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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY ALEX MITCHELL

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Other speakers included Pat Jordan, leader of the International Marxist Group, who made no criticism of the CP beyond pointing out that Nixon had been feted in Moscow and Peking while bombarding North Vietnam.

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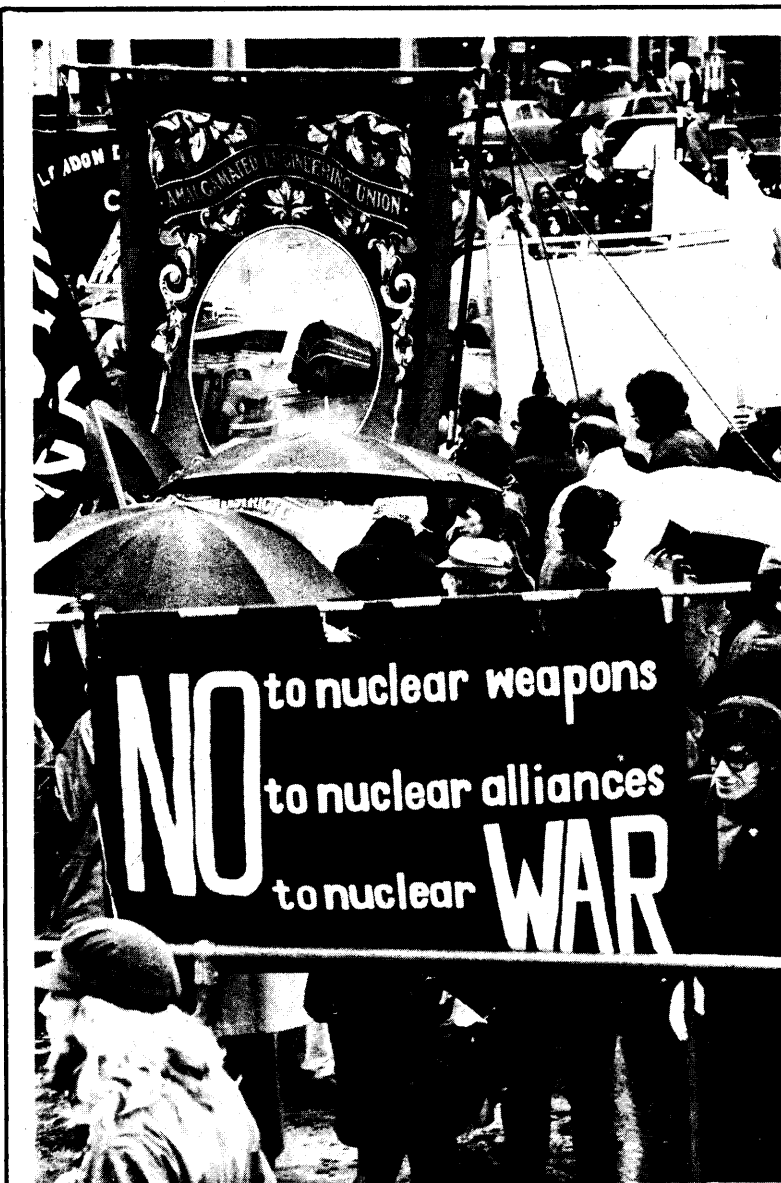
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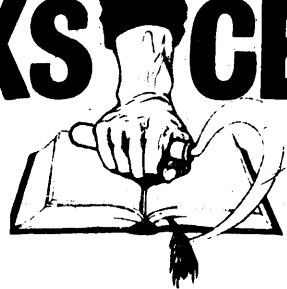
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South African bus drivers arrested for striking

MORE than 200 African bus drivers were arrested in Johannesburg at the weekend on charges of taking part in an illegal strike.

The strike had caused a complete stoppage of services to Soweto, Evaton, Martindale and other African townships outside the city, stranding 120,000 commuters.

The Public Utility Transport Company has said it is impossible to meet the drivers' demand for a minimum wage of 60 rand (£30) a week. At present the drivers earn about 30 rand.

The growing combativity of the black workers in South

Africa is paralleled by a big movement among the students, both black and white.

Premier Balthazar Vorster has threatened to shut down universities if protests against the apartheid system do not cease.

He was speaking after a clash on Friday between students and police on the steps of Cape Town Cathedral in which some 20 students were injured. He said the government was contemplating firm action against the students 'unless the agitation ends'.

Brig M. C. Lamprecht, the city's senior CID officer, said the police kicked and bludgeoned

students and bystanders and 'would not hesitate to take the same action again'.

Vorster said he had discussed ways of dealing with disturbances when he met members of his cabinet, including Ministers of National Education, Police, Coloured Relations, Indian Affairs and Bantu Education.

Students in many parts of the country have been boycotting lectures since the expulsion last month of Abraham Tiro, a student leader at the African University of the North at Turfloop who criticized the government's racist education policy during a graduation ceremony.

WHAT WE THINK

ATTORNEY FOR REPUBLICAN TREACHERY

FAITHFUL to its reformist creed and anti-communist heritage the International Socialism group has justified the counter-revolutionary betrayal of the Republican and reformist groups in Ireland.

In a back-page leader in this week's 'Socialist Worker', Chris Harman, noted IS apologist, goes to amazing lengths to play down the significance of the Republican capitulation—and predictably, blame the success of Whitelaw on the Catholic workers and housewives of Ulster.

Harman assures his readers that the Official IRA truce 'follows a week in which middle-class Catholic establishment has launched increasingly bitter attacks on the Republican movement'.

The impression is created in six paragraphs of turgid prose that the IRA was powerless to resist the offensive of the Catholic Church and the Social Democratic and Labour Party and that the truce was only a recognition of an irrevocable objective 'fact'.

Having mitigated the bankruptcy of the Republican leaders in this way Harman, taking his cue from 'The Times', 'explains' the demand for 'peace' by the war-weariness of the people.

He writes: 'But the support that the demand for 'peace' enjoys among a substantial section of the Catholic population is not only to be explained by the crude tub-thumping of priests and politicians... It expresses a genuine feeling that the killing and the fighting has gone on long enough and that its continuance is not going to lead to any real change for the better...'

Another 'factor pushing people to pray for peace at almost any price is the growing threat of a bitter religious sectarian blood bath...' [Northern Ireland: Peace at What Price? 'Socialist Worker', June 3, 1972.]

Some cynics might be inclined to explain Harman's attitude of semi-religious reverence and awe at the power of priestly 'tub-thumping' by the well-known fact that the IS group not only tolerates confessed Catholics on its leading bodies, but even approves of religious ceremonies attended by socialists. This, however, would be a crude oversimplification of 'state capitalist' method and outlook.

Their compromise with religion is an expression of their consistent refusal to fight bourgeois consciousness and their equally consistent worship of rank-and-file spontaneity in the working class. This method leads them to systematically rationalize all that is backward and idealist in the working class and incorporate it in their policy.

In the past this method led them to approve of the despatch of British troops to Ulster and to confine the struggle in Ulster to the bourgeois-democratic programme of Civil Rights. This policy led inevitably to the collapse of their organization in Ulster—the People's Democracy.

When the IRA took up arms, the IS, just as impressionistically

and unprincipledly, dropped its support for British troops and became the most vociferous apologist for bourgeois nationalism in Ulster.

After the Derry massacre, leading IS members like Farrell and McCann openly identified themselves with the bankrupt policies of the Provisionals.

But imperialism does not rule by guns alone. Realizing that army repression was driving ghetto dwellers to support the IRA more actively, Whitehall decided to split and undermine the resistance with direct rule.

Direct rule with the temporary abolition of Stormont and limited release of internees constituted a far greater danger to the IRA and its supporters than the British army and Royal Ulster Constabulary.

It is no accident that on this question the IS group deliberately played down this danger with its argument that direct rule 'did not change a thing'. Only Workers Press warned of the possibility of direct rule and—after it was proclaimed—pointed out the sinister implications of this policy.

Contrary to IS claims, it is not 'war weariness' or the threat of 'sectarian strife' that explains the retreat of the IRA. It is, as we pointed out many times, the failure of every political group in Ulster—nationalist, Republican, revisionist and Stalinist—to put forward a revolutionary alternative to direct rule, that accounts for the growth of the 'peace' movement.

As the Insight inquiry in the 'Sunday Times' revealed yesterday: '... behind the scenes, Whitelaw and his civil servants have not only had a considerable hand in orchestrating the much reported "peace moves" by priests and assorted citizenry...'

'The moves have involved Whitelaw and his civil servants, some of the leaders of the Provisional IRA, the SDLP opposition party at Stormont, the Rev Ian Paisley and several prominent Unionists—with the assistance of... politicians in the Labour Party at Westminster.

'In summary what is happening is this: The Provisionals are talking to Whitelaw, through intermediaries... Meanwhile the Provisionals have also been talking to Paisley and to Faulkner's ex-Minister of Development, Reg Bradford... The SDLP "initiative" ten days ago, calling for Catholics to return to public life, had in fact been discussed with Whitelaw's civil servants beforehand.' ('The Sunday Times', June 4, 1972.)

Thus the Official IRA 'truce' is only a small but important part of a vast conspiracy of all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups in the Catholic camp to achieve an unprincipled deal which will leave imperialist interests intact at the expense of Catholic and Protestant workers.

'Socialist Worker' and the 'state capitalists'—no matter what criticism they now make of Republicans—are willing participants, not hostages, to this historic betrayal.

AROUND THE WORLD

New move to slice Vietnam

VIETNAMESE liberation forces have begun a new series of attacks on coastal districts in the central and northern regions of South Vietnam.

The area has a long tradition of anti-imperialist struggle against both the French and the Americans. The immediate target of the attacks is the town of Phu My, east of Kontum which has been under heavy siege for the past two weeks.

Liberation forces blew up the puppet troops' ammunition dump near Phu My yesterday and there were reports of fighting from a number of areas in the region, which has been quiet for some time.

The offensive is part of a drive to consolidate gains already made on the ground in the coastal regions, with the aim of cutting South Vietnam across its central provinces.

Invasion of Japanese goods feared

BY JOHN SPENCER

BRITAIN and Japan will hold talks in London in September on bilateral, economic and trade questions, an official announced in Tokyo at the weekend.

The announcement follows sharp exchanges last week between Tory Trade Minister John Davies and his Japanese counterpart Kakuei Tanaka.

Davies has been demanding in all his talks with Japanese officials that immediate action be taken to stem the increase of Japanese goods on the European market and the growing trade balance in Japan's favour.

Japan's professions of willingness to deal with these questions have cut no ice with the British, who correctly see Tokyo's promises as a smokescreen for preparing the invasion of European markets.

Japan is under continued pressure from Washington to slash its exports to the United States. The White House announced yesterday that presidential adviser Henry Kissinger will be visiting Tokyo in a week's time for talks with government representatives on this question.

Kissinger is likely to repeat earlier American threats to take drastic action to protect home markets against Japanese goods unless the Tokyo government shows real willingness to stop its exports.

Concessions on Berlin

THE signing on Saturday of the treaties between West Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland has opened the way for closer collaboration between the capitalist powers and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Europe.

One of the major impediments to this collaboration was removed in Berlin after the treaties had been signed, when the British, French, US and Soviet representatives brought into operation a protocol guaranteeing the status of West Berlin.

Unlimited access to this capitalist outpost within the German Democratic Republic is guaranteed by the Berlin protocols. West Berliners will in future be able to travel to surrounding East Germany and East Berlin.

The Soviet concessions are in order to pave the way for their cherished dream of a European security conference.

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'PRINCIPLES' AND THE EPTU ELECTION

BY DAVID MAUDE

Voting takes place this month in the long-awaited contest for the presidency of the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union.

Since the winner will hold the reins of Britain's fourth largest union, the election has an importance which extends far outside the confines of the EPTU itself.

Witness to the seriousness with which the right-wing clique, currently dominating the union, regards the result is borne by the extraordinary reluctance to hold it at all; the post has remained vacant since the death of right-winger Sir Les Cannon 18 months ago.

There are six candidates in the field. Despite the reticence of most of them about their politics, the election is clearly dominated by political issues. Perhaps chief among these is on the surface the Industrial Relations Act.

But a careful reading of the various candidates' election addresses reveals an even more fundamental issue: what to do about the Tory government? Topping the pile is the EPTU's right-wing general secretary, Frank Chapple, who immediately takes the political bull by the horns with this paragraph:

'In the ten years since Jock Byrne and I took the legal action which rid this union of control by the Communist Party we have gone from strength to strength.'

GROWTH

Chapple clearly expects his audience to attribute the growth in membership, the increase in the number of full-time officials and the strengthening of finances, to the sagacity and organizing skill of him and his anti-communist friends rather than the growth of the electrical industry and the rising combativity of the working class.

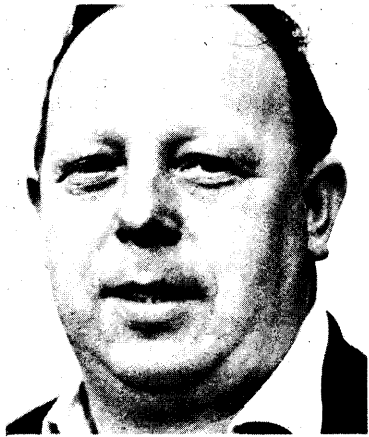
But he is curiously modest about actual results—in terms of wages and conditions—in those industries and companies where the union is responsible for negotiations. These are described as merely 'above average'.

The EPTU secretary blames the increasing difficulty of representing the membership on 'successive governments'.

Himself a member of the Labour Party executive, he says that these 'have been trying to solve the country's economic problems by arbitrarily limiting wage increases, encouraging unemployment and finally resorting to an ill-conceived Industrial Relations Act'.

Chapple's strictures against the Act do not, however, prevent him from going on to advise that the EPTU remains registered under it.

He encompasses this by first citing 'the principle' of opposition to the Act, then discovering 'the overriding principle' of 'defence of our members'.



Jim Dormer: call to struggle against Tory Government

Even his first 'principle' leads to some bizarre conclusions.

'The movement's policy', the aspiring secretary-president states, 'should be to get trade union representatives on the National Industrial Relations Court and Industrial Tribunals which are going to sit in judgement'.

The second is more straightforward. It just means: stay on the Tory list.

Contracting electrician Jim Dormer is a member of the Socialist Labour League, he has no hesitation in telling the union's 413,071 members.

His bid for their support is an uncompromising call to struggle against the Tory government.

He is 'a keen reader of the Workers Press and an active trade unionist', he writes. 'I shall continue to fight for a revolutionary leadership in the



Frank Chapple: advises registration under the Act on grounds of 'defence of our members'

union and a socialist Britain'.

Where Chapple wants registration and union judges in the NIRC, Dormer stands for 'a campaign of the trade unions and labour movement to force the Tories to resign and the construction of a revolutionary alternative to reformism and Stalinism'.

The Tories, he goes on, must be replaced with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies which include nationalization under workers' control and without compensation of all land, banks and industry.

Such a government would also end British membership of the Common Market, withdraw the troops from Northern Ireland immediately and defend all democratic rights. 'This', Dormer insists, 'is the only answer to the problems of unemployment, homelessness and destitution'.

He concludes by expressing opposition to all forms of productivity-bargaining and 'any attempt to replace union democracy by a professional bureaucracy'.

Fred Gore, a shop steward at London's Heathrow airport, until recently could have been expected to get the full backing of the Communist Party in his attempt at the presidency.

But there has been speculation of late that the CP may swing at least some of its weight behind the former Labour councillor, executive member Eric Hammond, or national officer Mark Young.

Gore's address concerns itself solely with trade union issues.

He is 'completely opposed to the government's Industrial Relations Act', but makes no mention of getting the Tories out of office. Even Chapple calls for the return of a Labour government to repeal the Act.

'It is appalling', Gore goes on, 'that our union has still not carried out the 1971 policy conference decision to de-register'.

'Ours is the only major industrial union that has yet to comply with TUC policy. Until we do so, we are in effect aiding and abetting the

Tory attacks on trade unions.'

The airport steward also calls for better liaison between full-time officers and union members, more local pay agreements and more negotiating authority for shop stewards.

'No redundancies in any guise can be tolerated in the present circumstances', he says.

Executive member Hammond tries to stand in the middle of the road, advising union members not to read his address if they believe officers should be chosen 'on pro- or anti-communism or whether they abhor or revere the leadership'.

MERGER

He says he voted against this year's electricity-supply pay settlement. 'Supply workers were sold short for their productivity effort', he explains. But he does not express opposition to the history of productivity dealing which has destroyed thousands of power jobs.

He says he will oppose any merger with either the engineers' or General and

Municipal Workers' unions 'until I am convinced that our members' interests are best served by merging'.

Roy Sanderson's candidature also claims to be 'non-partisan'.

'I stand without the support of any sectarian group', the former left-winger, who became an EPTU paid official, writes. He claims to offer 'an alternative choice'.

But, like Chapple, he is opposed to the policy of de-registration under the Industrial Relations Act, although wanting the union to 'work within the TUC to change these decisions . . . not act unilaterally in defiance of them'.

Sanderson also supports unions appearing before the courts.

Young, another national officer, was secretary of the so-called reform movement which led the anti-CP campaign prior to the 1961 High Court decision placing Chapple and company in power.

But now, he says, the 'democratic reforms' which followed the judgement have gone. Fresh blood is needed in the union leadership. And the lucky donor should be . . . you've guessed it, Mark Young.



Mark Young: led reform movement that put Chapple in power

RAILMAN WRITES

Dear Editor,
Ian Yeats attack on 100 years of ASRS/NUR leadership, no doubt written with the best intentions, was, I believe, in effect an unintentional attack on the railway workers, and is at least open to question.

Ian Yeats states that a maxim to characterize the NUR leadership would be 'when the enemy advances we retreat', this maxim to apply over the past 100 years.

He goes on to say: 'Not that the 12 general secretaries of the NUR and their successive executive committees have themselves seen their decisions as retreats or employers as the enemy.'

Have then the membership? The executive committee of the NUR is changed by one third each year therefore wholly by each third year, each retiring member not being eligible to stand again for a further three years.

Although a member of the executive committee serves for a period of three years, the branches of the union in the district he serves have the power to call a ballot to replace him after one year.

Ian Yeats is in effect suggesting that railway workers have consistently allowed themselves to be sold out and by 30-odd different executive committees consisting of 24 men at a time, the positions of whom the members have the power to change every year, not including the powers the members have through their annual general meeting.

This is nonsense and the suggestion only emerges from the articles because they are historical truths taken out of context. Is this not so?

The members of the NUR have laid down certain rules, the spirit of which are that the struggle of all workers in the industry are the same regard-

less of the job he performs. The members have also ruled that the NUR exists 'to work for the suppression of the capitalist system by a socialistic order of society'.

It is rather irksome to hear that sectionalist unions in the railway industry are using Ian Yeats articles as an attack on industrial trade unionism as these unions barely got a couple of paragraphs in the entire series. Why is this?

Ian Yeats writes: 'Only members of the Labour Party are allowed to stand for the executive—thus excluding communists'.

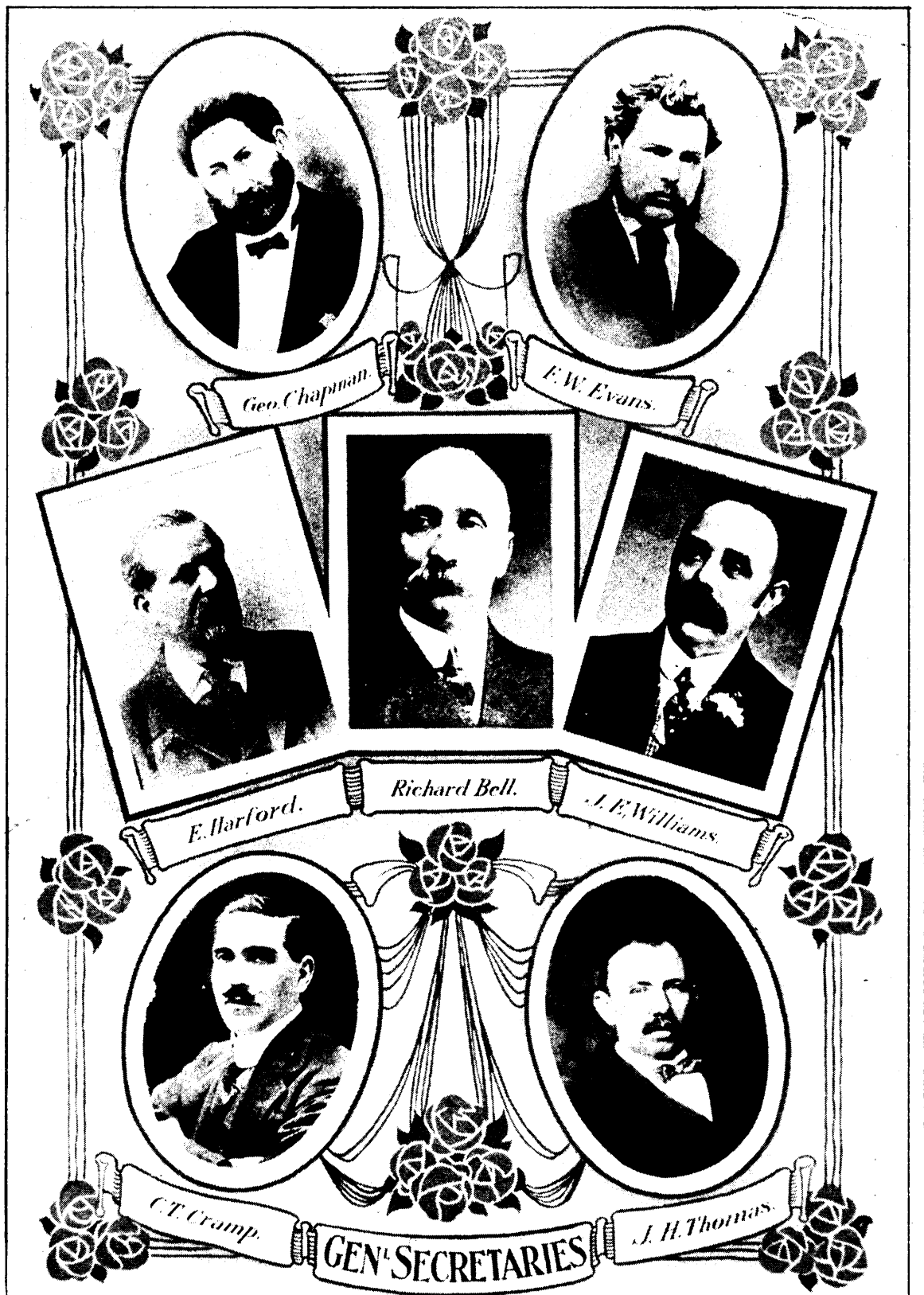
Where does he get this information? The membership have ruled that the President must attend the Labour Party conference as a delegate and must therefore be a member of the Labour Party. But there is nothing to say a member of the national executive committee must be a Labour Party member or that he may not be a Communist Party member or any other party member for that matter.

We must, as trade unionists, fight to replace any of our leaders who are beat or compromise and too blind to see the struggle of the workers as a political struggle. We must do this if we are to kick the Tories out and replace them with a true socialist government.

The trade unions are fighting for survival. The capitalists have declared war on the working class. To win this war we must examine as workers our own history so as not to make the same mistakes we have made in the past.

Ian Yeats may feel this is what his articles did. But his analysis was incomplete and left too many questions. This is where the dangers lie.

G. Revell
N. London



THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

REPLY BY IAN YEATS

Time and time again in the 100 year history of the ASRS-NUR alternative leadership has been sought by the rank and file.

Only two weeks ago Southern Region drivers threatened to set up a breakaway union in protest against ASLEF executive's decision to call off the work-to-rule.

They would not have got far. Setting up new unions as a substitute for the fight for principled revolutionary leadership is a blind alley doomed to bring workers back to the reformist quagmire they sought to escape.

Historically there are plenty more examples of railwaymen mooting and in some cases establishing breakaway unions and unofficial strikes are legion.

In common with workers in any and every other union they have repeatedly shown their disapproval of the compromises effected by successive leaderships.

There can, therefore, be no question of blaming the rank and file of the NUR for the retreats of their leaders.

That they accepted these retreats owes itself to the fact that workers can only fight inside the organizations they have historically built up.

But the question to be

answered is not why workers eventually obey their leaders but why those leaders consistently betray and compromise.

We were at pains to stress at the beginning of our seven-part history of the ASRS-NUR (time and space alone kept us from turning to the ASLEF and the TSSA) that the history of the railway unions was no more or less than the catalogue of reformism.

The reformist does not see employers or their government as enemies to be destroyed. He sees them as men in whom ultimately authority is vested by virtue of their ownership



Lenin: 'trade union consciousness is bourgeois consciousness.'

of the means of production and exchange and as men with whom he must and can bargain.

The trade union is a defensive organization which exists to squeeze crumbs from the employers by a process of negotiation in which compromise is a necessary and even honourable part.

As Lenin says, trade union consciousness is bourgeois consciousness.

In 1919 and 1926 the ruling Tory government was quite clear that if the unions pressed ahead with their claims it meant going beyond the concept of 'our society' to the concept of whose society and the consequent battle for state power.

The reformists knew it too and shifted heaven and earth to avoid such a fight.

Trotsky wrote: 'The decomposition of British capitalism inevitably leads to the impotence of the trade unions.' It was this process he referred to. He went on: 'In order to take power the proletariat must necessarily have at their head a revolutionary party.'

G. Revell expresses surprise that '30-odd ECs' accountable to general meetings should have consistently sold out the membership. History shows us that that is just what they did.

And they were allowed to not because the rank and file wanted it that way, but

because of the absence of an alternative revolutionary leadership.

The working class cannot break spontaneously from reformism and trade union consciousness.

Mr Revell is right to say that 'as trade unionists we must fight to replace any of our leaders who are bent on compromise and too blind to see the struggle of the workers as a political struggle'.

But it is not a question of trade union leaders being blind. It is a question of their being reformist.

The fight today is not to exchange a good reformist for a bad reformist but to raise the consciousness of trade unionists to a revolutionary socialist level by fighting for Marxist policies and leadership in the unions.

And the way to do this is by building the independent revolutionary leadership around the All Trades Unions Alliance, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

The trade unions certainly are, as Revell says, fighting for survival and the capitalists certainly have declared war.

Without the revolutionary party it is a war in which the Tories advance with fixed bayonets while the reformists plead.

The reformists can and will be driven to the very points of

those bayonets by a working class more confident, aggressive and determined to fight than at almost any other time in its history.

The miners frog-marched their leaders to the front line and last week's rail ballot has put hot coals under the feet of the rail union leaders.

A general strike to force the Tories to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is imminent.

But only the revolutionary party is capable of disarming the Tories and the class they represent once and for all. Only the revolutionary party can break trade unionists from reformist bourgeois consciousness. Only the revolutionary party can lead the working class to power.

Nowhere is the reformist character of the ASRS-NUR more clear than in its choice of presidents and general secretaries—often only one step removed from outright Tories.

While it is true that members of the NUR executive may belong to any party, the president and general secretary must be able to attend Labour Party conferences and must therefore be members of the Party.

Since the reformist Labour bureaucrats have proscribed communist organizations, communists are excluded from these offices.



MAO COURTS BUTCHER OF SUDAN

The Maoists are working to cement even more closely their ties with the reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes of the Middle East.

An important delegation of Peking Stalinists has just returned from a visit to the Sudan.

They held talks with President Jaafar Numeiry's dictatorial government on closer trade ties and more aid to the Sudan.

Led by Pai Hsiang-kuo, described as a government representative, the delegation was given five-star treatment by the Sudanese.



Numeiry: Friendly butcher

Last July the Numeiry government executed 13 leading Communists, including the Sudan CP's general secretary Abdel Khaled Mahgoub.

The Chinese are not alone in their courtship of the Sudanese butchers.

A 'friendship delegation' from Numeiry's government is reported to have ended its stay in Pyongyang, capital of North Korea.

It was headed by Numeiry's Cabinet secretary, Ahmad Bakiker Isa.

At the airport to see the delegation off were An Sung-hak, Minister of Commerce and chairman of the Sudan-Korea Friendship Society and the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Yong-taek.

North Korea's 'great helmsman', Kim Il-sung, recently celebrated his 60th birthday with extravagant self-eulogies in the Stalin manner.

Among other things, he claimed to be history's foremost strategist.

His relations with the Sudan demonstrate the reactionary reality behind these ludicrous claims.



Kim Il-sung: Helmsman

ISRAELI UNION LEADERS 'SAVED' BY GOLDA MEIR

Israel's TUC, the Histadrut, was recently saved from a leadership crisis by the personal intervention of Mrs Golda Meir, the Israeli premier.

The issue was over the intended resignation of Itzhak Ben Aharon, the Histadrut secretary. Eventually after persuasion from Meir, he decided to stay—but the fact that the premier should have made such a dramatic personal intervention is a reminder of the close relationship that has always existed between Israel's trade union bureaucrats and the state.

At the same time, Ben Aharon's resignation was a reflection of the impact upon this relationship of the class struggle.

The Israeli union leader resigned in protest because of government intervention in a dispute involving 4,500 workers in privately-owned canning factories. He took the view that the Israeli government was intervening too often in industrial disputes, thus undermining the position of the Histadrut negotiators for the workers.

COMPROMISE

The government move averted a strike and foisted a compromise on the workers already agreed by the Histadrut's central committee and the Manufacturers' Association. Under the deal, day-labourers in the canning factories will be given monthly salaried status after 13 years' work, bringing them into line with conditions of service in the Histadrut's own canneries.

Ben Aharon argued that these

terms are not as good as the workers could have gained by free trade union action.

His announcement that he would resign brought a wave of demonstrations and strikes throughout Israel. This included the shut-down of Lydda Airport and the stoppage of all factories in the town of Safed.

The Ben Aharon resignation incident therefore constituted a significant breach in the politics of class-collaboration which have so far dominated the Histadrut.

With its co-operative societies, industrial enterprises and institutions such as its Health Service, the Histadrut played a major and essential part in creating the basis for the state of Israel. Although it was a labour organization, it was a Zionist organization too, and one of its main aims was to replace Arab labour with Jewish labour, as the basis for a Jewish national state.

Since the formation of the state of Israel, the Histadrut has continued to collaborate in the implementation of Zionist policies, both at home and abroad. Its bureaucracy has provided many of the political leaders of the state, in fact. Both Meir and Ben Aharon are from the same stable and the Histadrut secretary is a former Transport Minister.

The contradiction that has resulted however, is that the price of having trade union collaboration at the base of the state has been, for the Zionists, having to accept also a well-organized trade union movement and a working class which expects decent living standards and rights.

Private capitalists setting up in Israel complain of the atti-

tudes of the workers and the power of the Histadrut. Both they and the right-wing politicians who speak for them resent the strength of the Histadrut and the position of its economic and social institution.

So far as the Zionist capitalists are concerned, the Histadrut might have served a necessary function in building their state, but now they would prefer to be able to dispense with it and 'normalize' Israeli society. Unfortunately this is easier said than done.

INFLUENCE

For the trade union bureaucracy, the Histadrut is the source of their careers and influence. It is an establishment within an establishment. They have to defend their own social position and political power.

As loyal servants of the Zionist state, the Histadrut leaders do their best to hold back the struggles of the Israeli working class. The Histadrut has been jocularly defined in the past as 'an organization for the prevention of strikes'! But at the same time the leaders must maintain some appearance of being workers' leaders.

Their class-collaboration policies can be challenged from below, as when the seamen went on strike in 1954 in the Zim lines, which were partly Histadrut-owned, and raised the issue of wages and independent trade unionism.

In the 1960s, there was the challenge of rank-and-file movements, when workers in the industrial centres set up action committees to launch strikes and demonstrations against government wage-freeze policies and unemployment.

To some extent, the Zionist

rulers have been able to use talk of national security and patriotism to counteract class consciousness and hold back working-class militancy. But they have not been as successful as they would wish. Particularly recently, working-class anger has been growing because of the feeling that it is the working class alone that is being made to bear the burden of war expenditure.

Workers, especially young couples who cannot get accommodation, are angry at the building of luxury flats for the privileged. They are angry about the profiteering and corruption revealed in recent government scandals.

Itzhak Ben Aharon, as leader of the Histadrut, has had to protest to the Israeli government over its economic policies and to denounce corruption. He has condemned the treatment of the poor, and the luxury being enjoyed by the wealthy. This reflects the pressure he is under from rank-and-file workers.

In threatening to resign over government intervention in industrial disputes, Ben Aharon is clearly recognizing that to maintain his position, as a trade union bureaucrat, he must be allowed the semblance, at least, of independence from the state.

The appeal from Golda Meir, on the other hand, reflects the dilemma of the government. The 'Jewish Chronicle' correspondent on May 19 says:

'There are many in the government who would like to see the back of Mr Ben Aharon . . . but the country cannot afford the widespread ferment which would follow among the workers.'

WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS IN ULSTER?

At 7.20 a.m. on April 15 last the Conway brothers, John and Gerard, left home in Ballymurphy Road to get some fruit for their fruit stand.

They missed the bus so Gerry said: 'Let's walk down to the Falls Road—we'll get a bus quicker down there.'

Near the gates of St Thomas's School a car pulled up in front of them.

From sworn statements supplied by the Association for Legal Justice we have pieced together what then happened.

John says: 'Three doors of the car—two front and one back—were opened suddenly. Three men jumped out. They all had pistols. I said to Gerry "Run". I started to run back towards Ballymurphy Road.'

Gerry states: 'One of the men ran over to me. He pointed a gun in my face and said: "Hold it." I thought it was a hold-up as I usually carry about £100 for my business. I said: "I have only £2 and my watch." John ran back down the road followed by two men. The gunman beside me turned his head to look after them. I took this chance and ran up Whiterock Road towards the Falls.'

Terence Marley, a foreman with the Belfast cleansing department, was standing with his gang waiting for the bin lorry at the corner of Whiterock and Ballymurphy Road. He says: 'A bluish-green car, probably an 1100, but I am not absolutely sure, came down Ballymurphy Road... It had at least three occupants.'

'Just after it passed us the second time, John and Gerry Conway came out of Ballymurphy Road and walked up Whiterock Road towards the Falls Road. When they came near the car we heard shots. John Conway came running back and into Ballymurphy Road. He was followed by two men.'

'One had a blue T-shirt or polo neck type of sweater and the other had a dark blue jacket with a red stripe down the sleeve. I saw that at least one of them had a pistol. My men and myself ran for cover into the gardens of the houses on the right of Ballymurphy Road. The gunmen went back up Whiterock Road.'

'Almost immediately our lorry arrived from the Falls Road direction. The driver, Michael Mulligan, shouted: "Get on and let us get to hell out of here, I was nearly shot up there." I said: "You were not the only one..."'

John Conway continues his story of his flight from the gunmen: 'I got into Ballymurphy Road. The one with

the brown pullover followed me and shot after me in Ballymurphy Road. When I was about at No. 15 I was grazed by a bullet on my right hip. He did not follow me any further. I ran into Joe Mark's house. I said: "I am shot in the backside." Joe brought me to the Royal Victoria Hospital.'

Meanwhile we return to Gerry Conway who took a momentary lapse in one of the gunmen's attention to run away. 'A couple of shots rang out. I felt a sting in the calf of my left leg. I kept on running. While I was running I heard a bullet whizzing past my head. I took off my coat as I was finding it difficult to run. There were a couple more shots.'

Noel O'Reilly of Whiterock Road was sleeping in when he heard two shots outside his bedroom window. He says: 'I jumped out of bed and went to the window. I saw a man with a hat, whom I now know was Gerry Conway, running up the centre of the road from Ballymurphy. About 20 or 30 yards behind there was a man following him.'

'He was dressed in a blue anorak-type jacket with a red stripe down each sleeve and had a pistol. Gerry Conway was shouting: "Please don't shoot, please don't shoot." The gunman fired a shot at him. I told my wife to keep watching and I ran downstairs and out to my front gate.'

'I saw the gunman fire another shot. Gerry kept running. The gunman stopped outside my gate in the centre of the road. He pointed the gun at me and said: "Get in, I'm a soldier." He spoke with a definite English accent. He shouted again: "I'm a soldier." I shouted: "No chance. You'll not murder anyone up here. There's too many witnesses..."'

'By this time Gerry Conway had stopped at the junction of Whiterock Road and Whiterock Gardens. The gunman turned and fired another shot at him which I think hit him. A car came up the Whiterock Road from the Falls direction. It stopped. Gerry ran over to this car, threw his hands in the air and shouted: "Take me away. He's a soldier. He's trying to murder me..."'

Malachy Milligan who lives at 69 Whiterock Road was also woken by the shooting. He went to the window and observed the following: 'I saw a man—whom I now know to be Gerry Conway—with his jacket in his hands running backwards. He was being followed by a man in a blue bomber jacket with a red stripe on the sleeve. This man had Gerry covered with a pistol and was telling him to stop. Gerry said: "Don't shoot.



British troops march off demonstrators on Derry's 'Bloody Sunday' last January. Inset the Conway family

Don't shoot. I've done nothing.'

'He then turned his back on his assailant and tried to hobble away from him. He already seemed to have been wounded. The gunman fired two shots at him. Gerry began to shout again: "Help me, someone help me. I'm being shot." A car with three people came up Whiterock Road from the Falls and stopped opposite No. 65. Gerry leaned on the bonnet facing the wind-screen and pleaded for someone to help him.'

The two passengers got out of the car. The gunman

moved towards the rear of the car keeping Gerry covered.

'At this stage a blue-green car came down Whiterock Road from Ballymurphy and pulled up opposite No. 71. Its registration number was 5275 WZ. Two men jumped out. One had fair curly hair and wore a beige sweater and the other a blue sweater.'

'They also carried pistols. The one with the blue sweater moved towards Whiterock Drive. The one with the beige sweater moved towards Gerry Conway, the man on the bonnet. He then beckoned to the first gunman at the back of the car to come forward which he did. My wife shouted out: "For God's sake, please don't do it." The gunman with the beige sweater looked up at

her and said nothing.

'Then he took out a walkie talkie, knelt behind my car and put out a message: "There has been a shooting incident, Whiterock Road. There are four of us here in civilian clothes. Special Branch." He spoke with an English accent.'

Fearing instant execution, Gerry Conway was terrified. He goes on: 'I remember jumping on the bonnet of Charlie Morrison's car. I recall shouting at Charlie: "Reverse it back, reverse it back." I also remember shouting: "Don't shoot me. Don't shoot me. I have a wife and four children." I staggered over to a car at the side of the road.'

I then saw the fair-haired one who had followed my

brother, John, pull out a walkie-talkie and I distinctly heard him say: "Bryson got away but Toland is hurt." I realized then that they were probably soldiers in civilian clothes. I shouted: "I'm not Toland. I am Gerry Conway. That's not Bryson. That's my brother."

'I pulled out my driving licence, my tax book, my insurance and fruit dockets to prove who I was.'

Noel O'Reilly continues: 'A couple of minutes later two Saracens arrived. Soldiers of the King's Own Regiment got out. I heard the first gunman say: "Bryson got away"; I also heard the name "Toland" mentioned.'

I heard a ginger-haired soldier who got out of the Saracen saying: "You've shot the wrong bloody man". Meanwhile Gerry Conway was shouting at the

top of his voice: "I'm not Toland, I'm not Toland. I've a wife and four kids". I then saw them bundling Gerry into a Saracen.'

Mrs Catherine Wallace of 6 Whiterock Crescent was also attracted to the scene of the shooting: 'Gerry kept saying they'd taken him for Tommy Toland. I shouted to the gunman with the walkie-talkie: "He's not Tommy Toland. I know Tommy Toland. He's Gerry who sells the fruit in the area".'

'The soldier shouted: "He jumped one of our men". I said: "He couldn't jump anybody, not even a fly". I told them there was an ambulance coming. The soldier said: "He won't need one".'

Noel O'Reilly states: 'The ginger-haired soldier was talking to a couple of the gunmen. The three gunmen got into the

car they arrived in, reversed into Whiterock Gardens and went off towards Ballymurphy.'

POSTSCRIPT

On the noon news the shooting incident was reported. The story specifically stated that the army was not involved. On the 3 p.m. news the story that the army wasn't involved was repeated despite the fact that at least one local resident had complained.

Later that evening the BBC told one angry eye-witness over the telephone: 'Thank you for the lead. The army now accept that they were involved.' But despite this, the incident was not reported on radio or television.

When the resident suggested this was suppression of news, he was told: 'Now, now,

that's very strong language.' After treatment in hospital John Conway was discharged. He was interrogated by the Special Branch who claimed he was a member of the IRA and he was also shown a gun which they accused him of using. No charges were ever formally laid against him.

Gerry Conway had operations to bullet wounds in both legs. He is still walking on crutches. On the same day the Conways were shot another army patrol assassinated Official IRA leader Joe McCann as he walked through the streets.

During the past week the Conway household has been terrorized by army squads during the night; they bang on the door of the house and shout obscenities through the letterbox. Mrs Conway believes this is part of a campaign to

intimidate her against pursuing a legal fight against the soldiers responsible.

On May 19 junior Defence Minister Geoffrey Johnson Smith said: 'Army patrols do occasionally operate in civilian clothes. The reason for this is quite simply that soldiers operating in uniform and with service vehicles are easily recognizable at a distance and plainclothes are therefore adopted on certain occasions when surprise is essential.'

'On these occasions as at all other times the patrol works under normal military discipline and in accordance with the Yellow Card (the army regulations book).'

The army is still looking for two men, one called Toland and the other called Bryson.'

Late last year they escaped from the prison ship 'Maidstone'.



WHEN CLYDE STEWARDS LED THE FIGHT

The Upper Clyde Shipbuilders saga has made history in more ways than one.

In a manner unparalleled since World War I, a key section of the Clydeside working class was thrown into the forefront of the class struggle in Britain. It was on the Clyde, in 1915, that the first shop stewards' movement was born.

There is a sickening irony in the fact that it should be on the Clyde, in the infinitely more revolutionary circumstances of the 1970s, that counter-revolutionary Stalinism should strike its most direct blow against the very existence of an independent shop stewards' movement.

The shop stewards' movement was built in struggle against the capitulation of the trade union leadership to the government's anti-union legislation of the World War I period. The infamous Treasure Agreement and Munitions of War Act in 1915 outlawed strikes, imposed virtual military discipline on the workers, and opened the door for the enforcement of 'dilution' of labour and the abolition of protective practices in the munitions industries.

The government chose the Clyde as the area in which to fight out their enforcement. Virtually deserted by the trade union leaders who had climbed eagerly on to the government's recruiting platforms, the workers were forced to build rank-and-file committees of which the Clyde Workers' Committee was the first and most famous.

It was led by William Gallacher (Albion), David Kirkwood and Tom Clark (Beardmore's, Parkhead), John Muir (Barr & Stroud), James Messer and Arthur MacManus (Weir's and Cathcart).

The Committee's manifesto declared: 'Since the outbreak of the European War, many changes have been brought about of vital interest to the workers. Foremost amongst these has been the scrapping of trade union rules, and the consequent undermining of the whole trade union movement. . . . The support given to the Munitions Act by the (trade union) officials was an act of treachery to the working class. Those of us who refuse to be sold have organized the above committee, representative of all trades in the Clyde area, determined to retain what liberties we have, and to take the first opportunity of forcing the repeal of all the pernicious legislation that has recently been imposed upon us. . . . Our purpose must not be misconstrued, we are out for unity and closer organization of all trades in the industry, one union being the ultimate aim. We will support the officials just so long as they rightly represent the workers, but will act independently immediately they misrepresent them.'

Because the CWC was unable to develop beyond a syndicalist perspective and because there was no revolutionary party able to take the political fight to mobilize the working class against imperialism the Clydeside shop stewards' movement was defeated.

Over the winter of 1915-1916 every trick was used to exploit the weaknesses of the workers' leaders, to isolate the skilled engineers from the movement of the working class as a whole over conscription, rents, profiteering etc and so to create the conditions in which the Clyde Workers' Committee could be smashed.

Late in March 1916 a strike over the rights of shop stewards broke out at Beardmore's, Parkhead. The government decided to act. Leading members of the CWC were arbitrarily arrested in the middle of the night and deported without trial out of the Clydeside area. It was a year before they were allowed legally to return.

From the beginning the government had been clear that the enforcement of 'dilution' in the munitions industries—substituting the unskilled and female labour for craftsmen in jobs previously reserved for skilled workers—required not only the co-operation of the union leaders, but also the defeat of the workshop leadership.

They consistently placed the basic class questions first—the carrying through of a political strategy to defeat the most militant section of the working class.

They frequently had to whip reluctant employers into line, because they tended to look for the easiest way out of an immediate situation. The Clydeside engineering employers were slow to introduce dilution schemes during 1915, because they had been frightened by the action of the workers in the first major strike of the war—the 'twopence an hour' strike of engineering workers on the Clyde in February 1915.

But from the autumn of 1915 on the government drove through its 'dilution' plans ruthlessly. It made use of the munitions tribunals, a special commission, every propaganda device, and its power to suppress left-wing newspapers—including the reformist ILP paper, 'Forward,' which had

refused to support strike action during the war—to carry through the task.

The details of how the government did the job can be found in an essay by James Hinton in 'Essays on Labour History' 1886-1923 (Macmillan, 1971). But the writer is so obsessed with the strategy of the government and the civil servants and by the tactical mistakes of the shop stewards that he leaves the working class out of his account. His criticism of the CWC is devoid of any analysis of their theoretical limitations—limitations which accounted in large part for their defeat.

His theory is that 'the independence [that the CWC] established was not the independence of the rank and file as such from the officials, but the independence of a militant vanguard among the rank and file from officials who derived their authority from a relatively apathetic majority.' (p. 165.)

This idealist conception is fundamentally no different from the openly reactionary view that the working-class militancy is the product of the activities of a minority of agitators.

It was precisely the strength and determination of the Clydeside working class which threw forward the Clyde Workers' Committee. On a whole number of issues, from working conditions and rents to conscription, the workers on the Clyde were in the vanguard of the struggle of the International proletariat during this period.

Despite the divisions which the leadership was unable to overcome, despite the defeats which they suffered, the Clydeside workers refused to capitulate to the government-directed offensive.

After the war, early in 1919, it was to be the Clydeside working class which led the fight once again, through a 14-day general strike for a 40-hour week.

The crisis on the Clyde then as now was, above all, a crisis of leadership. It was the

The Munitions War Act, 1915, outlawed strikes and disciplined workers. The Clyde was chosen to fight for its enforcement.

crisis of the lack of a Leninist party to unite all the struggles of the working class and direct them against the main enemy—the capitalist class and its government.

Hinton's inability to grasp the revolutionary strength of the working class leads him to idealize the strategic genius of the servants of the ruling class. He correctly brings out the class cunning of Lloyd George and his civil servants—including William Beveridge, later to be painted as the father of the welfare state—and their determination to smash the shop stewards' movement.

Divorced from an overall, materialist analysis of history, this point is turned into a fixed quality of the British governing class in such a way as to make it sound eternally invincible. Hinton's essay often sounds like a hymn to the intelligence of Britain's capitalist rulers.

Pessimism over the capacity of the working class to fight back coupled with a one-sided admiration of the appearance of strength the ruling class deliberately cultivated, is the mood and method of all idealists like Hinton.

Beneath their bombast the ruling class is weak. Today the economic crisis they face is more acute than in 1914 and it is felt at its sharpest in Britain.

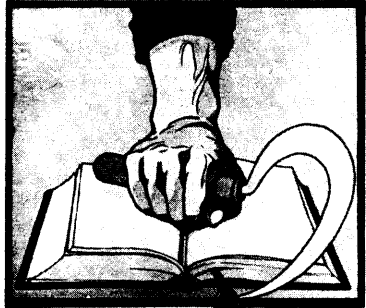
This is not to disarm the working class—for this very reason the Tories must depend on extra parliamentary forces in the courts and the army to perpetuate their rule.

But correspondingly the British working class is stronger than it was in 1914, both in resources and experience.

At the time of World War I no political tendency existed in Britain that was able to grasp the full meaning of the October Revolution in Russia. But today in the Socialist Labour League we do have such a movement which can negate the past lessons and bring the working class to power.

GEORGE JACKSON AND HIS FIGHT FOR POLITICS

BOOK REVIEW



'Blood in My Eye'. George Jackson. Published by Jonathan Cape. £1.95. 217 pages.

One of the contradictions of capitalism is that its prisons, bastilles for the defence of private property, prove at certain moments in its history to be schools for the development of political consciousness.

San Quentin and Soledad prisons are two of the most barbarous in the world. Racialism is deliberately encouraged by the guards. Fights are provoked between black and white prisoners, where guards armed with high-velocity rifles can pick off militants.

In the aftermath of one such fight a warder was found dead and George Jackson, with Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette, was framed with his murder. Since Jackson's 'one year to life' sentence, for a \$70 theft from a petrol station, was technically—and in his case literally—a life sentence, conviction would have carried an automatic death penalty. But the prison authorities anticipated the verdict. There was another provocation, a reported break out, and Jackson was shot.

Some months before his death a collection of his prison letters was published, 'Soledad Brother'. It was acclaimed as a literary masterpiece, a triumph of survival under intolerable circumstances. 'The Times' reviewer wrote:

'It is Jackson's achievement... that he has succeeded in turning to positive account an experience which has destroyed almost all those who have undergone it... Jackson is an individual liberated by a developing talent.'

What is expressed here, and it was typical of Fleet Street's reaction to Jackson's book, is a pompous philistine astonish-

ment that a self-educated black youth could master the English language. Jackson is portrayed as a shining example of the Tory philosophy of self-help, a lonely individual successfully defying the odds.

What was ignored was that Jackson not only described his experience so powerfully that Fleet Street reviewers could share it, but fought to understand it and relate it to the social and political context which impelled thousands of youth like himself into crime as a spontaneous means of rebelling against an oppressive system.

It was a battle for consciousness, in which Jackson turned to Marxism as the highest expression of the struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalism. Inevitably he came to Marxism not in any pure form but encumbered by all the confusion and opportunism of the New Left.

A STATE OF MORTAL CRISIS

The narrow, middle-class perspective of those circles, meeting with his own spontaneous anger, reinforces that tendency towards adventurism whose hallmark is the idea that revolutions are made not through but on behalf of people. Had he lived, Jackson would certainly have developed far beyond this. And even as it is, his book has the very opposite significance to that which his reviewers ascribed to it.

'Blood in My Eye' is a collection of longer letters and essays analysing capitalism in America and setting out a programme for revolution.

It was completed almost within a week of Jackson's death on August 21 last year. And therefore only days before Nixon's decision to end dollar convertibility and to impose a 10-per-cent surcharge on imports. To point that out is not to fit Jackson into a convenient chronological pattern, but to call attention to what is missing.

Despite his understanding of the way that capitalism works, and of the way it uses racialism, he ignores what is crucial to an understanding of capitalism, the fact that it is in a state of mortal crisis.

In 'Memories of Lenin', Krupskaya describes how in Petersburg Marxist circles... 'a certain tendency began to crystallize. To the representatives of this tendency the



processes of social development appeared as something mechanical and schematic. Such an interpretation completely neglected the role of the masses, the proletariat. The revolutionary dialectic of Marxism was stowed away somewhere, and only lifeless "phases of development" remained.'

Jackson's Marxism is at first sight very different from the spirit of these circles. They were engaging in a reformist campaign for 'Committees of Illiteracy'.

Jackson demands immediate urban guerrilla warfare. But his analysis, based on a static impression of society, is essentially similar to theirs. It is no coincidence either that his party, the Black Panthers, are presently engaging in a campaign to register 10,000 voters with the Democratic Party.

This tendency is most apparent in the essay 'On Withdrawal', which uses the methods of formal logic to solve the problem of revolution. The syllogism is as follows: Since the working class in America has been bought off, robbed of its revolutionary potential, and since the only elements untouched by this process are black revolutionists, the revolution must begin with them.

Organized in the vanguard party of the Black Panthers their task is to build communes within the cities, armed and capable of challenging the full power of the state. The state will be compelled to take violent measures of reprisal, and the ensuing war will administer a traumatic shock to the working class which will arouse them from their conditioned conservatism. They will then join the revolution. Or if not, at least the countries of the third world will benefit from the destruction of America.

Thus the major premise of Jackson's syllogism is that capitalism has triumphed over its contradictions and has emerged, not as Mandel and the Pabloites claim in the form of 'neo-capitalism', but as fascism.

'When I am interviewed by a member of the old guard and point to the concrete and steel, the tiny electronic listening device concealed in the vent, the phalanx of goons peeping in at us, and his barely functional plastic tape recorder that cost him a week's labour, and point out that these are all manifestations of fascism, he will invariably attempt to refute me by defining fascism simply as an economic geo-political affair where only one political party is allowed to exist above ground and no opposition political party is allowed.'

But what is essential to the development of fascism is the defeat of the working class and the destruction of its organized strength in trade unions. The period which in Germany saw the incorporation of unions into the state under fascist law saw in America the building of powerful independent unions with a vigour and speed unparalleled in trade union history.

TRIUMPH BY DEFAULT

For all its manifestations of fascism, its racialism, its network of secret agencies, etc., capitalism has not defeated the working class in America. On the contrary its great strength, as evidenced in the recent settlements in the steel and auto industries, lies at the heart of the crisis in the American economy.

Jackson ignores this and assumes that class struggle has been halted, allowing capitalism to transform itself into its 'logical and final arrangement'.

The revolution which ought to have happened failed to happen. Counter-revolution has triumphed by default.

Its methods are reformism and the techniques of mass persuasion. It has succeeded in internalizing within the consciousness of the working

class its law and order syndrome. It has created 'a nation of short sighted, contented, conservative workers... historically processed to fear, to feel the need for a decision maker, to hate freedom'.

This idealist view of consciousness—like that of the hippie movement—is much influenced by the theories of Wilhelm Reich. ('The Mass Psychology of Fascism'.) Whereas they borrowed from Reich's later theories about the mysteries of the orgasm, which they advocated as the cure for the sickness of capitalism, Jackson sees urban guerrilla warfare as the trigger to re-awaken the revolutionary consciousness of the working class.

'It requires only the proper trauma, the proper eco-sociological set of circumstances to bring forth a revolutionary consciousness.'

In the same way he sees reformism, not as an agency of the ruling class within the working class, but as a failure of consciousness on the part of workers.

Confidence in the revolutionary role of the working class is not a matter of faith or doctrine, but of a dialectical understanding of the movement of class forces, and of the crisis of capitalism. Without dialectical materialism, Marxism, whatever its militancy, is inert.

Jackson sees himself as an outpost of socialist consciousness in a society where the class-consciousness of the working class has been eradicated. Whereas his real significance is utterly different and more fundamental.

Both in his formidable struggle against everything which America's most inhuman penal system could throw against him, and in his turn to Marxism in the course of struggle, Jackson reflects the strength of the working class itself, and anticipates developments ahead not only in the jails and ghettos, but in the labour movement and the youth outside.

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

The situation in the electrical supply industry is critical at this moment. Already we in the industry have seen the implementation of labour intensification via productivity, Measured-Day Work and ten-hour day stagger methods.

These methods have been implemented with the full co-operation and favour of our union, the EPTU, who at the beginning of this period guaranteed that it would not mean redundancies.

Over the first period 30,000 men were laid off with a few hundred quid to tide them over until they were eligible for their old age pension. Many of these men had in excess of two years to wait for this happy time to come. They were told if they could not do their jobs as tradesmen they must go.

Despite most of these men suffering from bad health as a direct result of their trades and the weather and bad conditions they had worked in, this process was called natural wastage by the management and union.

In January 1971 the power workers' dispute was settled with an 11-per-cent rise in basic pay, but labour had to be cut back by a further 13,000. Where were these jobs to be cut?

Skilled tradesmen's mates were first to become obsolete. Some were offered labouring jobs.

Higher standards of workmanship were demanded. Codes of Practice were issued to all skilled men. Any man found not to have worked strictly to the code was either severely disciplined, demoted or dismissed. The codes were impossible to work to if the target for the bonus scheme was to be reached.

Work that failed mechanically was blamed on the tradesmen despite the use of cheap and inferior materials supplied to the craftsmen.

Therefore in 1972 the man-

agement still needs to cut back the labour and at the same time intensify productivity even further to reach their targets agreed in the 1971 agreement.

This will be done by threatening men with records of absenteeism or sickness, the further use of the Codes of Practice, the cutting of the times agreed in the productivity deal, and the whole package will be wrapped up in the Industrial Relations Act.

The way out of this mess can be achieved with the removal of those trade union leaders who have given the management the seal of approval on these methods from their positions as our representatives and the election of trade unionists who fully realize the dangers of ignoring the conditions we as trade unionists find ourselves in today.

All that has previously been mentioned has been the policy of the employing class faced with an economic crisis of unparalleled proportions. They desperately need to cut wages, speed up workers and sack them all with the help of trade union officials.

Mere militancy is not enough to defeat this onslaught on the working class.

What is needed are leaders within the movement with the knowledge and perspective of how to defeat this onslaught and create conditions for a General Election to re-elect a Labour government pledged to socialism.

Bedfordshire electrician.

Dear Editor,

As a strong trade union member I fully endorse Walter Cunningham's stand and that of his committee.

I fully support the resolution by the technical section of the AUEW (TASS) backing the dockers, but I think more branches and committees need to come forward to show the lads at Hull that they are not on their own.

I hope Walter Cunningham's members realize they are fighting for their lives. I myself forecast that only 15 men out of every 100 would be needed on the docks if containerization got under way.

I agree with Cunningham 100 per cent when he asks why docks modernization has not made goods cheaper and the answer lies in the last six months of 1971.

During that period profits rose on average from 9 per cent to 16 per cent.

The port employers and the Tories are engaged in class war and there can be no peaceful co-existence with the government and the vicious policies it pursues.

The unions have got to work together in a common effort to oppose and force this Tory government out of office.

The government is deliberately sorting out the dockers and unless the men of all unions stand by and support them, then as sure as rain falls in Manchester others will follow.



**Yours fraternally
Frank Tomany
Sec. Colnbrook & Poyle
branch AUEW**



T&GWU lawyers appear at the NIRC after payment of the fine

Dear Editor,

Having read the Workers Press regularly I find it most informative and very refreshing in its fight for freedom.

I agree with Mr Garland in Tuesday's edition when he said that the TUC should clarify our position regarding the NIRC.

For a considerable time active trade unionists must have been passing resolutions through their branches for a recall of the TUC to reaffirm its policy of non-co-operation. My own union FTAT is one.

There should be a clear understanding of the roles of both the NIRC and TUC.

One speaks for the Tory capitalist, the other on behalf of the trade unionist.

The T&GWU were fined £55,000 for contempt of court

and if the TUC continues to collaborate with the NIRC it will have the contempt of the unions who stand to be smashed or irreparably damaged forever, with Heath and his lackeys rubbing hands and raking in our money via the disgusting 'fair rents' Bill, which Tory council Portsmouth have already put into operation.

While one must deplore the thought of a national strike and its consequential hardship, if that's what will shift this parasitical government, then so be it.

We must all support the Charter of Basic Rights and the building of the revolutionary party with every man's interest at heart.

**I remain yours
J. P. Thornton**

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TORIES ATTACK THE UNEMPLOYED

The Social Security Swindle



Tories out! chant tenant marchers

BY PHILIP WADE Our housing correspondent

THE HATRED of the Tory 'fair rents' Bill exploded on the streets of Woolwich in South London on Saturday with a demonstration of 600 tenants, trade unionists and Labour Party members.

Organized by the Greenwich Tenants' and Residents' Campaign Committee, the demonstration stopped shoppers in their tracks with shouts of 'Tories out'.

The demonstration, called largely in support of Greenwich Labour council's decision not to implement the Bill, united broad cross-sections of the labour movement.

In addition to the nine tenants' associations there were delegations of miners from Betteshanger colliery, Kent, the Woolwich district of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Greenwich Labour Party and Lewisham Trades Council.

From the other side of London came North Islington Labour Party and five Labour councillors opposed to the majority on the council there who are for implementation.

Islington councillor Gerald Flynn told me: 'As far as we're concerned the fight goes on to the finish on our council.'

'We were all disappointed that Islington decided to implement Tory policies. What we need now is socialist ideas throughout the Labour Party.'

Despite the efforts of the Communist Party delegation to keep the march at a low tempo, tenants had no hesitation in taking up the cry of 'Tories out',

adding the call for a General Strike as they neared the end.

Said Fred Heffer, secretary of the Horn Park tenants' association: 'As far as I'm concerned, this, together with the Industrial Relations Act, is the beginning of a slide to the corporate, fascist state.'

'The "fair rents" Bill is all part of the general attack on the working class. And it is more than just a rent increase—it takes all powers away from local councils and puts it in the hands of a Tory stooge.'

'The whole working class must unite to fight the Tories. We could get them out if we did that,' said Fred.

In contrast to the feeling on the march, none of the speakers at the meeting afterwards really answered the tenants' needs.

'I have always believed it possible to beat Tory legislation,' said Greenwich MP Guy Barnett. Organization, solidarity and outright opposition to the Bill would win the day, he said.

He made no mention of the fact that Transport House had given the go-ahead for implementation by leaving the position open for councils to decide.

Most significantly he referred to the supposed concession made to Birmingham council as an indication that the Tories could be forced to retreat.



Housewives were prominent on Saturday's demonstration in South East London.

'We're becoming paupers in our own cities'

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT IN COVENTRY

THE garden city image of much post-war council housing is well tarnished. Not even this pretence has been possible in areas of pre-war housing.

One such area—the Little Heath district in Coventry—contains both private and municipal houses which, for the most part, lack bathrooms and inside toilets, contain dilapidated electrical wiring which has already claimed one life in the district, and structurally are in a state of decay.

Heavy traffic in the area means that the only 'safe' play areas for the children are a number of dangerously derelict buildings.

Partly on the initiative of newly-appointed community worker Sam Chaterjee, a resident's action group has been formed to pressurize the Labour council into revamping the area.

Tenants know, however, that far more is involved than simply modernization. In the past, even the installation of safe electrical wiring has been classed not as a repair but as a modification, and rents have been raised.

Tenants already pay an average weekly rent of £4. They now face the prospect of their rents being made 'fairer' by a £1 increase in October.

Nor can the class issues be

very far from the scene. On the one side of the estate, the squalid Social Security offices are a visual symbol of the fear which stalks a city with the highest unemployment rate in the West Midlands. Dominating the skyline on the other side is the giant Courtaulds plant, constantly reminding tenants of the strength of the organized working class.

Mrs Townsley, a council tenant and chairman of the action group, is aware that the urgent need to modernize the area is only one side of the struggle.

'You can't live cheap today. How can you when there is no

small corner shop to buy small amounts from, and when flats are centrally-heated with meters that take more than you can afford. Before the war when you were hard up, you would pawn your table. Today you can't be poor; you can only sell what you have and never see it again.'

Commenting on rent rebates, Mrs Townsley, whose husband has been denied the right to work over the last 12 months, said:

'I'll become beholden to the City Council; a pauper in my own city!'

'What is more, I want to reserve the right to refuse to

pay the rent some weeks when it's necessary to buy the kids shoes instead.

'There is only one thing we can do now and that's to get the Tories out and Labour back. The only thing I've got against Labour is their lack of campaigning—they just don't bother to mobilize people.'

'They should be doing this protesting not us. They should stick to their principles and defy the government on the rents. They would get lots of support from off the estates.'

The fight for principles and the fight to defend working-class rights must be taken up by the tenants in the Council of Action which the Coventry Trades Council is proposing to establish at a forthcoming public meeting.

TV

BBC 1

9.20 Trumpton. 9.38 Schools. 12.55 Origins of Christianity. 1.30 Woodentops. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 Schools. 4.00 Boomph with Becker. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Magic Roundabout. 4.45 Jack-anory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Penelope Pitstop. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 News, weather. 6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK. 6.20 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR. 6.45 A QUESTION OF SPORT. Quiz programme. 7.10 Z CARS. 8.00 PANORAMA. 9.00 NEWS, Weather. 9.20 DOOMWATCH. Fire and Brimstone. 10.15 THE SPINNERS with Moira Anderson. 10.45 24 HOURS. 11.20 ATHLETE. Part 1: Sprints. 11.50 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University. 7.05 Let's Get Going. 7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather. 8.00 PLAY: 'THE SNOW GOOSE' by Paul Gallico starring Richard Harris and Jenny Agutter. 8.55 HIS LORDSHIP ENTERTAINERS (New Series) starring Ronnie Barker.

ITV

10.20, 1.40 Schools. 1.10 Remember. 2.33 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Film: 'Tall Story'. 4.40 Enchanted House. 4.55 Lassie. 5.20 Genie. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.20 CROSSROADS. 6.40 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 WORLD IN ACTION. 8.30 ALCOCK AND GANDER (New Series). Business enterprise in Soho. 9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. You'll Never Understand Women. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 MCMILLAN AND WIFE. An Elementary Case of Murder. 11.55 ONLY ONE EARTH. Marine Pollution.

9.25 HORIZON. The Rat Man. A reconstruction of Dr Sigmund Freud's treatment of an obsessive neurotic. 10.15 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE: 'SWISS COTTAGE' by John Mortimer. 10.45 News, weather. 10.50 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

REGIONAL TV

All Regions as BBC 1 except:

Wales: 1.30 Ar Lin Mam. 6.00 Wales Today. 6.20 Mynd a Dod. 6.45 Heddiw. 11.52 News. Scotland: 1.00 Behind the Masque. 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 11.20 Open to Question. 11.50 Athlete. 12.15 News, weather. N Ireland: 6.00 Scene Around Six. 11.52 News, weather. England: 6.00 Look North, Midlands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 11.52 News, weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Schools. 2.30 Dr Gannon. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in Action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Once Upon a Time. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.15 London. 6.00 Newsday. 6.25 This is Your Right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Mummy'.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Schools. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Lucy. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Grampian News, weather. 6.05 Dr Simon Locke. 6.35 Cartoon Time. 6.45 London. 10.30 University Challenge. 11.00 Derby Day. 12.00 Evening Prayers.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 Schools. 2.32 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'No Place for Jennifer'. 4.35 Calendar News. 4.40 Once Upon a Time. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.25 Under These Roofs. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the Game. 11.55 Yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

CHANNEL: 10.20, 1.40 Schools. 4.05 Once Upon a Time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Channel News, weather, What's on Where. 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.32 Theatre of Stars. 11.17 University Challenge. 11.47 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 Westward News Headlines. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.20 Sports Desk. 10.30 Format. 11.13 News, weather. 11.47 Faith for Life.

TYNE TEES: 11.00, 1.40 Schools 1.10 Songs for Your Delight. 2.30 Cook-Book. 3.00 Film: 'The Village'. 4.35 Newsroom. 4.40 Once Upon a Time. 4.55 HR Pufnstuf. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today at Six. 6.25 Under These Roofs. 6.45 London. 10.30 Times Four. 11.00 Saint. 11.55 News. 12.10 Eternal Thought.

SCOTTISH: 11.00 Schools. 2.33 Class of '72. 3.30 Nuts and Bones. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 Dateline: Early. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline: Monday. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 University Challenge. 11.00 Late Call. 11.05 Marty Feldman.

ULSTER: 10.20 Schools. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 UTV News. 6.10 Funny Face. 6.35 Cartoon Time. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday Night. 10.35 Film: 'Breakaway'.

SOUTHERN: 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Good Cooks. 3.20 Sylvester. 3.30 Lucy. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Heckle and Jeckle. 4.25 Junkin. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by Day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 South News. 11.10 Marcus Welby. 12.05 Weather. Insight to the Artist.

ANGLIA: 2.30 London. 3.15 Jokers. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper Room. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.30 Theatre of Stars.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good Afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Nuts and Bones. 4.55 Forest Rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Challenge. 11.00 Randall.

HTV: 10.20 Schools. 3.10 Sara and Hoppity. 3.25 Enchanted House. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Theory into Practice. 4.35 Tinkertainment. 4.50 Tom Grattan. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Skull'. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Wales as above except: 2.33 Sain, Cerdd a Chan. 4.35 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.22 This is the West This Week.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.35 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.

Aberdeen engineers to strike for £6

ENGINEERS at Aberdeen have voted overwhelmingly to strike from today to get the full £6 in the national pay claim.

The decision was taken at a mass meeting of 700 engineers on Saturday. Only about 26 men voted against the decision.

The men belong to 35 local firms including the big Consolidated Pneumatic Tools Company. In reply to the claim local employers offered only £2.25 for skilled men and less for unskilled workers.

At Saturday's meeting women from the Comb Works said they hoped their equal wage claim would not be forgotten during the struggle.

Dangers for the fight are already apparent. During the meeting neither the government, the National Industrial Relations Court nor the disastrous results of the Manchester engineering campaign were mentioned.

The workers at one small firm have accepted a £2 increase, though this decision may be reversed.

IN MANCHESTER another sit-in has ended, reducing the number of occupied factories to four.

The settlement is at the GEC works, Higher Openshaw, where 600 workers took part. Manchester Engineering Employers' Association says the rest of the disputes will be settled within a week.

There are still about 3,000 employees laid off.

THE lock-out of engineering workers at Clark Chapmans' works in Gateshead, Co Durham, has been lifted after the intervention of a local union chief.

George Arnold, district committee chairman of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions on Tyneside, has arranged to meet the management tomorrow.

Meanwhile the men are to work normally when they start back this morning.

Arnold told Workers Press earlier in the dispute that he was prepared to ratify settlements of less than the full pay claim if circumstances required.

SPECIAL FEATURE

Starting Wednesday Cliff Slaughter answers the question: **Why a Labour government?** in a five-part series of articles. Don't miss this important series.

Docks deal?

From p.1

The unprecedented decrees of Sir John Donaldson, the court president, have had the effect of bringing millions of workers into conflict with Tory rule.

Workers will not be appeased by the waffle being put about by Jones, Feather and Labour leader Harold Wilson.

These reformist leaders come together today to blunt the thrust of the working class.

It is the imperative of the hour, therefore, that the working class recognizes that embodied in the rail and docks fight is the life or death of the Tory government.

The working class must stand four-square behind both these sections of workers in their fight against the Tory Act and for decent wages.

By building Councils of Action in the labour and trade union movement, this solidarity will be transformed into practice.

The councils must be bastions of struggle against the Tory government and policies must be forged which will create the political and industrial conditions to get the Tories out.

Councils of Action winning wider support

SUPPORT for the Councils of Action to defend the working class against the attacks of the Tory government is growing.

The building of such councils was the central theme of the May Day manifesto of the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists.

Two branches of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers in Coventry have sent resolutions welcoming the Coventry Trades Council decision to set up a Council of Action.

Coventry No. 8 branch of the AUEW states: 'This branch feels that the No. 1 priority for this council must be to prepare the working class for the General Strike that this Tory government is trying to provoke through its National Industrial Relations Court.'

'We also feel that those union leaders who break the decisions of elected conferences by co-operating with the Tories and their industrial court must be made accountable to the rank and file of the movement.'

'We must demand through this Council of Action the resignation of this Tory government to be replaced by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.'

Coventry No. 73 AUEW branch resolution reads:

'This branch welcomes the decision of Coventry Trades Council to set up a Council of Action from all workers' organizations to organize the defence of workers against the Tory onslaught.'

The branch elected a delegate to attend the founding meeting

and is asking the trades council secretary for the exact date and venue of the meeting.

As reported previously in Workers Press, the trades council was originally calling a town meeting against unemployment and the Industrial Relations Act on the recommendation of its unemployment sub-committee. The last trades council agreed to extend the meeting to representatives of all sections and set up a Council of Action.

But so far no date and venue has been announced. This is ominous because the officers of the trades council are both Communist Party members. Delaying tactics on their part will not be able to prevent this meeting or stop the decision to set up the Council of Action.

Meanwhile Daventry No. 87 AUEW branch has called on Daventry Trades Council to discuss the setting up of a Council of Action. The proposed council will be composed of shop stewards' committees, tenants' associations and all political organizations within the working class.

Huddersfield No. 2 AUEW branch has passed the following resolution:

'This branch supports the call of Liverpool Trades Council for the establishment of Councils of Action to unite all sections of the working class in opposition to the attacks on basic rights being waged by the Tory government.'

'Trade union organizations, trades councils, shop stewards' committees, tenants' associations and all working-class socialist organizations should be invited to join these councils.'

Stewards retreat on strike but keep 'black'

By Ian Yeats

SHOP STEWARDS from Britain's major ports voted to extend and intensify the blacking of container operators using non-registered labour at a special meeting in London on Saturday.

The decision by about 30 stewards, including men from Liverpool and Hull, reflected dockers' determination to fight the mounting unemployment caused by ports modernization.

They also pledged to defend any man hauled before the National Industrial Relations Court.

No concessions were made on blacking and the meeting at London's Duke of York Hotel agreed to call a one-day strike and to lobby the national delegate conference on June 14-15.

The joint port employers-trade union committee on dock labour set up last week is faced with the near impossible task of coming up with a formula capable of halting in its tracks the fast run down of dockland jobs.

Since the whole point of Devlin and modernization is to slash costs by shedding labour the chances of finding a satisfactory solution are next to nil.

The only hope, of even ameliorating the rundown lies in persuading container terminal operators to employ only registered labour. But this means



Dock stewards from Merseyside enter Saturday's meeting.

adding up to a third more to their wages bill.

Saturday's meeting of shop stewards gave the go-ahead to a further postponement of the national strike—still to be ratified by mass meetings of the men.

While the NIRC is near certain to intervene this week. It has already deferred once its ultimatum to the T&GWU to call off the blacking and when the verdict of the Appeal Court becomes known in the next few days, action seems inevitable.

About 6,000 Merseyside dockers yesterday unanimously decided to lobby the national docks delegate conference on June 14 and 15.

A dockers' spokesman said that they considered postponement of the dockers national strike 'a retreat'.

Post Office trying to 'buy-off' jobs

By our own reporter

OVERSEAS telegraphists in London will be given details today of a £70 bonus the Post Office is offering to cover the loss of at least 350 jobs.

Publication of the offer is likely to lead to a new row over the productivity-dealing policies of the Union of Post Office Workers' leadership.

The bonus scheme — a sweetener for the cutting-up of London's big Electra House

cable headquarters into self-contained units—is the first step towards full-scale computerization of the service by 1973.

At least 1,500 jobs are under threat in the plan as a whole. Kim McKinlay, UPW assistant secretary responsible for telecommunications, believes that the cutting-up can be separated from the larger plan, but the rank and file is not so sure.

Union branch officials at Electra House, who face a rising tide of opposition to any loss of jobs, are demanding no forced redundancies.

WEATHER

NORTH and western districts of Scotland, Northern Ireland, North West England and North Wales will have sunny periods and scattered showers.

South Wales and South West England will be cloudy with some rain at first but will become brighter later. East Scotland and North East England will start bright but it will become cloudy with some rain later.

East, central and southern districts of England will be cloudy with rain at times becoming brighter later from the south.

It will generally be rather cool. Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Rain at times. Some sunshine. Becoming rather warmer.

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London, SW4 7UG.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Support the dockers and railwaymen. Build Councils of Action

ACTON: Monday June 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.

COVENTRY: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Wood End Community Association Hall, Hillmorton Road.

NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, 25 Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Engineers' pay claim'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Industrial Relations Act'.

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

GLASGOW: Tuesday June 6,

7.30 p.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).

CROYDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road.

LUTON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Road.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Station).

SOUTHALL: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent Office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt.

PRESTON: Thursday June 8, 7.30 p.m. Railway and Commercial Hotel (nr rail stn), Butler St.

COALVILLE: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Miners' Welfare. 'Organize Councils of Action'.