

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY MARCH 29, 1972 ● No. 726 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## ENGINEERS' PAY CLAIM

# MORE SITES SIT-IN

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

THE Manchester engineering area has erupted into pitched battle as workers occupy one factory after another in defence of their claim for better pay and conditions.

Today further occupations are expected throughout the area as the employers continue their policy of systematically suspending workers as the work-to-rule and overtime ban take effect.

Over 3,500 workers have been occupying six plants after management attempts to lock them out. They were joined late yesterday by 400 workers at English Steel, Openshaw.

Convenor Norman White said: 'The firm made us no offer at all. They mumbled something about a pay rise, but said that our recent £2 domestic increase would be taken into account. They made no offer at all on hours or holidays.'

'The lads were not prepared to accept this so we're sitting in.'

The latest device used against sit-in strikes is legal action.

Twenty-two workers at Sharston Engineering, Cheadle, could face forcible eviction from a court case brought against them by management in the Preston High Court today. (See p. 12)

This is a test case. If the three Sharston directors get the necessary sanction to use police to break the occupation other Manchester employers could follow suit.

Yesterday, John Tocher, Manchester district organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that unions would try to mount a mass picket around the factory if the workers face an attack of this kind.

A spokesman for the men inside Sharston said their spirits were high.

'We are determined to stick this one out. We are not going on to the dole,' he said.

The men barricaded themselves in after management replied to the claim with a decision to close the factory permanently.

Mr Tocher said yesterday that

he was 'well pleased' with the struggle so far for a £4 wage increase, a 35-hour week, longer holidays and a move towards equal pay for women.

An escalation of union action would depend, he said, on the course of events.

'At big firms like Mirrlees and Bredbury Steel the workers are strong enough to fight for themselves. It is the smaller places like Sharston where men need most help.'

The employers' strategy is to get workers in selected Manchester factories to agree to deals which do not involve shorter hours or longer holidays. A number of these have already been signed.

Union policy is to apply maximum pressure throughout the district to get firms to agree to all points of the claim.

So far one firm—Scragg's of Macclesfield—have conceded on the four points and the unions are in negotiation with several others.

The claim, estimated at 20 per cent, would drive a massive hole through the Tory pay policy and the government and employers nationally are watching every move of the Manchester battle.

The local employers' association—with the enthusiastic backing of the EEF nationally—has formed itself into 16 'action centres'.

These are groups of about 20 companies each, which meet to plan common tactics for the struggle.

Their first aim is always to split their work forces with threats of unemployment. If this fails, lock-outs follow.

● SEE LATE NEWS

## OCCUPATION TABLE

FIRM	NO OF WORKERS OCCUPYING	TOWN/DISTRICT
Mirrlees	2,000	Stockport
Bredbury Steel (GKN)	1,000	Stockport
Laurence Scotts	500	Openshaw
Davies and Metcalfe	130	Stockport
Peart Engineering	110	Hyde
Sharston Engineering	22	Cheadle
English Steel (British Steel Corporation)	400	Openshaw



No they're not going on holiday. These night-shift workers from Peart's Engineering, Hyde, Cheshire, are going on duty—sit-in duty at the occupied factory.

## ALL THE STRUGGLE IS HERE

THEY ARE ONLY a small group of workers, but these men at Peart's Engineering, Hyde, Cheshire, symbolize everything the greater Manchester engineers are struggling for and against.

The occupation in this bleak cotton and manufacturing town began at 8.30 a.m. when the men gathered in a bunch at the end of the shop. They told management they were working to rule and wanted their minimum rate of £25 a week. The reply was a threat

to slash their wage to £19 if the action was continued.

The men began a sit-in. Heat and lighting was turned off and eventually management locked their employees inside the factory.

My first verbal contact with them was through a bolted door—the workers could neither get in nor out.

Eventually it was opened at 10 p.m. to let the night shift in. They are pictured (above) ready to camp out on a bitter cold night.

Outside in Hyde the snow

and sleet swept the hills. Inside the freezing plant, in total darkness, the engineers began their long battle for a decent wage.

Management has made no offer whatsoever to their 110 employees. When they met workers to tell them this, they also put 42 men on short time.

'We will continue this action until we win our just claim. If the firm can't afford to give us a decent standard of living, we're better off on the dole,' a workers' spokesman told me.

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY MARCH 29, 1972 ● No. 726 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## ENGINEERS' PAY CLAIM

# MORE SITES SIT-IN

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

**THE Manchester engineering area has erupted into pitched battle as workers occupy one factory after another in defence of their claim for better pay and conditions.**

Today further occupations are expected throughout the area as the employers continue their policy of systematically suspending workers as the work-to-rule and overtime ban take effect.

Over 3,500 workers have been occupying six plants after management attempts to lock them out. They were joined late yesterday by 400 workers at English Steel, Openshaw.

Convenor Norman White said: 'The firm made us no offer at all. They mumbled something about a pay rise, but said that our recent £2 domestic increase would be taken into account. They made no offer at all on hours or holidays.'

'The lads were not prepared to accept this so we're sitting in.'

The latest device used against sit-in strikes is legal action.

Twenty-two workers at Sharston Engineering, Cheadle, could face forcible eviction from a court case brought against them by management in the Preston High Court today. (See p. 12)

This is a test case. If the three Sharston directors get the necessary sanction to use police to break the occupation other Manchester employers could follow suit.

Yesterday, John Tocher, Manchester district organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that unions would try to mount a mass picket around the factory if the workers face an attack of this kind.

A spokesman for the men inside Sharston said their spirits were high.

'We are determined to stick this one out. We are not going on to the dole,' he said.

The men barricaded themselves in after management replied to the claim with a decision to close the factory permanently.

Mr Tocher said yesterday that

he was 'well pleased' with the struggle so far for a £4 wage increase, a 35-hour week, longer holidays and a move towards equal pay for women.

An escalation of union action would depend, he said, on the course of events.

'At big firms like Mirrlees and Bredbury Steel the workers are strong enough to fight for themselves. It is the smaller places like Sharston where men need most help.'

The employers' strategy is to get workers in selected Manchester factories to agree to deals which do not involve shorter hours or longer holidays. A number of these have already been signed.

Union policy is to apply maximum pressure throughout the district to get firms to agree to all points of the claim.

So far one firm—Scragg's of Macclesfield—have conceded on the four points and the unions are in negotiation with several others.

The claim, estimated at 20 per cent, would drive a massive hole through the Tory pay policy and the government and employers nationally are watching every move of the Manchester battle.

The local employers' association—with the enthusiastic backing of the EEF nationally—has formed itself into 16 'action centres'.

These are groups of about 20 companies each, which meet to plan common tactics for the struggle.

Their first aim is always to split their work forces with threats of unemployment. If this fails, lock-outs follow.

● SEE LATE NEWS

## OCCUPATION TABLE

FIRM	NO OF WORKERS OCCUPYING	TOWN/DISTRICT
Mirrlees	2,000	Stockport
Bredbury Steel (GKN)	1,000	Stockport
Laurence Scotts	500	Openshaw
Davies and Metcalfe	130	Stockport
Peart Engineering	110	Hyde
Sharston Engineering	22	Cheadle
English Steel (British Steel Corporation)	400	Openshaw



No they're not going on holiday. These night-shift workers from Peart's Engineering, Hyde, Cheshire, are going on duty—sit-in duty at the occupied factory.

## ALL THE STRUGGLE IS HERE

**THEY ARE ONLY** a small group of workers, but these men at Peart's Engineering, Hyde, Cheshire, symbolize everything the greater Manchester engineers are struggling for and against.

The occupation in this bleak cotton and manufacturing town began at 8.30 a.m. when the men gathered in a bunch at the end of the shop. They told management they were working to rule and wanted their minimum rate of £25 a week. The reply was a threat

to slash their wage to £19 if the action was continued.

The men began a sit-in. Heat and lighting was turned off and eventually management locked their employees inside the factory.

My first verbal contact with them was through a bolted door—the workers could neither get in nor out.

Eventually it was opened at 10 p.m. to let the night shift in. They are pictured (above) ready to camp out on a bitter cold night.

Outside in Hyde the snow

and sleet swept the hills. Inside the freezing plant, in total darkness, the engineers began their long battle for a decent wage.

Management has made no offer whatsoever to their 110 employees. When they met workers to tell them this, they also put 42 men on short time.

'We will continue this action until we win our just claim. If the firm can't afford to give us a decent standard of living, we're better off on the dole,' a workers' spokesman told me.

## Police cordon around publisher's funeral

THE BODY of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, the millionaire left-wing publisher, found in a mysterious dynamite explosion near Milan two weeks ago, was taken secretly to Milan cemetery early yesterday for burial.

Police would not confirm that the body had left the mortuary until nearly three hours after its departure.

It had been the object of an extensive post-mortem examination to establish cause of death.

The hearse was escorted by four police cars and a car containing Feltrinelli's close relatives and friends.

On Monday Milan magistrates refused permission for a funeral procession through Milan, claiming it would provoke incidents by political extremists.

At the cemetery itself there was a large police cordon and only family, close friends and journalists were allowed to approach the graveside.

## Bigger role for Spain

FASCIST Spain should have a bigger role in western defence, President Nixon told a White House gathering on Monday night.

'Spain is a European and Mediterranean power and has a role to play in the deliberations that have impact on those two areas,' Nixon said.

'My administration continues to encourage closer Spanish relations with the rest of W Europe and supports an increased role for Spain in western defence.'

Spain, which is not a member of NATO, has close military ties with the US. Under a bilateral alliance, US forces are stationed in Spain and the US gives considerable military aid to General Franco.

# WHAT WE THINK

## 'MORNING STAR' PLAYS DOWN NIRC

TODAY the trade union movement faces its first major challenge under the Tories' Industrial Relations Act, when a Lancashire road-transport firm seeks to have the Transport and General Workers' Union declared in contempt of court. If the union is found to be in contempt it could face an unlimited fine or its leaders could be sent to prison.

The task of a socialist newspaper is to rouse, educate and prepare the working class for the struggles ahead. It must at all times tell the truth about the situation facing the working class.

In reporting the challenge facing the T&GWU yesterday, the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' for the umpteenth time betrayed that responsibility. Readers were told—deep in the paper's last news page—that the union had been declared 'within its rights' in staying away from the National Industrial Relations Court.

The words are those of Sir John Donaldson, NIRC president. They were uttered during his judgement on applications from Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd and Bishop's Wharf Ltd, of Warrington. But what the 'Star' did not report is the context in which they were said.

As Workers Press told its readers in the first para-

graph of a prominently-displayed article, Donaldson went on to warn of possible proceedings for contempt of court if the union continued to stay away. Within a few hours of our going to press those proceedings had started.

It is no accident that the 'Star' plays down the story. Neither can it be explained as a 'mistake', some slip-up in its news gathering or editing process.

There are good political reasons why the Stalinists of the CP misinform the working class about the threats which face it.

Having helped the union leaders abandon the fight against the Industrial Relations Act last year, they must now seek to cover up the consequences of their actions. To continue peddling their vicious policy of the peaceful road to socialism, they must disarm workers in the face of the authoritarian threat.

To provide a cover for the reformist union leaders' current attempts to cuddle up to the Tories they must lie, lie and lie again.

All this is entirely in line with the history of Stalinist betrayal in every country in the world. If allowed to continue its consequences will be equally bloody in Britain . . . and in Ulster. The 'Morning Star' pursues reformist policies which can only lead to the defeat and political disarming of the working class.

## Smith bans ANC cards

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE Rhodesian government has banned the African National Council (ANC) from issuing membership cards—only hours after the Council had announced a big recruitment campaign.

The ban could be a prelude to outlawing the Council, which has campaigned against the Smith-Home settlement terms and enjoys wide support among the country's 5 million Africans.

A government statement said

the President, Clifford Dupont, had decided that membership cards for the ANC, or any publication which purported to be a membership card, should be prohibited.

The government was of the opinion that the membership cards would become 'weapons of intimidation' if issued now. The first batch of 60,000 cards were seized by security police from the ANC headquarters, a council spokesman said.

'I suppose they thought the issuing of the cards would lead to trouble—I don't really know,' the ANC spokesman said.

'But I can only repeat what we said earlier that we intended to conduct this membership campaign peacefully.'

The government statement issued on Monday night said since the date of its inception, the ANC had made extensive use of persons well-known for their associations with organizations banned for terrorism, violence, intimidation, subversion and rioting.

A statement from the ANC later condemned the ban as a 'Barbaric and cowardly act,' adding that it was common knowledge that all members of the ruling Rhodesian Front carried membership cards.

'In spite of these obstacles placed in our way, we shall not waver from mobilizing our people to continue their just struggle for self-determination,' the statement said.

## Dutch boycott Spanish ships

NETHERLANDS transport workers are to boycott all Spanish ships entering the ports of Rotterdam or Amsterdam this week.

The boycott is in solidarity with the Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which has called for a one-week campaign against Spanish ships to protest against recent incidents in the Spanish port of El Ferrol.

Two people were killed in El Ferrol earlier this month in clashes with police after a shipyard walkout.

Last week the Dutch Metal Workers' Union decided to boycott any Spanish ships in Holland for shipyard repairs in the course of this week.

## Chile 'plot' right winger arrested

BY JOHN SPENCER

A RETIRED army general was placed under close arrest in Santiago yesterday, accused of involvement in a frustrated right-wing plot to overthrow Chile's Popular Unity regime at the weekend.

The government announced in a brief communiqué late Monday night the plot had been foiled.

It said the attempt was organized by the extreme right-wing 'Fatherland and Freedom' organization to coincide with a march by middle-class women planned for Friday evening. The march was banned by the government and did not take place.

Police raided a number of 'Fatherland and Freedom' organization branches, uncovering arms caches. Its president and general secretary were charged with violating internal security laws.

Yesterday retired general Alberto Green was detained and a warrant issued for the arrest of retired army Major Arturo Marshall. The government claims that serving officers 'rejected approaches made to them by the conspirators, but we have only their word for it'.

The Popular Unity regime in Chile—a coalition of Radicals, Social-Democrats and Stalinists, headed by reformist parliamentarian Salvador Allende—is the chief source of the danger of a right-wing coup.

It is a colossal political fraud carried out at the expense of the Chilean masses. Far from carrying forward the revolutionary aspirations of the Chilean workers and peasants, the Popular Unity regime did its best to break the copper miners' strike for higher wages, and turned its troops on peasants who occupied the land.

It came to power in November 1970 promising socialism by the 'peaceful road'. Allende and the Communist Party entered a cynical government alliance with the so-called 'left' wing of the Chilean exploiters, expressed politically through the Radical Party. They proclaimed this to be an alliance between the middle class and the workers.

The Popular Front regime in pre-war France made similar claims. Trotsky wrote in 'Whither France':

'The elementary axiom of Marxist strategy reads that the alliance between the proletariat and the little men of the city and

country can only be realized in the irreconcilable struggle against the traditional representation of the petty bourgeoisie.

'In order to attract the peasant to the side of the workers, it is necessary to tear the peasant away from the Radical politician, who subjects the peasant to financial capital.

'In contradistinction to this, the people's front, the conspiracy between the labour bureaucracy and the worst political exploiters of the middle classes, is capable only of killing the faith of the masses in the revolutionary road and of driving them into the arms of the fascist counter-revolution.'

The Allende regime is not a road to socialism but an ante-chamber to decisive class struggles. Allende tries to balance between the reactionary Stalinist and trade-union bureaucracy and the pressure of US imperialism and the Chilean bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, backed by the CIA and the big American companies (US columnist Jack Anderson has revealed that International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation was plotting, even in 1970, to keep Allende out of office) the Chilean employers have been preparing to dispense with Allende's services.

Faced with huge foreign debts and a sharp decline in world prices for copper, the staple export, Allende's Popular Unity government is in deep crisis. His talk of the 'peaceful road' disarms and lulls the working masses at a time of danger. But the Chilean reactionaries have still to defeat the decisive and strongly organized sectors of the labour movement.

This will not be done by a few thousand middle-class housewives marching through Santiago. Neither will the fascists be defeated by the corrupt and compromised bourgeois state machine with its police and armed forces. What will decide is the development of revolutionary leadership to take the working class forward to the conquest of power and the overthrow of the Popular Unity fraud.

**We demand the right to work!  
Make the Tories resign!**



**YOUNG SOCIALISTS 12th ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
SCARBOROUGH**  
Saturday & Sunday April 8/9 Grand Hall, The Spa

Dance to 'BRAVE NEW WORLD' Saturday night 8 pm  
also see a star-studded show

Coat approximately £4.50. For tickets apply to John Simmance, National Secretary,  
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

Please send me details/tickets of the Scarborough Conference.

I enclose .....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

## 'Protest' danger in tenants' movement

HUNDREDS of tenants from all over England lobbied MPs last night in protest against the Tory plans to double rents.

Among those organizing the lobby were national tenants' associations and the Greater London regional council of the Labour Party.

The turn-out showed the anger that is building up against Tory plans to deliver a death-blow at council housing.

If the Housing Finance Bill becomes law, rents will go up £1 in October and rise steadily over the next few years until they double.

Means tests will be imposed on a massive scale, taken every six months if necessary.

But the great danger facing tenants is that their movement against the Tories will be diverted into harmless protest channels.

The London Labour Party has been calling for a massive 'protest... before it's too late'. It is clear, however, that only the resignation of the Tories and the return of a Labour government pledged to socialism can open the way forward for tenants.

## GKN parity

WORKERS at Guest Keen and Nettleford's Ayr subsidiary, the Scottish Stamping and Engineering Company, have given strike notice in support of an £8 parity claim.

For the past fortnight the 1,500 men have been working-to-rule and operating an overtime ban following a breakdown of negotiations.

The men point out that, although they constitute the biggest drop forging unit in Britain, they are the lowest paid of the six other engineering works in Ayrshire.

Management has so far offered £3.

## More threats from US Treasury

THE AMERICAN Treasury is considering plans to sell gold on the free market, in flagrant violation of the March 1968 agreement which set up the 'two-tier' gold system.

News of these plans was leaked by Treasury officials on the eve of talks in Paris on the monetary situation and the US balance of payments deficit.

It follows a tough weekend speech by Treasury Secretary John Connally demanding action by the rest of the capitalist world to restore America's trade balance.

Implications of Connally's speech were certain to be high on the agenda at the Paris meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development which opened yesterday.

Paul Volcker, Connally's assistant, has said he will bring up at the meeting the question of a broader forum to negotiate international monetary questions, which have previously been the preserve of the Group of Ten top capitalist nations.

If the US were to sell gold on the free market, it would dash any remaining hopes in Europe and Japan that dollar convertibility would be restored in the future.

The US gold stock is under \$10,000m against an estimated \$60,000m in the foreign central banks' vaults.

Congress has just passed legislation raising the official gold price to \$38 an ounce, but the US has no intention of actually selling to other central banks at that price. The 'free market' gold price is over \$48 an ounce.

# Clamp on stewards denied at Slough

BY IAN YEATS

WORKERS AT Omes Faulkner's Ltd, Colnbrook, Slough, Bucks, factory, where 66 men and the AUEW convenor were sacked on Friday, yesterday accused the management of clamping down on trade union activities.

Management denied the allegation. A spokesman said: 'I don't think that is true.' But he declined to comment on charges that workers had been forbidden to elect shop stewards in place of two made redundant.

Slough district committee of the AUEW stood by a decision of the factory shop stewards' committee not to fight the redundancies or the sacking of the union's convenor on the grounds that the majority of the men at the works were not prepared to put their jobs at risk in a struggle.

The now dismantled maintenance department, of which AUEW convenor Frank Tomany was steward, has been the centre of trade union strength in the factory.

Maintenance shop fitter Carl Shaw who was not one of those to lose his job told me: 'Some of the things that have happened have really choked me.'

He claimed: 'At a meeting of the maintenance department on Monday, management made it clear they will not put up with militant trade unionism at the factory any more.'

'I think they want a situation where if we say we don't like it, they will tell us to go out of the gate.'

Mr Shaw alleged the men had been told by management that the maintenance shop

could no longer have a shop steward and that no one could be elected to fill the place of sacked EPTU steward Sam Roe.

But, said Mr Shaw: 'Everybody is entitled to a certain right. If you have no shop steward, management can do what they like.'

'We are all sick of what happened to Frank Tomany.'



Carl Shaw: Sickened by sacking.

Slough AUEW district committee secretary and Communist Party member George Currell said yesterday: 'I was not at the meeting where it is alleged the men were told they could not elect shop stewards. Until somebody is prepared to put statements down on paper I cannot comment.'

'I cannot work on

gossip. But if the shop stewards at the factory think there is a situation there and they report it, then no doubt the district committee will consider it.'

EPTU area official S. Moss told me: 'If I am acquainted by my members that the situation you describe exists, the matter will be pursued.'

## Direct rule an abortion: Unionist

CHAIRMAN of the Ulster Unionists at Westminster, Robin Chichester-Clark, yesterday described the Tories' direct-rule proposals as 'an abortion'.

The terms of the N Ireland (Temporary Provisions) Bill published yesterday will be effective for one year.

It provides for the suspension of Stormont and for all law-making and executive powers to be transferred to Westminster.

Secretary of State William Whitelaw is made chief executive instead of the Governor of Ulster, Lord Grey.

Chichester-Clark, from one of the leading Unionist families in Ulster, said yesterday he did not believe in ostracizing the White-law administration.

But he regarded the advisory commission as 'the most unhappy form of parliamentary abortion'.

## IPC Ulster award

SIMON WINCHESTER of 'The Guardian' has won the IPC Journalist of the Year award of £500 for 'a consistently high level of reporting' in Ulster.

The judges said: 'In this difficult field, Simon Winchester's qualities of courage, persistence and impartiality have been conspicuous.'

Recently a large group of 'Guardian' journalists signed a petition deploring the paper's editorial condoning torture.

Shortly afterwards, one of the paper's leading reporters, John O'Callaghan, resigned because of the paper's handling of the Irish question.

# PAPERING OVER NATO'S CRACKS

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

WITH NATO allies Greece and Turkey at daggers drawn and Warsaw Pact forces at a new peak of strength, the organization is asking for more cash to help paper over some of the cracks.

Secretary General of NATO Dr Joseph Luns said in London: 'The maintenance of peace does not just happen by mouthing slogans, however pious or waving banners, whatever their colour.'

'Peace is the result of hard work and constant effort, or wise decisions and a visible determination to meet aggression with adequate force.'

Dr Luns said NATO was concerned that the rate of defence expenditure had declined since 1965.

Between 1965 and 1970 spending in real terms had decreased by 3.6 per cent, although the gross national wealth of NATO countries had increased by 26 per cent.

Dr Luns was speaking at a lecture to the Royal United Services Institute.

## Chile miners' pay

MINERS and clerks at Chile's big El Teniente copper mine have rejected a 34.6-per-cent pay rise offer as too low.

The 10,600 miners and white collar workers at the state-run mine are claiming a 55 per cent rise. A spokesman for the Miners' Copper Confederation, announcing rejection of the government's offer, said a fresh offer was expected shortly.

The present contract ends at midnight on April 2, and if the deadlock persists a legal indefinite strike could start next day.

## Man-made prices

A PLEA for 'sanity' in international pricing of man-made fibres was urged by Cyril Colton, chairman of the British Man-made Fibres Federation, at the annual meeting in London yesterday. The industry was in danger of losing one of its greatest assets—long periods of stable prices, he said.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**SOUTHALL: Wednesday, March 29, 8 p.m.** Southall Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

**N LONDON: Thursday March 30, 8 p.m.** Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd., N17 (off White Hart Lane). 'Report back meeting—from Wembley. The Scarborough conference'.

**S EAST: Thursday, March 30, 8 p.m.** Deptford Engineers' Club, nr. New Cross Station. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

**WANDSWORTH: Thursday March 30, 8 p.m.** Selkirk Hotel, Silkkirk Rd, Tooting. 'Empire Pool and building the revolutionary party.'

**ACTON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m.** Mechanics Arms, Churchfield Road. 'Empire Pool and building the revolutionary party'.

**EAST LONDON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m.** Aberfeldy Pub, Aberfeldy Street, nr. Blackwall Tunnel. 'Building the revolutionary party and the fight for docks jobs'.

# BOOKS



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

# BEHIND THE ENGINEERS' PAY CLAIM

A three part series by DAVID MAUDE  
Workers Press Industrial Correspondent

## PART 2

Organized picketing of power stations and coal depots by the striking miners began in the early morning of Tuesday, January 11.

And at 110 Peckham Road, SE London, the headquarters of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, another sort of picket was in progress. Joined by shop stewards from throughout the Liverpool district, reinstatement strikers from the Kraft Foods plant at Kirkby were lobbying for official backing.

It was their second visit to London in eight days. But this time they had other things to say, too.

After confronting union president Hugh Scanlon in the building's underground car-park, Kraft shop steward Les Black told Workers Press angrily that the abandonment of the engineers' national pay claim was 'a silent victory for the Tory government'.

Commented Dave Martin, convener of the CAV plant at Fazakerley: 'We have shown our weakness and let down the miners.'

All over the country, tens of thousands of engineers were having similar thoughts as they opened their newspapers to read of the AUEW national committee's 47 to four vote for an executive recommendation that they go for plant bargaining.

This decision had three main effects:

- 1 It was a stab in the back for the miners.
- 2 It destroyed any possibility of a united front of miners, engineers and power workers to force the Tory government to resign, and
- 3 It left hundreds of thousands of engineers in small, badly-organized firms to face productivity dealing and the Industrial Relations Act alone.

The executive decision had first been leaked to the press the previous Thursday night—two days after it was made.

Even at that stage it had been apparently possible for some case-hardened bureaucrats to see the approach of the miners' strike deadline as just an exercise in brinkmanship by the National Union of Mineworkers' leadership.

But by Sunday there could have been no possible doubt. The miners were on strike.

As Workers Press had declared unequivocally the previous day, a national committee vote to drop the engineers' claim 'would be to stab the miners' fight... in the back'.

When the national committee made their fateful decision, the miners were something like 40 hours into their strike.

Yet only four out of a possible 52 votes were cast against the executive recommendation.

And it was the right wing who sponsored a motion calling for a secret ballot of all 1.5 million members on the proposition: accept the employers' offer or stage a national strike. This was defeated 42 to ten.

How can these votes be explained—with the miners in need of urgent support—on a committee where the hard-core left muster is a claimed 21?

The national committee of the AUEW is perfectly entitled under

rule 'to call or terminate a General Strike when in their opinion time would not allow the members to be balloted'.

Time was clearly of the essence on January 10. Yet not a single CPer or 'left' proposed this course, which would certainly have met an immediate response from the membership.

In yesterday's first article in this series, we touched on the role of AUEW executive councillor Les Dixon, a CP member who voted for the plant-bargaining approach on January 4, but apparently informed no one in the industrial leadership of his Party of the decision.

The question arises: is Dixon another Will Paynter (the former NUM secretary described by anti-communist Lord Robens last week as 'one of the great men of this century')?

He may well, of course, have informed CP secretary John Gollan, industrial organizer Bert Ramelson, or Mick Costello, the industrial correspondent of the 'Morning Star'. But if any of this tight-lipped trio knew, they did not inform the CP members on the national committee.

Friends of Arthur Gibbard, the recognized leader of the CP faction on the national committee, claim in his defence that news of the recalled national committee came 'out of the blue' as far as he was concerned.



Arthur Gibbard: to have pressed forward with the claim would have meant a break with Scanlon

The night before the policy-makers met, Gibbard finally managed to arrange a meeting between Scanlon, Dixon, 'left' executive councillor Bob Wright and the broad left on the committee.

Some sharp words were said about the abandonment of the claim, but Scanlon remained adamant. He insisted that the only alternative was a strike ballot which the executive would lose.

The union president was extremely short with advocates of continuing with the national claim, repeating testily that a ballot would be lost and that such a move would only strengthen the employers' hand still further.

Eventually the meeting broke up in bad odour and without a decision.

The following day Gibbard, Sid Harraway—the former Ford convenors' chairman voted out for urging acceptance of the company's 1971 secret-ballot settlement—and the rest of the CP faction voted for the executive.



January 11: Kraft workers confront AUEW president Hugh Scanlon on the abandonment of the national claim

No doubt could have existed in their minds that they were voting for a most unprincipled retreat. The resolution read:

'The executive council are instructed to initiate negotiations through district committees and shop stewards with individual employers, on the understanding that settlement may be concluded on all or part of the claim which is acceptable to district commit-



Sid Harraway: voted for the Executive along with the rest

tees and the members concerned.'

One of the executive platform's chief arguments for this piece of treachery was that there had been no sign of activity on the claim by the membership in the districts.

Of course there was good reason for that. None had been organized.

Needless to say the 'Morning Star' of Tuesday, January 11, sought desperately to cover up what had really happened at the Congress House meeting with the headline 'Engineers Break Off Talks'.

There is one precedent for this break-off.

In April 1971, the AUEW technicians' section broke off negotiations with the Engineering Employers' Federation after it offered only £2-£3 on minimum rates in reply to the union's claim for £5.75-£8.25.

Plant bargaining on this claim has not by any means proved an unequivocal success.

Top union officials point to some sizeable successes, but even they are forced to admit that in some areas they have been 'hammered'.

Here is a fairly representative selection of recent settlements: Dewrance's, Wigan, two-stage general increases of £2.95;

Churchill's, Altrincham, two-stage increases of £2.25-£3.75; S Wales Switchgear, Blackwood, £3.25-£5.90; Metal Box, nationally, £3 across-the-board.

The section is a small, tightly-knit union but even bearing this in mind its experience amply bears out the third point of criticism made of the January 4 decision above.

Early in February this year, the EEF monthly newsletter claimed that the technicians' strategy had produced 'many mutually-satisfactory agreements... which are well short of the union's nationally-claimed increases'.

The Federation stressed: 'Certainly in the medium and smaller-sized firms settlements have been modest.'

Yet this is the strategy the engineers' leaders say they are determined to pursue.

And, despite its obvious dangers, within weeks of the national-committee decision being taken on January 10, Gibbard, the leader of the CP faction there, was arguing that to have pressed forward with the national claim would have meant a break with Scanlon. Oh horror of horrors!

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# NEW BALANCING ACT BY MAKARIOS

A new crisis has burst above the head of President Makarios of Cyprus with a renewed demand by the bishops of the Cypriot Orthodox Church that he resigns.



Greek Prime Minister, Papadopoulos (top) is eager to gain control of Cyprus. Above: President Makarios

There is no chance that Makarios will give in to the demand, but in digging in he is setting himself up as a major stumbling block to the policy intentions of the Greek government for Cyprus.

Makarios has been able to keep the island's 650,000 Greeks and Turks from each others' throats and he wants to ensure that Cypriots go on deciding their own fate.

But the Greek dictators are eager to control the island, even though their action would almost certainly bring about an immediate and possible bloody conflict with Turkey.

For the past few weeks support for the president has been mounting.

Newspapers friendly to Makarios have mounted a campaign in his favour, but last week Greek Cypriot school-children chanting President Makarios's name, clashed with others in the streets of the capital, Nicosia, who were demanding union with Greece—Enosis.

The bishops demanded that Makarios should resign earlier this month.

They made their request to

the Archbishop in the middle of the crisis that followed the Greek demand that the President surrender an arsenal of secretly-imported Czechoslovak arms and reshuffle his government to make it more acceptable to Athens.

Since then the Archbishop has permitted the United Nations peace-keeping force on the island to inspect the communist-supplied arms and has pledged not to distribute them.

The Kitium Bishopric at Limassol, where the bishops are discussing their reply to President Makarios, has been under heavy police guard since their March 2 demand because of public anger against them.

The bishops are commonly supposed by Greek Cypriots to be acting with Greek government support in their challenge to President Makarios.

His first reply to the bishops warned them of the dangers of an upheaval in the Cyprus Orthodox Church ranks and the possibility of the partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey if he was forced to resign as head of state.

# HOW TO BUY YOUR DEGREE

Nationwide essay supply services are causing American educators sleepless nights and saving students much of the legendary midnight oil which the student of old was supposed to consume on his nocturnal studies.

A student who is too busy with other things to write his quota of essays simply buys them, at the rate of about £1 per page. Several firms are in the business, using the most modern techniques and operating from a central office. Turnover is running at several million dollars a year.

In New York a court action has begun to close down one of them, Tempapers Inc., on a charge of subverting the educational process. A teacher at the New York City University, Leonard Stavisky, who also sits in the State Assembly, is introducing legislation to make the sale of student essays illegal and punishable by fines and jail.

In a system where practically everything else is for sale, why prevent private enterprise from taking advantage of a lucrative market? The next step, surely, is an agency which, for a suitable fee, will mark the papers for the professors, grade the students and issue them with their degrees.



# CARR LEARNS

Employment Secretary Robert Carr (above) hopes that the existence of a reserve of unemployed workers in Britain will attract capital from Europe after entry to the Common Market.

He made this point in the course of a four-day tour of W Germany, Holland and Belgium to study how these countries handle labour relations. The Budget, he said, would bring down unemployment gradually, but he did not elaborate.

He said that in future there would be closer liaison between his department and its W German counterpart. He was apparently impressed by German re-

training methods and also by the 'co-determination' system under which workers' representatives are given the illusion of participating in managerial decisions.

If Carr has learned anything from his tour, it is most probably the need to integrate workers into the plant more firmly through the medium of the trade union bureaucracy.

This will, he hopes, provide an antidote to strikes. The resemblance to the corporate state is, of course, not accidental. Entry to the Common Market will bring it nearer to reality on the basis of co-ordination of 'labour policies' between the member countries.

# 'LEFT' NOISES FROM KENYATTA



Jomo Kenyatta (left) addressed a severe warning to MPs when he opened a new session of the Kenyan parliament in Nairobi last Tuesday.

He told them that 'the time has passed when this House could be regarded as a playground for the striking of political attitudes, or recruiting grounds for regional personalities'.

Turning to the effect on Kenya of the world economic slowdown, he said that measures had had to be taken to safeguard the foreign exchange position. He called for economy in the use of foreign exchange so that it was used for machinery and capital goods essential for development and not for luxury items.

Kenyatta made it clear that if any member of his government disagreed with him, he would have to resign and return to the back benches.

# DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

In preparation for the Fourth Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League are publishing the four main documents of the International Committee covering the split with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.



## DOCUMENT 1

Statement

- from the OCI (French section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International)
- from the POR (Bolivian section of the International Committee)
- and from the Organizing Committee of the Communists (Trotskyists) from the E European countries.

THE DELEGATIONS of the Political Bureau of the OCI, French section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, of the POR, Bolivian section of the International Committee and of the Organizing Committee of Communists (Trotskyists) in the E European countries, discussed questions of common interest raised by the struggle carried out by the POR, the significance of which is outlined as follows:

Since the General Strike in France and the process of political revolution in Czechoslovakia, the political power of the working class is posed at the centre of each struggle of workers and youth throughout the world. In the face of decaying imperialism which offers only misery, unemployment, fascist barbarism and a war of extermination, in the face of the bureaucracy which threatens to destroy the conquests of the glorious Revolution of October 1917, which puts a brake on and dislocates their struggles, all the resistance and demands of the workers, all their will to live requires the direct and immediate struggle to take power, to impose a workers' government.

Never before has the conquest of power by the proletariat been such a clear, achievable and urgent task!

The creation of the Soviet in Irbid by the oppressed Palestinian masses, the committees and councils formed by the Polish working class, the Bolivian Popular Assembly concretize these struggles converging on this immediate goal, proceeding, although through different stages and different forms, towards the Universal Republic of Soviets.

It is in Bolivia that this march forward of the working class towards its power reached its highest level, rich in experience. ex-

pressing and concretizing the deepest aspiration of the whole of the international working class. At the head of the Bolivian workers was the POR, armed with the programme of the Fourth International, steeped in dozens of years of determined struggle for the proletarian revolution against nationalism, against Stalinism, against Pabloite revisionism and against all forms of petty-bourgeois ideas, such as guerrilla-ism, deeply entrenched in the most combative section of the Bolivian proletariat. Because this Party prepared this struggle, it was prepared for it, and was able to seize the occasion and, at each revolutionary process, it developed the conditions for the working class to take power. We can see, in the development of the Bolivian revolution, not only the aspiration of the workers throughout the world for their government, but also mainly the lessons and experiences on the means and methods to achieve this. The achievement of the unity of the class through the workers' United Front, motive force of the anti-imperialist United Front, materialized in the Popular Assembly, organ of power. The POR of Bolivia, member of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, worked for this unity to create the indispensable conditions for the taking of power.

This experience of a struggle for a workers' and peasants' government, under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a vital experience for the international working class, brings to life the universal lessons of the 1917 October Revolution. It is the most worthy commemoration on the eve of its next anniversary. This is then the positive reply to the Hungarian revolution of workers' councils, which 15 years ago, sought in vain for its organized political leadership. Here is the Trotskyist demonstration of a struggle to give a centralized

and organized strength to the struggle of the whole of the proletariat marching towards power against the French Stalinists who betrayed and dislocated the 1968 General Strike, and fought the attempt of the OCI to achieve such an organized centralization.

Today the French CP carries out a slander campaign against the POR with the aim of turning the proletariat away from the carrying out of its revolutionary tasks.

The international apparatus of the Kremlin finds in this work the greatest of support from the campaign of the obedient Pabloites (Ligue Communiste, Lute Ouvrière) against the POR in struggle.

No one can be mistaken. All the open and concealed enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Party, today pour out mountains of lies and slanders against the POR of Bolivia. The Stalinists who, at each point and on an international scale, fight the class independence realized in the Popular Assembly, which was firmly maintained by the POR, glorify the class collaboration in Chile, condemn not only the POR, but the Bolivian Communist Party which, in the Popular Assembly, was forced to accept the United Front.

All the petty-bourgeois currents spit out their hatred of the Bolivian POR because it vigorously resisted sectarian adventures, firmly guiding the struggle of the popular masses towards the workers' government. Particularly active in the petty-bourgeois Front against the POR, the Pabloites find their place with all their nuances, the 'Lutte Ouvrière', the so-called Ligue 'Communiste' of the Unified Secretariat, the renegades of the Fourth International, those who glorified petty-bourgeois leaders—Stalinists like Gomulka as well as Yassir Arafat—who carried out an unprincipled agreement with representatives of the bourgeoisie in the 'Vietnam Committee'. These same petty bourgeois attack the POR, who were able to express the revolutionary process in Bolivia. They capitulate in Latin America as in France and everywhere in front of so-called spontaneist currents of the petty bourgeoisie to participate in the Stalinist attack against the revolutionary upsurge of the masses who, in each country, pose the dictatorship of the proletariat, the democracy of workers' councils.

It is precisely because the Bolivian events concentrate at their highest point the march towards power of the international working class, posing as the most important thing all the decisive questions in the conquest of power, as well as the activity of the Trotskyist Party at the heart of this world process in an epoch of upheavals and sharp turns, that the unresolved problems come out of the crisis of the Fourth International which in 1950 Pablo, Mandel, Frank, etc., wanted to destroy, finding their expression also in the heart of the International Committee.

Only the petty bourgeois find this surprising.

The history of the Fourth International, since its foundation by Leon Trotsky in 1938, was difficult struggle for its maintenance against immense forces grouped together to destroy it. Only the Fourth International, through its programme and through its untiring struggles, has always fought for the class independence of the proletariat, for the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and Stalinist class collaboration. That is why it was, and is today the centre of sharp attacks by all the enemies of the proletariat. The Fourth International is decisive in the outcome of the world class struggle as it is in the continuation of Bolshevism, of the October Revolution. The Trotskyists who, since 1950, resisted the policy of capitulation in front of the bureaucracy which is the essence of Pabloism, the Trotskyist organizations which, in 1953, set up the International Committee, they alone ensured the continuity of the Fourth International and thus preserved the conditions for its reconstruction indispensable to the building in each country of the leading Revolutionary Workers' Party, national section of the Fourth International.

What is more natural than that all the difficult problems of the international class struggle be reflected and concentrated at its heart? What is more natural than the fact that the decisive factor in the outcome of the gigantic world struggle be reflected in the crisis of the Fourth International

as it is in the crisis of all the organizations of the working class?

Today, the leadership of certain organizations of the International Committee, like the Socialist Labour League and the Workers' League, lacking clarity precisely on the question of the strategy of the conquest of power and the reconstruction of the Fourth International, have given in to enormous pressure in attacking the POR.

The three delegations, meeting in Paris, considering that the discussion is legitimate, as much between the sections adhering to the IC as inside each of its sections, they condemn the method used by the Workers League and the SLL who publicly condemned the Bolivian section of the IC.

It is for this reason that the delegations of the OCI and of the Organizing Committee for the E European countries agree with the request made by comrade G. Lora, demanding that the IC be called to a plenary meeting in the most rapid delay to take a stand on the report on the Bolivian revolution and the tasks of the reconstruction of the Fourth International which the leadership of the POR has prepared.

Paris, October 12, 1971.

Guillermo LORA, Secretary of the Bolivian POR, member of the IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Pierre LAMBERT, from the CC of the OCI, French section of the IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Balazs NAGY, leader of the Ligue of Socialist Revolutionaries of Hungary, member of the IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, leader of the Organizing Committee of Communists (Trotskyists) of E Europe.

## DOCUMENT 2

Statement from International Committee of the Fourth International (Majority) October 24, 1971

### PART 1

1. A new period for the Trotskyist movement

The Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, now faces the greatest change and the greatest challenge in its history. Capitalism's international economic crisis entered a completely new stage on August 15, 1971, when President Nixon administered the death blow to all the economic and political relations imposed by the ruling class, assisted by

the Stalinist bureaucracy, in 1944-1945

In the new conditions, the working class is everywhere driven into struggles for power, and the Trotskyist movement has now unprecedented opportunities for assembling and training the revolutionary working-class leadership. The conditions of defeat in which the movement was founded, the war which followed, and then the long years of post-war boom, means that the fight for the continuity of revolutionary Marxism was a fight against Stalinist repression, against isolation and under conditions unfavourable for the development of Marxist theory.

Trotskyism suffered from revisionist attempts to liquidate the Fourth International, and since 1953, when Pablo and his group split from the Fourth International only the International Committee of the Fourth International has fought for the continuity of Trotskyism. Now the International Committee has the task of building parties in every country capable of leading the struggle for power.

The leap in consciousness, the development of revolutionary theory and practice, necessary to meet this responsibility, involves an ideological struggle within the IC itself.

On October 12, 1971, a minority of the IC, i.e., two sections: The Hungarian LSH and the French OCI, published a declaration denouncing the Socialist Labour League, the British section, and the Workers League USA (in political solidarity with the IC) for their criticisms of the Bolivian POR.

One of the signatories of the declaration is Guillermo Lora, Secretary of the POR, which is not a section of the International Committee. Its application for affiliation was to be considered at the next IC Conference (Fourth). The IC consists of British, Greek, Ceylonese, Hungarian, French and Canadian sections, together with the Irish and Mexican (LOM) sections admitted at the 1970 pre-Conference of the IC.

Lambert (OCI) and Nagy (Hungary) do not speak for the IC, and this present document is the reply to their minority statement by the IC majority.

The calling of a meeting in Paris advertising as Chairman, Stephen Just, 'Secretary of the IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International', shows that the OCI has arrogated to itself the functions of the IC, rejected the IC, and nominated its own 'secretary' as opposed to the elected secretary.

This is a split from the IC and its politics. It is a split by a minority.

On September 22, the OCI issued a public declaration de-



Leon Trotsky founded the Fourth International in 1938.



Above and far left: the Essen youth rally in July 1971, where the issues surrounding the split became crystal clear.

nouncing as 'enemies' of the dictatorship of the proletariat, agents of counter-revolution and enemies, conscious or unconscious, of the Fourth International, all those who attack the POR (Bolivian). They refer to the SLL and the Workers League.

There is the International Committee of the Fourth International, resting on the foundation laid down by Trotsky in 1938, the first four Congresses of the Third International, and all the work of the IC since 1953, particularly the decisions of the 1966 Conference. And there is the bogus 'IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International', represented by the OCI and the Hungarian section, who want to regroup with centrists against the Fourth International. This split, and not the Bolivian revolution and the Bolivian POR, is the basic issue.

## 2. The split at Essen

This became crystal-clear at the Essen Youth Rally in July 1971. There, representatives of the OCI, the Hungarian section and the Mexican LOM, voted along with centrists and even right-wing organizations against the amendment to the main resolution put by the representative of the SLL and supported by representatives of a majority of the IC sections (Ceylon, Ireland, Canada, Greece, SLL).

The issue was clear: the OCI and its associates voted against amendments stating that the only revolutionary international and revolutionary parties are the Fourth International. In their opposition they naturally received the support of the POUM (Spain) and other centrists, as well as of the right-wing American National Students' Association. NSA is a right-wing student organization directly tied to the bourgeois establishment, even to the extent, under a previous leadership, of admittedly receiving funds from the CIA. Its spokesman used the Essen rally as a platform for the Stalinist-supported 'People's Peace Treaty in Vietnam' campaign. Such are the dangers involved in the OCI's movement to centrism and centrist methods.

The OCI and its associates opposed and voted down the following amendment (presented by the SLL and supported by the majority of the IC sections: Greece, Canada, Ceylon, Ireland):

'There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially of Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory. The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this rally and for the struggle to build the international revolutionary youth movement. Revolutionary youth everywhere must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combating the dangers of adventurism, activism and "pure" militancy with which revisionists and Maoists mislead the youth, and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class.'

This was already a split, the real split. They do not want the FI built on the foundations of dialectical materialism and the politics of Lenin and Trotsky, but they want a centrist amalgam of all those who want to disarm the masses by talk about 'revolutionary united fronts' and 'expressing the will of the masses'. Their 'IC for the reconstruction of the FI' is their fraudulent attempt to use the revolutionary name of the IC of the FI for their own opportunist aims. They will never succeed in doing this.

The majority of the IC rejected their unprincipled manoeuvre at Essen. Now they have chosen to stake everything on the issue of Bolivia, as a smokescreen for the real issues which they will not discuss.

Running away from the real theoretical and practical questions of building the FI, they propose to intimidate the movement with shouting about solidarity with the POR of

Bolivia. This was the old trick used by the SWP on Cuba in 1963: no theoretical discussion and no criticism of Cuba; they are involved in a revolution. Similarly, Pablo excluded political discussion with his theory of the imminent Third World War. And it must never be forgotten that the suppression of discussion on Cuba and Ceylon, used to effect the 'unification' of 1963, had as its direct consequence the entry of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), while still a section of the Pabloite Secretariat, into the bourgeois coalition of Mrs Bandaranaike.

The vote of the OCI and the Hungarian section at Essen against the IC majority was carried out in front of an observer of the American Spartacist group of Robertson. This has a historical significance which cannot be overstated.

At the Third Conference of the IC in 1966, the French and Hungarian sections voted with the rest of the IC delegations for resolutions affirming the revolutionary continuity of the Fourth International. Opposing this were two groups invited as observers to the Conference, Robertson's Spartacists and the French 'Voix Ouvrière' (now 'Lutte Ouvrière'). As opportunists and pragmatists they denounced the IC's struggle for continuity against revisionism.

After the Conference, Robertson collaborated with Hansen and the revisionist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in wholesale slander of the SLL and the IC. In its resolution at the 1966 Conference, the IC, including the OCI, unanimously stated:

'... The IC not only dissociates itself from the activities and publications of the Spartacists (Robertson) group but insists that a Marxist party can be built only in opposition to it.' Robertson's politics since then have been opportunist on every question, and his group has worked in complete opposition to the International Committee. To admit Robertson's group as observers at Essen at this stage is in effect to junk the whole struggle for principles upon which the IC is based.

The OCI will reply that the

invitation was issued on individual initiative by Comrade Berg, secretary of the AJS, and that they have condemned it. On July 9, after Essen, the OCI Political Bureau carried unanimously the following resolution:

'The Political Bureau regrets that the Robertson "Spartacist" group was invited as observer to Essen, without this decision being taken responsibly. The PB considers this individual initiative to be wrong and condemns it.'

This leaves unanswered the point that the OCI leadership is itself politically responsible for the opportunist politics of Berg.

Is it accidental that the OCI at Essen returned to an alliance, against Trotskyism, with a tendency such as the POUM, hostile to the very foundation of the Fourth International, and prepared to collaborate with the OCI only on the basis of abandoning the struggle for its foundation and continuity? Precisely at the point in the world crisis where everything depends on the conscious creation, on the basis of Marxist theory and programme, of revolutionary parties, where the struggle against liquidationism and against the revision of dialectical materialism comes to a head, at this point comes the split! The OCI runs clean away from this historic struggle and, in the name of 'expressing' spontaneous movements of the masses, joins sworn opponents of the FI, collaborates with the centrist riff-raff against the IC.

## 3. The fight for dialectical materialism

When the French delegation at Essen opposed the SLL amendment on the struggle for Marxist theory, they set the seal on an opposition to dialectical materialism which was not at all new. One year earlier, in June 1970, at the international pre-conference of the IC, these differences became explicit. And for very good reasons objectively founded in the struggle. Anticipating the profound worsening of the economic crisis and the struggle provoked by it, the SLL delegates stressed the urgency

of the basic training of the youth in dialectical thinking.

What was most essential in the preparation of the sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a struggle to understand and to transform the consciousness of the working class in the changing objective conditions. This means the understanding and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism.

Reflecting the attacks on dialectical materialism by the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of the advanced capitalist countries, especially France and Germany, and of E Europe, the OCI and Hungarian delegations declared that dialectical materialism was not a theory of knowledge and took up the position that only programme was the basis of the building of parties. Here is the very essence of revisionism which prepares the way for liquidating the party into centrism.

We insist once more, with all our force: only a basic struggle for dialectical materialism against all enemies of Marxism and carried forward in struggle against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class, can equip the youth for the building of the Fourth International.

In the polemic with Burnham and Shachtman (1939-1940), Trotsky wrote:

'In the United States . . . where the bourgeoisie systematically instils vulgar empiricism in the workers, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level.'

The theoretical struggle at this basic level is essential for every section of the Fourth International. And against those who refuse to 'acquire and develop dialectical materialism', Trotsky wrote: 'This is nothing else than a renunciation of Marxism, of scientific method in general, a wretched capitulation to empiricism.'

Reprinted from Workers Press, November 5, 1971.

CONTINUED  
TOMORROW



# THE BREEDS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN GERMANY

Part two of a series by Jack Gale

**While the Social Democrats were rushing to the rescue of capitalism in all part of Austria, revolutionary events were developing in Germany.**

On October 29, the German navy received orders to make a last desperate offensive. Dissatisfaction was already rife because of the strict discipline, bad food and officer privileges which existed on board ship. When the fleet put to sea, the crews refused to obey orders and the fires were extinguished by the stokers. The red flag was run on many ships.

The revolt spread to the shore where dockworkers as well as sailors joined in. At Kiel in November 3, sailors' and dockworkers' councils were set up. Sailors from the main naval bases of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven journeyed all over Germany demanding an immediate end to the war and the overthrow of the capitalist government. Sailors' soviets sprang up at Hamburg, Bremen and Lubek.

At Hannover, soldiers' and workers' councils were established on November 6. At Cologne, the mayor—one Konrad Adenauer—hastened to put the town hall at the disposal of the soldiers' and workers' councils.

In Munich, the councils sent armed groups of workers and soldiers to occupy all public buildings and issued a proclamation declaring that a workers', peasants' and soldiers' council governed the whole of Bavaria.

In Berlin the Revolutionary Shop Stewards planned an uprising for November 11, 1918, but William II abdicated on the 9th and handed over power to the leader of the Social Democrats, Friedrich Ebert. Throughout Berlin workers downed tools and marched to the city centre, where they were joined by armed soldiers.



**Friedrich Ebert: Social Democratic leader**

Karl Liebknecht demanded that all power should be vested in the workers' and soldiers' councils, but that was the last thing the Social Democrats wanted to see.

Instead a Council of People's Representatives was formed consisting of three Social Democrats (Ebert, Landsberg and Scheidemann) and three Independent Social Democrats (Haase, Dittmann and Barth). Barth was also one of the Revolutionary Shop

Stewards. Liebknecht refused to join the council.

Ebert, in fact, rushed to form this council because the following day, November 10, workers' and soldiers' councils were to be elected in all Berlin factories and barracks. The councils were then to assemble and elect a provisional government. Ebert was able to present this assembly with a 'representative council' and persuade the workers and soldiers to confirm it.

By the next day, a situation close to dual power had emerged. The Berlin workers' and soldiers' councils elected an Executive Committee consisting of 14 soldiers and 14 workers.

The meeting which elected this Executive sent fraternal greetings to the Russian government expressing its admiration for the Russian workers and soldiers who have opened the path to revolution, and its pride that the German workers and soldiers have followed them . . . as the protagonists of the International.<sup>1</sup>

The same meeting proclaimed Germany a socialist republic. But on November 11, the Executive Committee appointed a new Prussian government consisting—not of revolutionary workers and soldiers—but of an equal number of representatives of the two Social Democratic parties.

This government permitted most of the civil servants of the old regime to keep their posts and even some of the old politicians—such as General Scheuch, the Prussian Minister of War.

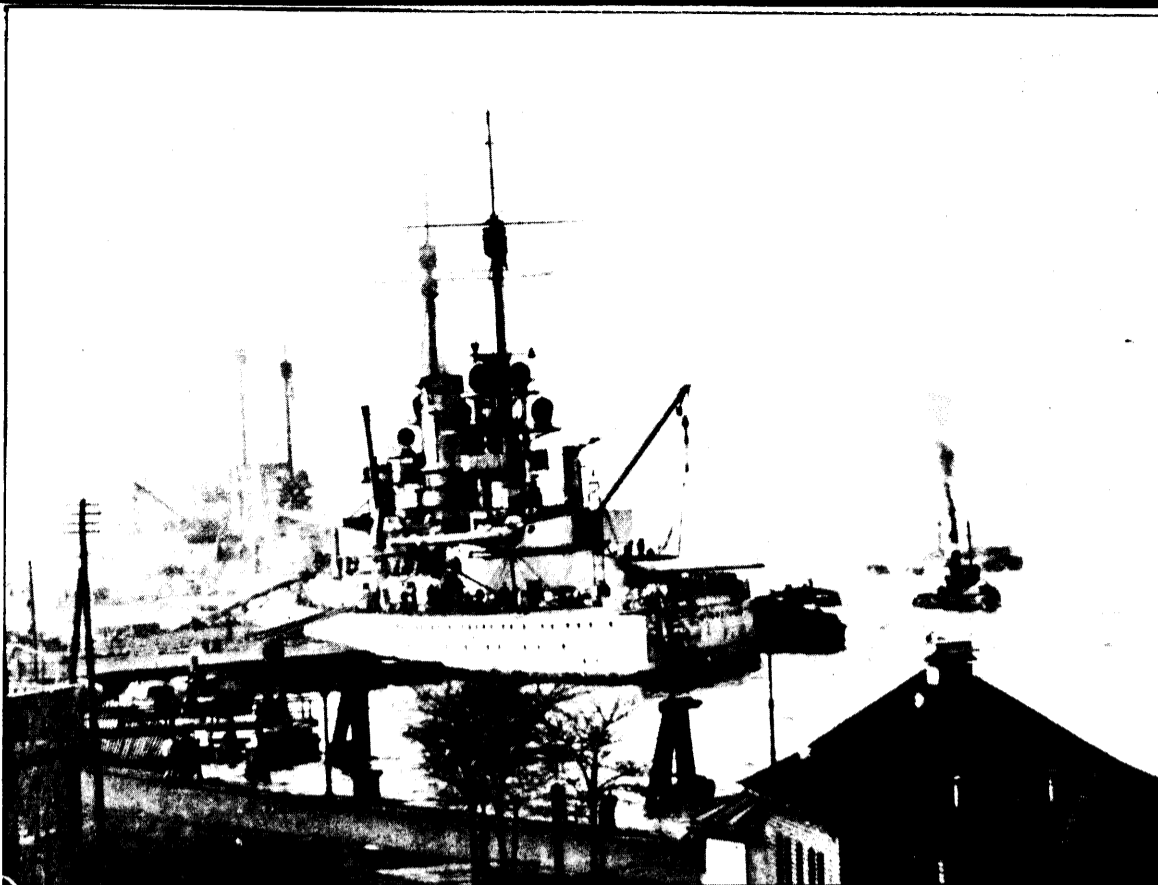
In SW Germany, similar events were taking place. In Karlsruhe, the capital of Baden, armed soldiers and sailors seized the town hall and announced that a soldiers' council had taken power.

This council then demanded—and got—the release of all political prisoners, complete freedom of speech and press, abolition of censorship, an amnesty for all army and navy mutineers and power to veto any military orders. Considering that it had, in fact, the power in its hands these demands were extremely moderate.

The council, indeed, existed alongside a 'Welfare Committee' of Social Democrats who continued to co-operate with the old authorities and the bourgeois parties.

Throughout Baden what really took place was that a potentially revolutionary movement—soldiers', sailors' and workers' councils—was, because of lack of conscious revolutionary leadership, led by the nose by the Social Democrats, including the 'left' Independents.

The old authorities were helpless—in Mannheim even the chief of police declared that he would follow the instructions of the workers' and soldiers' councils—but the Social Democrats were able to preserve the old institutions, simply replacing the direct rule of the right-wing bourgeois parties with a broad coalition ranging from the Independent Social Democrats on the left to the National Liberals on the right.



**October 30, 1918 Wilhelmshaven: crews of the German navy refuse to sail, many raise the red flag and the sailors join with soldiers and dockers in demonstrations against the war and the capitalist government**

A similar pattern took shape in Württemberg. Again soldiers' councils imposed their demands upon the officers. On November 9, the soldiers' councils, the trade unions and representatives of both Social Democratic Parties met at Stuttgart and again a provisional government was set up led by the two breeds of Social Democrats.

The Spartacists were offered one seat, but refused to join the government, exactly as Liebknecht had done in Berlin.

The Social Democrats were then able to persuade a joint session of the soldiers' and workers' councils—against the opposition of the Spartacists—to agree to a coalition with the bourgeois parties. The key role in persuading the councils was played by the 'left' Crispian of the Independent Social Democrats.

Three bourgeois ministers joined the government which immediately declared that all power was vested in itself and not in the councils. Workers and soldiers were instructed to return to their duties and to avoid 'disturbance of the economy'.

Things were more difficult to contain in industrial Saxony. Mass demonstrations took place in the first days of November in Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz. In Leipzig a joint worker-soldier council was formed. Armed troops occupied the public buildings, officers and police were disarmed. Dresden and Chemnitz followed suit one day later—November 9.

On November 14, the workers' and soldiers' councils of these three cities issued a joint statement announcing that the revolutionary proletariat had taken over power.

Private property in land, mines, transport, banks and raw materials was to be expropriated. Bourgeois courts were abolished. In November 1919, the Ger-

man workers and soldiers went to the very limits that a spontaneous movement can reach. Then, because of the lack of a conscious revolutionary leadership with roots in broad layers of the working class (the Spartacists were not strong enough), the Social Democrats were able to rescue capitalism at its last gasp.

A great deal has been written about the treacherous role of the Social Democratic leaders Ebert and Scheidemann. But the so-called 'lefts'—the Independent Social Democrats co-operated willingly with them. Throughout Germany the two breeds of Social Democrats combined to steal power from the workers' and soldiers' councils and preserve the old order.

Wherever possible they preserved the higher civil servants—conservatives and monarchists to a man.

In the Prussian government they preserved not only General Scheuch (mentioned above), but the bourgeois secretaries to the ministries of justice, finance, labour, posts and telegraphs, the navy and the foreign office.

The leaders of the Independents—Haase and Dittman—were in fact moderates who were not separated from the Social Democrats by any differences of principle.

Carsten quotes one leading Social Democrat as saying: 'We cannot govern because we have never wanted to and hence we have never learnt it.'

In Germany and Austria, in the two decisive months of October and November 1918, the workers with power in their grasp, handed it over to their old leaders, the Social Democrats, who in turn handed it back to the bourgeoisie.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than at Kiel, the kernel of the revolution. When the sailors revolted and established

their council, they telegraphed Berlin to invite the leader of the Independent Social Democrats—Hugo Haase—to come to Kiel. Haase promptly handed the message over to the imperial government, although the sailors had turned to him believing that his party stood for an immediate peace without annexations.

The government then sent two Reichstag deputies to Kiel—a liberal and the Social Democrat Pustav Noske. The liberal, of course, could achieve nothing, but Noske was able to persuade the sailors to elect a central council with himself as chairman—in fact, the sailors allowed Noske to select the members of the council! The first order issued by this council was then an instruction to all civilians to hand in their arms to the old (i.e. imperial) military authorities.

Noske was able to keep the Kiev revolt—which had overthrown the officers and defied the might of the German Imperial military machine—within the limits of capitalist 'law and order', and even, indeed, to use the authority of the sailors' council to protect bourgeois property in Kiel.

This was a tribute not to Noske's individual talents (which were very slight), but to the loyalty of the revolutionary sailors to those whom they regarded as their political leaders.

Without a conscious revolutionary leadership, painstakingly constructed and developed, the working class can go to the very threshold of revolution without being able to break from its old leaders.

That, above all, is the lesson of October-November 1918.

<sup>1</sup> F. L. Carsten 'Revolution in Central Europe' p. 40.

**CONTINUED TOMORROW**

# POLICE THREATEN PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS

Students in the US colony of Puerto Rico are engaged in a grim struggle with a sinister police agency which operates inside the university campus itself.

The students—members of the Pro-Independence University Federation, or FUPI—staged a week of action earlier this month on the anniversary of serious clashes in which one of them died last year.

Recently, FUPI leader Hector Meléndez spoke to the Prensa Latina news agency about the struggle for independence.

Puerto Rico is an island of 3,400 square miles in the W Indies which is primarily dependent on its trade with the US, whose colony it became in 1898.

Its 2.7 million people are ruled by an elected governor. On the American pattern there is an elected Senate and House of Representatives.

On September 12 last year the FUPI mounted a march of protest against governor Luis Ferré. Meléndez, who is 19, says that Puerto Rican students have always been known for their 'combativity, militancy and efficiency', but that 'recently they have begun to be even more active in the struggle for national independence'.

He told Prensa Latina reporter Miguel Ribot: 'Our struggle is the contribution students are making to the struggle of the Puerto Rican people to free themselves of the imperialist yoke.'

The repressive activities of the regime have become more blatant and brutal of late, he claims.

'The regime,' he went on, 'has created a repressive agency, a unit of the Criminal Investigation Corps, placing it on the Rio Piedra campus itself.'

'This means total repression of any policy of liberal appearance on the part of the university authorities.'

On March 4 last year, police entered the university from outside and killed a woman student,



Top: William Tapia, member of the FUPI, unjustly accused by the police. Bottom: student meeting organized by FUPI in San Juan (the Puerto Rican capital).

Antonia Martinez, who was a member of the pro-independence movement.

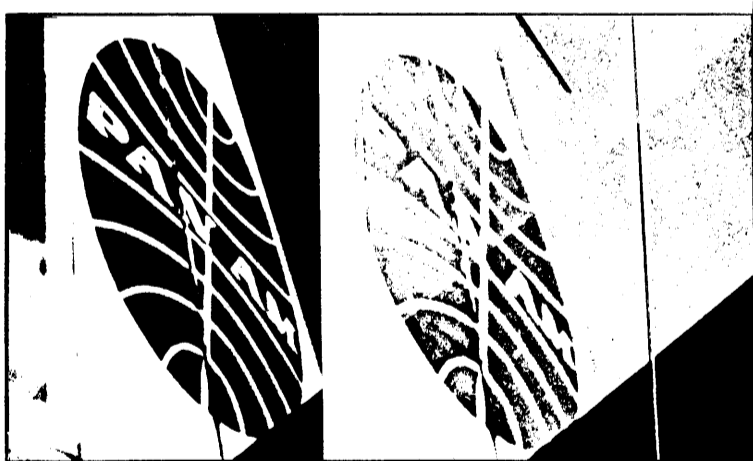
When they came back again on March 11, 1970, two of their number were shot after first firing on the students.

One of those shot, the chief of the police shock forces, subsequently died. FUPI member Humberto Pagan was arrested and accused of his murder.

The students are now campaigning for Pagan's release, and for the release of FUPI member William Tapia, also charged on what Meléndez describes as 'trumped-up accusations'.

Now the students have declared 'open war' on the CIC, Meléndez says.

'We will continue our struggle for independence and socialism. And we are certain of victory.'



# MR PANAM IS FIRED

BY ALEX MITCHELL

The cash crisis in Pan American World Airways is proving so critical that the Nixon administration may have to subsidize the company to ensure its survival.

The chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Mr Secor Browne, has already been in touch with President Nixon to explain the company's financial plight.

The crisis situation in Pan Am was highlighted last week by the resignation of its chairman, Najeeb E. Halaby, following an ultimatum from the board to resign or be dismissed.

The board declared Halaby personally responsible for the state of the company's fortunes.

Since the former Federal Aviation Administration Chairman became President in May 1968, the airline has lost more than \$120m. The losses have increased this year, at a time when other airlines have reversed their profit tailspin of the past three years.

Replacing Halaby as chairman

is retired General William T. Seawell, who has been President of Pan Am since December 1, when he relieved Halaby. He will retain the presidency along with the chairmanship. A former American Airlines vice president, General Seawell was President of the American subsidiary of Rolls-Royce Ltd, when the latter's parent company went into receivership following huge cost overruns on jet engine production for the Lockheed 1011 TriStar jet airbus.

Although Pan Am has improved passenger traffic by 13.5 per cent over the last few weeks, costs have soared at an even faster rate. During Halaby's tenure, Pan Am suffered net losses of \$26.4m, \$48.4m and \$45.5m in 1969, 1970 and 1971 respectively.

Among Pan Am's basic problems has been competition from low-cost charter flights on N Atlantic routes between America and Europe. Also, Pan Am continues servicing low-traffic, unprofitable, out-of-the-way cities in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Halaby's efforts to abandon some of these routes have been rejected by governmental agencies, as well as the International Air Transport Association. Halaby has also sought to merge Pan Am with airlines whose routes overlap those of Pan Am, but the US government has rejected these efforts, as well as requests from Pan Am to be permitted to fly domestically in the US.

Halaby had sought unsuccessfully to merge with TWA, which not only overlaps Pan Am overseas, but has many profitable domestic routes between New York, Chicago and California. An effort to merge with Eastern, America's most profitable domestic line, which also boasts profitable routes to Mexico and the Caribbean, was also rejected.

Exactly how General Seawell will reverse the airline's financial nosedive has not been disclosed. But it seems certain he will cut costs sharply, by paring the number of flights Pan Am offers each day and by cutting back on personnel.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## LOST

Once upon a time Rupert Murdoch, owner of the 'Sun' and the 'News of the World' and large shareholder in London Weekend Television, regarded himself as a 'radical'.

The young publisher gobbled up several newspapers in his native Australia and declared he was for 'campaigning journalism'.

One of his reforming young writers was Ron Saw, a columnist. Saw, now with the 'Daily Telegraph', Sir Frank Packer's reactionary daily in Sydney, has been commenting on the Ulster situation.

Referring to the recent bomb incidents at Aldershot and Donegal St and the execution of army spies, Saw said: 'If that's fighting, I'm Cassius Clay. If that's Irish, God save Ireland.'

'Once I used to think, God knows why, that the Irish were the greatest fighters on earth.'

Saw spoke of several things which happened in the past that Ireland could be proud of, but said that had now been lost.

'I don't care if they burn down each other's churches, and I rather hope that while they're about it, they barbecue those two bullies — those typical fighting Irish — Paisley and Devlin,' he said.

So much for Mr Saw, the crusading journalist of the left.

## TRIVIAL

The Seamus O'Kane story must be rounded off. You will recall that O'Kane was snatched from his temporary address in N London, taken to Aldershot and then held by Scotland Yard for three days without charges being preferred against him.

Eventually Royal Ulster Constabulary plainclothes men flew him back to Belfast.

He appeared on false cheque charges. The court was told full restitution of the money had already been made. Because the offence was so trivial, O'Kane received only an eight-month suspended sentence.

Which prompts one to ask — what was all the fuss about? For one thing the Tories have established in the O'Kane case that the law will be bent to detain and harass Irish militants.

## SURPRISE

Strikers from the British Aircraft Corporation at Preston, Lancs, visited the House of

Commons last week to gain some much-needed support for their long fight for better wages.

They decided to see Stan Orme, the senior engineering union MP in parliament. Orme made the brilliant suggestion that the strikers should see Lord Beswick, Labour's chief whip in the Lords.

It then emerged that Beswick is a public relations consultant to—yes you've guessed—BAC. The former Aviation Minister in the Wilson government nattered away sympathetically to the men who were starting to feel a bit uncomfortable about the whole situation.

They were even more flabbergasted when, through the door came a 'surprise' visitor—a leading executive from BAC.

When the delegation returned to Preston it is believed they expressed some consternation about the role played by Orme.

## BUGGED

Australia's relations with her Asian neighbours have never been good.

Now relations with Malaysia in particular have taken a nosedive.

This follows the statement in parliament that Australian intelligence bugged the Malaysian delegation's suite during a defence conference in 1969.

Labour member William Morrison said in parliament: 'This great government in a very clumsy and hamfisted way planted a bug in the room occupied by the Malaysian delegation.'

Morrison should know. At the time he was a senior member of the Australian Foreign Office staff and was deputy High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur.

## POSTHASTE

How's about this for a quick, easy way of ensuring that your post gets to its destination on time?

'A client chartered a Boeing 707 jet to fly mail from Britain to the Caribbean yesterday to secure a "first-class" delivery.'

'The Donaldson International Airways jet with just two foolscap envelopes, plus a courier, left Britain posthaste only three hours after the booking was made.'

'The cost to the client? A cool £12,500.'

(Press Association)

# BOOKS



**LEON TROTSKY:**  
Germany 1931/1932  
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½  
**Where Is Britain Going?**  
Paperback 37½p  
**Revolution Betrayed**  
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.50  
**Problems of the Chinese Revolution**  
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½  
**Permanent Revolution:**  
**Results and Prospects**  
Paperback 75p  
**In Defence of Marxism**  
Paperback 75p  
**Lessons of October**  
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:  
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS  
186a Clapham High Street,  
London SW4 7UG.

## Salesman Ezra speaks up for coal

**THE MUCH-CHASTENED Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra has begun a series of speeches up and down the country trying to rehabilitate coal as Britain's best buy in fuel.**

Yesterday the Board's travelling salesmen had two engagements—lunch at the Yorkshire Coal Exchange at Harrogate and dinner in Sheffield at the Yorkshire section of the Institute of Fuel.

At both functions Ezra appealed for industry to make coal the cornerstone of Britain's fuel policy.

At Harrogate he admitted: 'There could be no doubt the strike proved a major setback in coal's industrial and domestic selling campaign.'

'In spite of recent difficulties [!] customers can rely on solid fuel for the future as an important part of Britain's indigenous fuel policy.'

At Sheffield he elaborated on this theme:

'Nuclear power will have to play an important role in the future, but no nuclear operating station can compete with coal on price at the moment and there is no immediate prospect of this happening.'

'We have reserves of coal to last more than 100 years at the present rate of mining and it is sensible to exploit this great natural wealth.'

'The Yorkshire coalfield will play an important part in deter-



**EZRA: Praising coal**

mining whether or not we are successful in achieving our objectives.'

What's important about the two speeches—apart from the fact that Ezra has clearly changed his speechwriter—is the camouflage which is being deliberately created behind which fresh attacks are planned against the miners.

Ezra, who showed himself during the strike to be one of the most ruthless of the nationalized bosses, now appears as the man wanting to build, with the miners, a great new era for coal.

It looks good, it sounds good—but it's a long way from the reality of the crisis in British capitalism and the determination building up in the Tory Party to attack the working class more vehemently.

# LONG EASTER 'HOLIDAY' FOR SCHOOL-LEAVERS

**THIS YEAR'S Easter holidays could be the longest ever for thousands of school-leavers who quit the education establishment to join the dole queues.**

About 100,000 youth are expected to leave at Easter and another 450,000 a little later at the end of the term.

Most of them then begin an endless period either at the labour exchanges or on the streets. Jobs, which five years ago would have

been waiting for them, do not exist anymore.

At the last 'count' 53,000 youth under the age of 18 were on the jobless list. Last year there were 38,000 at about the same time.

This year's school-leavers will all be around the age of 15. They are the last ones to leave before the school-leaving age is raised to a minimum of 16 years.

But the problems they face are innumerable. Rationalization and cut-backs in factories mean they no longer stand any

chance of entering apprenticeships.

Those fortunate enough to get employment in factories will be forced to keep up with new faster methods of production.

But there is little doubt that for the majority the next week marks the beginning of a frustrating and aimless existence in the dole queue.

Brenda Calderwood, principal careers officer for Newcastle, said yesterday there was a

definite upward trend as far as unemployment among girls was concerned.

'We have always been able to place girls in jobs before, but this year it is different. But overall we face the same difficulties we have faced in the last two years.'

A considerable number of youth who left school last year are still out of work in Newcastle, which has a total of over 500 officially-registered, jobless under-18s.

# STATE STEEL JOBS DROPPED IN HIVE-OFF

BY DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

**SHOP STEWARDS at the River Don steelworks in Sheffield have dropped a demand for job safeguards before further hiving off from the nationalized factory to private industry.**

By what one steward described as a 'disappointingly small' majority, a mass meeting was persuaded to agree further transfers of employment from the British Steel Corporation to Firth Brown Ltd.

The resolution put by the stewards—unashamedly revised from an earlier mass-meeting decision—asked merely that if the BSC chiefs decide to close down the threatened melting shop at River Don, they should 'justify their findings openly'.

Jobs first came under fire at River Don on June 28 last year, when Industry Minister John Davies announced the results of a year's secret plotting with private industry to hive off sections of state steel.

A total of 4,500 out of 7,200 jobs were under threat at the Sheffield plant.

Workers throughout the city immediately swung into action behind the steelmen, and the idea of a sit-in strike was floated.

Communist Party leaders of the engineering union in the area, however, fought desperately to split the movement and turn it away from occupation. This split provided the conditions for the great cave-in.

Behind the slogan of 'saving' jobs, the stewards entered discussions with BSC executives.

The result of these talks was that at a meeting of 1,000 workers on January 11, they then recommended implementation of

Grim-faced BSC workers during the early days of their opposition to the Sheffield closures



the first round of the hive-off, acceptance of three-shift working in the machine shop and redundancy for 400 men over three years.

Under questioning from the floor they admitted that the River Don melting shop could still face closure. But it was understood by workers at the end of the meeting that no hive-off would be allowed to take place until concrete proposals

for the threatened shop were agreed.

Early this month, however, drop-forge workers began receiving letters from the company informing them that agreement had been reached in principle for the sale of their section to Firth Brown.

The sale, they were informed, would take place in two stages.

First the drop-forge business would be transferred early next

## MDW at Scottish Rolls

**THE STRIKE threat to three Scottish Rolls-Royce factories, which produce 20 per cent of the vital components for the RB-211 aero-engine, ended when workers voted to accept a new Measured-Day Work deal.**

Plant meetings at Hillington, Blantyre and E Kilbride decided, on a show of hands, to accept the management's offer of rises ranging from about £3.25 to £4.75 for skilled men.

The new deal also gives workers improvements in holiday pay, shift and overtime allowances.

Hillington convenor George McCormack claimed the offer—back-dated to January 1—could mean 'bonuses' of up to £50 for skilled men.

Bill McCollum, Rolls Scottish group industrial relations manager was elated:

'Measured-Day Working means scrapping the old payment-by-results system which has operated in Rolls-Royce for 30 years.'

About 4,000 men are employed at Hillington and another 1,500 at Blantyre and E Kilbride.

The experience of MDW at other plants has usually meant an eventual rationalization, job-cuts and loss of union control over shop floor pay and conditions.

A second and larger E Kilbride factory—employing 1,400—does not come under the new agreement.

# Temporary lecturer 'deprived of security'

A LETTER has been sent to Sir Derman Christopherson, Durham university vice-Chancellor, condemning the failure to reappoint a lecturer in the Department of Sociology.

The university's Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs' group says that in June 1970 Martin Shaw was appointed temporary lecturer in sociology for two years from September 1, 1970.

He was told by Department chief Prof Abrams that there were excellent prospects of the post being made permanent.

Now, however, another person has been given the permanent post. The protest letter says:

'ASTMS, to which Mr Shaw belongs, in common with most other members of staff in Sociology, demands Mr Shaw's re-

appointment. As in the current conflict at Lancaster university, ASTMS here strongly insists that the iniquitous use to which temporary lectureships are being put in many British universities should be ended.

'Jobs which are not really temporary are being advertised as such so that the universities can deprive their occupants of any security. Durham Academic Staffs Group of ASTMS has continually protested at this policy,

as has the union in other universities.

'We believe too that many aspects of this case, mentioned in our letter, raise the issue of democratic control by staff, represented in the Boards of Studies, over courses offered, the nature of their content, and who teaches them.

'Under the Statutes of the University, the Board of Studies is formally responsible for these. For the Board of Studies to have

this responsibility, and yet play no part in the appointment process, is plainly ridiculous...

'...in terms of this particular case of Martin Shaw, we feel that he has been disgracefully treated by this university, in that he has, in effect, been dismissed from a job he has held for two years, without any grounds for that dismissal being even suggested, and we feel that the decision of the Appointments Committee ought to be reversed.'

# CUT-BACK IN SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY POSTS

DUNDEE university has found itself in deficit and is having to cut back substantially on departmental grants, the principal Prof James Drewer has reported.

Many new lectureships were urgently needed, but money had been available for only four; he

said. Professor Drewer blamed inflation for the situation.

Dundee, however, is not unique among Scottish universities.

Stirling university recently advertised large numbers of appointments in various depart-

ments. The majority of the large numbers of post-graduate students and others who applied were informed that they had been unlucky and that only a fraction of the original posts advertised had, in fact, been filled.

month to River Don Stampings Ltd, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the BSC. Then all the shares of the new company would be transferred to Firth Brown.

Terms and conditions of employment of the workers involved would not be altered, there would just be less of them.

On March 17, the shop stewards' negotiating team reported to the full joint shop stewards' committee about the latest proposals for the hive-off.

A leading shop steward from the S machine-shop attacked the proposals and called for the resignation of the negotiating team.

The team threatened to resign, but were given a massive vote of confidence.

With this under their belt, the CP Stalinists went to last Friday's mass meeting with the following arguments:

● The BSC's chief executive, Dr H. M. 'Monty' Finiston, had given assurances of a long-term future for the steelworks. This was backed up by the necessary investment.

● 'More active consideration' was being given to schemes for saving River Don than was the case last year.

Workers had a choice, they said, of either provoking a confrontation with the corporation—through sanctions designed to win more safeguards—or accept BSC's existing promises at face value.

This fantastic, non-class approach indicates the degeneration of the jobs fight presided over by Sheffield's Stalinists.

# Weak pay plea to engineer bosses

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

**KENNETH BAKER**, national industrial officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, wants the engineering employers to reconsider their decision to turn down the unions' national pay claim.

He also thinks the Tory government should put all four yards in the former Upper Clyde Shipbuilders consortium 'back on their feet'.

Both pieces of earth-shattering advice are contained in the latest issue of the 'G&MWU Journal', always a source of great wisdom. And both will be equally contemptuously ignored.

Baker's article on the engineering claim is headlined 'After Breakdown with EEF', or a discussion of 'what happens after the unions' rejection of a derisory offer from employers'.

However, what stands out most startlingly from the piece is that in common with most other union leaders the writer has absolutely no idea what happens.

When the executives of all unions affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions met to discuss the breakdown on February 7, Baker writes, the G&MWU stated:

'We would naturally prefer a negotiated national minimum time rate, but would insist that it was realistic; the derisory [£1.50] offer made by the employers added to the present minimum time rate is unacceptable.'

He goes on to say that plant bargaining will perhaps be a

new experience for some members, while others will have been doing it for years.

It is only in the last paragraph but one of the article that Baker gets round to suggesting any action at all. And that is action by the employers.

'In my view', he says, 'the EEF should reconsider its attitude to the whole claim,

including its offer on minimum time rate . . .

'The present basic rates are a disgrace.'

We are sure the EEF, which is currently locking out Baker's members all over the Manchester district, will read his comments with interest. Then—like the Tory Ministers responsible for UCS—they will laugh like drains.

## SUSPICIOUS EYE CAST AT NEW GOVAN CHIEFS

**SHIPYARD workers on the upper Clyde were yesterday looking suspiciously at a list of new bosses the government has appointed over them.**

They include a leading associate of Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis, a speed-up expert from the power industry and two directors of the former Upper Clyde Shipbuilders consortium.

A particularly hard look was being taken by the workers at the first two Tory appointments.

Andrew G. Spyrou (52) has been technical director of Olympic Maritime SA, the Onassis shipping organization, since 1964.

He graduated from Strathclyde University, Glasgow, in 1945 with an honours degree in naval architecture. Married to a Glasgow-born woman, he claims to have a friendly feeling for the city.

But Govan Shipbuilders describe him as 'one of the world's foremost authorities on shipbuilding and the needs of shipowners', and it is the last few words of that description which have caught the shipyard workers' eyes.

They well remember Onassis's wiring and dining of boiler-makers' leader Danny McGarvey during their discussions about the Harland and Wolff shipyard, Belfast, in December 1970.

After that session the union chief described the millionaire employers—one of the main supporters of the Greek colonels' regime as 'not anti-union'.

The talks were a prelude to union concessions on wages and working conditions at Harland's.

And who better to advise on the carrying-through of such concessions than Alexander I. Farningham (48), the other new appointee to the Tory-sponsored Govan Board?

Farningham is head of productivity services at the Electricity Council, which rules an industry from which thousands of jobs have been slashed over the past few years.

## ANOTHER V&G INQUIRY

**THE DEPARTMENT of Trade and Industry is now preparing an internal report on the Vehicle and General Insurance scandal.**

This follows the publication of the findings of the Tory-appointed tribunal several weeks ago.

This report laid most of the blame with department officials.

However, the department's own inquiry is expected to 'redress the balance'. An official of the department told Workers Press that there was a great deal of unhappiness about the government inquiry.

Civil servants thought its terms of reference were too narrow and its findings unfair. A tape containing the names and addresses of thousands of V&G policyholders has been sold to London and Edinburgh General Insurance.

Nicholas Ridley, under secretary for Trade and Industry, admitted that the sale had taken place and went on to criticize the sale of 'highly-confidential and personal information'.

The acquisition of the lists enabled London and Edinburgh Insurance to send out quotations to 340,000 former V&G policyholders.

**Subscribe!**  
**workers press**

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues)  
£10.14 for 6 months (156 issues)  
£5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:  
£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)  
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required MONDAY THURSDAY  
(Please tick) TUESDAY FRIDAY  
WEDNESDAY SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for ..... months.

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

## THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name .....

Address .....

# TV

## BBC 1

9.45 Pogles' Wood. 10.00 White Horses. 10.25 Deputy Dawg. 10.30 Swim. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 11.00 Boomph with Becker. 12.25 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 12.55 Disc a Dawn. 1.30 Chigley. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 The Sky at Night. 2.25 Good Sailing. 2.55 Sights and Sounds of Britain. 3.25 Flying Doctor. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Laurel and Hardy. 5.15 Yogi Bear. 5.20 Before the Event. 5.44 Crystal Tipps. 5.50 News, weather.

### 6.00 NATIONWIDE.

### 6.50 TOM AND JERRY.

7.00 SPY TRAP. Package Deal, episode 3.

7.25 STAR TREK. The Enemy Within.

8.10 SOFTLY, SOFTLY. Conclusion.

9.00 NEWS, Weather.

9.20 SPORTSNIGHT. World Welterweight Championship.

10.10 TALKBACK.

10.45 FILM 72.

11.10 24 HOURS.

11.40 THE DAY OF THE LORD.

## BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University.

7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.

8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED. Enid Lockhart: Part 1. First woman tourist guide in Europe.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. Life and prospects of four East End boys.

9.00 LOOK STRANGER. This Is My Island.

9.20 WALTON AT 70. A tribute to Sir William Walton.

10.20 VINTAGE HOLLYWOOD: 'RAGE IN HEAVEN'. Robert Montgomery, Ingrid Bergman. Mentally unbalanced man plans his own death.

11.40 NEWS, Weather.

11.45 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## ITV

1.45 Racing from Sandown Park. 3.10 Tea Break. 3.40 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Get This. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 CADE'S COUNTY. The Armageddon Contract.

9.00 CALLAN. If He Can, So Could I.

10.00 NEWS.

10.30 MAN AT THE TOP. The Prime of Life.

11.30 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

12.00 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

12.15 IT MATTERS TO ME.

## REGIONAL TV

All Regions as BBC-1 except:

Wales: 4.55 Cadi Ha. 5.15 Parsley. 6.00 Wales Today. 6.50 Heddiw. 7.10 Tresarn. 7.40 It's Murder But Is It Art? 10.45 Late Call. 11.47 Weather.

Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 10.45 Capital Folk. 11.40 Sky at Night. 12.00 Day of the Lord. 12.05 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00 Cade's county. 11.47 Music in Vision. 11.47

News, weather. England: 6.00 Look North, Midlands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West, Weather. 10.45 BBC North from Leeds. Manchester—Showing Tonight. Newcastle—Great North Road Show. B'ham — Contact. Norwich—On Camera. Bristol—You Can't Lose. Southampton—Burton to Beachy. Plymouth — Peninsula. 11.47 News, weather.

CHANNEL: 1.45 Racing. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Tea break. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Link up. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 10.32 Both ends meet. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Epilogue. News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.44 News. 11.47 Epilogue. 11.52 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 1.45 Racing. 3.35 Tea break. 4.05 Houseparty. 4.19 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.30 Dick Van Dyke. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 News. 11.55 Weather. Discovery.

HTV: 2.15 Racing. 3.50 Katie Stewart cooks. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Tommy Cooper. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.30 Alexander the greatest. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

HTV Wales as above except: 3.50 Hamdden. 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales.

ANGLIA: 1.45 Racing. 3.55 News. 4.00 Tea break. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Alexander. 11.00 Wrestling.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.45 Racing. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.40 Grasshopper island. 4.55 Secret service.

5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 10.30 Alexander. 11.00 Wrestling.

ULSTER: 1.45 Racing. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 Report. 6.15 What's on. 6.35 London. 10.30 Tommy Cooper. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Epilogue.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Racing. 3.15 House and garden. 3.40 News. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.30 Alexander. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 1.45 Racing. 3.15 House and garden. 3.40 News. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.30 Costa Del Coal. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 News. 12.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.45 Sandown Racing. 3.30 Pinky and Perky. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Popeye. 6.30 Plus tam. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's County. 9.00 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Sport. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Wrestling.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 Racing. 3.38 News. 3.40 Smith family. 4.10 Beloved enemy. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 8.00 Shari's show. 8.30 Odd couple. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 10.30 Perspective. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.45 Music of the Highlanders. 12.00 Epilogue.

# NOT A PENNY MORE BR TELLS UNIONS

BY PHILIP WADE

BRITISH RAIL told the three railway unions yesterday they would not add anything to the 9-per-cent offer on basic rates they made last week.

All that came from British Rail was a rejigging of the global sum of £30.8m.

Late yesterday afternoon, the talks were adjourned until this morning after the unions had demanded more cash on the basic rate.

'We are expecting them to find more money and we still want the £20 basic wage,' commented Sir Sidney Greene, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. 'We are not anywhere near industrial action yet.'

At the end of the morning session disconsolate union officials broke for separate discussions. ASLEF general secretary Ray Buckton said: 'There isn't sufficient for us on the basic rate I can tell you. There has just been a bit of juggling of figures.'

Apparently ASLEF had been offered another 40p on the drivers' basic rate. But 38p of this came from consolidation of bonus payments leaving the drivers with a net gain of 2p a week.

The unions then met together before telling the BR board they wanted more money.

After 90 minutes of the afternoon session, the board left the unions once more.

'There's still £9m between us.'

NUR assistant general secretary Sid Weighall said.

The NUR, ASLEF and the Transport and Salaried Staffs Association are demanding increases of up to 16 per cent on basic rates.

The British Rail offer to date amounts to about 9 per cent — discounting consolidation of bonus earnings.

Feeling is growing at branch level that action must soon be initiated to secure the demands.

Southern Railways drivers have warned they will take action if there is no satisfactory settlement by April 10.

And the NW district council of the NUR has called on the executive not to accept anything less than a £25 a week minimum — £5 a week more than the present demand.



Ray Buckton, ASLEF secretary at yesterday's talks.

## CONTACT

NEWS DESK  
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

## CRAIG CROWD SHOUTS DOWN FAULKNER

BY A POLITICAL REPORTER

RETIRING Ulster premier Brian Faulkner was shouted down on several occasions yesterday when a massive 30,000-strong Protestant rally began to chant: 'We want Craig.'

The demonstration in Belfast was larger than on Monday, the first day of the two-day General Strike call by Craig's Vanguard Party.

In a speech from a balcony Faulkner said: 'We feel that our endeavours to provide a just government for Ulster have been betrayed from London. Let us in silence express our determination today that we will have nothing less than full British standards of democracy and justice.'

For the second day Ulster was without public transport, postal facilities and some newspapers. There were severe power cuts throughout the province.

William Blease, head of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, said: 'There is every indication

there will be a resumption of work tomorrow.'

ARMAGH County Council yesterday passed a resolution calling the suspension of Stormont 'a surrender to violence.'

IN LONDON, the new Ulster overlord, William Whitelaw, gave Edward Heath and the Tory Cabinet a briefing on his 'first impressions' of the Ulster situation.

PORTADOWN in Co Armagh was simmering yesterday after the town's worst rioting in 40 years. At the height of the riot, 300 supporters of the Ulster Vanguard Party rampaged through Catholic areas smashing windows, looting and burning.

Yesterday troops patrolled the streets and asked Protestants and Catholics to remove makeshift barricades.

## T&GWU no comment on NIRC

TRANSPORT union leaders were not saying yesterday afternoon whether they will attend today's proceedings against them alleging contempt of the National Industrial Relations Court.

Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd claim that union members are still stopping its container lorries at Liverpool docks in defiance of a court order.

If the court decides this is true, it could find the T&GWU in contempt. Penalties would be at the discretion of the court's judicial member, president Sir John Donaldson.

● SEE What We Think p. 2.

## LATE NEWS WEATHER

BACKING for the sit-ins at three Manchester area engineering factories — Mirlees, Sharston's and Davies and Metcalfe's — came yesterday from the executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Late yesterday afternoon, AUEW executive councilman Bob Wright told Workers Press that these were the only factories from which he had so far received specific requests, but 'wherever we are satisfied workers have exhausted negotiations with their employers we will support them'.

The council had heard a report from union solicitors on the legal action being taken against the Sharston workers, which comes up today in the Chancery division of the High Court at Preston. Mr Wright said he would be keeping in close touch with the situation there.

ALL DISTRICTS will have sunny periods and showers which will be locally heavy with thunder and will fall as snow on northern hills. It will be cold generally. Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Scattered showers with occasional snow in N. Sunny periods. Perhaps more general rain in S later. Cold.

The management of Sharston Tool Services — one of seven NW engineering plants now occupied — are to take action in Preston High Court today to clear their factory. Men are seen above at the doorway to one of the factory's shops. For occupation league, see p.1.

## CAV 'can't consider two claims'

SHOP STEWARDS at Joseph Lucas's CAV subsidiary at Acton, W London, suspect that a wage-freezing pay deal for the site may be under discussion behind their backs.

Management turned down the national engineering claim when it was submitted at plant level, on the grounds that they could not entertain two claims at once.

Yet this is the only claim which has been discussed by the shop stewards' committee.

The factory's engineering-union convenor has been summoned to his union's district office to discuss progress on the national claim.

## THREE DAYS TO GO — £281.87 STILL TO RAISE

AT LAST—a great post yesterday of £173.88 pushed our Fund up to £968.13. Keep up this magnificent effort and you will certainly raise our Fund without a doubt.

As a crisis situation develops between the engineers and employers in Manchester, thousands more engineers and railwaymen follow suit. Everywhere sections of the working class are actively taking up the fight against the Tory government.

Workers Press is more decisive than ever in preparing the leadership for such a battle. Help therefore in these last vital days. Keep up this great last minute effort. Make sure we raise our Fund. If possible, push the figure over the top. Rush all last minute donations to:

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



## TUC to unionize Kodak?

A NEW TUC initiative to extend unionization at Kodak, the US-owned photographic firm, is expected next month.

A meeting of all the unions interested in winning members in the firm's plants is to be called. The TUC estimates that this will take place sometime in mid-April.

Kodak has a long history of discouraging union organization and is allegedly assisting attempts to set up a Union of Kodak Workers, which is registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

## Urgent talks on Shepperton closure—ACTT

LEADERS of the film-technicians' union ACTT say they are willing to consider every suggestion for fighting the threatened closure of Shepperton film studios.

'We will be having very urgent and very early meetings with all the branches, sectors and shops concerned,' union president George Elvin told Workers Press.

A resolution proposing a sit-in strike if necessary to save the hundreds of jobs which are threatened was ruled out of order at the ACTT conference last weekend.

Elvin claimed this was necessary to allow prior discussion both inside the union and with the other unions concerned.