papers on May 1.

TWENTY members of the AUEW—from government installations at Harwell, Aldermaston, Warminster and Bicester—yesterday sought an injunction in the High Court declaring Tuesday's May Day strike illegal.

They applied for an order that the union's president, Mr Hugh Scanlon, and a number of local officers withdraw strike notices issued to members.

● South Wales miners have voted overwhelmingly for the May Day strike. Fifty pits are expected to be idle.

In a ballot, the miners voted in favour of the strike by 23,000 to fewer than 4,000.

They will now form the bulk of the Cardiff May Day rally which will be attended by dockers from South Wales ports, engineers, shopworkers and hospital workers.

# CLYDE LAY-OFFS

FROM PAGE ONE

This is the most serious crisis on the upper Clyde since Govan Shipbuilders and Marathon took over from UCS last autumn.

The main obstacle is resistance by the boilermakers' union over the retraining of general workers and craftsmen as steel trade workers.

The firms claim that the settlement reached last autumn pro-

vided for this breakdown of craft barriers.

They say they do not have jobs for craftsmen other than men who do boilermakers work building oil-rigs.

These redundancies represent a direct challenge to the original pledge by the former UCS Shop Stewards' Co-ordinating Committee, led by Communist Party members James Reid and James Airlie, that 'not a man would go down the road'.

working class throughout the world.

We ask you all, therefore, dear readers, to back us up all the way. We are sure you would like us to keep sending Workers Press reporters to other countries to bring the latest news of the international labour movement. Help us then complete our Fund this month. Try where possible to give extra amounts. Rush every donation immediately to:

Workers Press  
April Appeal Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG

YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# MAY DAY

DEMONSTRATE TUES. MAY 1<sup>ST</sup>



DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS  
BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

LONDON: Assemble: 6 p.m. Speakers Corner, Marble Arch. Meeting: 8 p.m. St Pancras Assembly Rooms. Speakers: G. HEALY (SLL Nat Sec), MAUREEN BAMBRICK (YS Nat Sec). Premiere showing of Pageant film.

SCOTLAND: Assemble: 10 a.m. Blythwood Square, Glasgow. Meeting: 7.30 p.m. Woodside Halls, St George's Cross. Speakers: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee) GORDON BAILEY (YS Nat Committee). Premiere showing of Pageant film.

NORTH EAST: Assemble: 12.30 p.m. Hebburn Civic Centre. Meeting: 7.30 p.m. Civic Centre, Jarrow. Speakers: CLIFF SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Committee), GARY GURMEET (Editor Keep Left). Premiere showing of Pageant film.

WALES: Assemble: 5.30 p.m. Caedraw School, Merthyr. Meeting: 7.30 p.m. Caedraw School, Merthyr. Speakers: ROY BATTERSBY, KIKI OBERMER (Young Socialists).

NORTH WEST: Assemble 10 a.m. Islington, Liverpool. Meeting: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Liverpool. Speakers: CORIN REDGRAVE, SARAH HANNIGAN (Keep Left editorial board). Premiere showing of Pageant film.

YORKSHIRE: Assemble: 12 noon Garden of Rest, near Leeds Town Hall. Meeting: 7.30 p.m. Guildford Hotel, Headrow. Speakers: ROY BULL (Workers Press editorial board), DAVE BIRD (YS National Committee).

MIDLANDS: Assemble 11 a.m. Digbeth, Civic Hall, Birmingham. Meeting: 7.30 p.m. Assembly Hall, Digbeth. Speakers: STEPHEN JOHNS (Workers Press editorial board), JOHN SIMMANCE (Young Socialists).

APRIL FUND NOW £1,014.04

A GOOD post yesterday of £183,33 brought our fund up to £1,014.04. But don't rest back yet. We still have only four more days to raise our target of £1,750. There is no more time to lose.

Every ounce of your support is needed this month. We feel that a great achievement has been to send our news editor, Alex Mitchell, to Japan to give on-the-spot reports of the major events taking place there.

This, of course, has cost extra money, but we thought it important to have this special coverage to show the developments taking place amongst the