

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY AUGUST 18, 1972 ● No 845 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

IT'S UP TO LONDON — NORTHERN DOCKERS STAY OUT

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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'We must not let these attempts succeed,' he added. 'Those who dare to split our ranks must be regarded as splitters and traitors to our movement.'

London dockers who meet today must heed these words. The return-to-work decision of a mass meeting yesterday at Tilbury weakened the struggle. The northern ports must not be isolated.

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The danger in this decision by the stewards is that it opens the way for the right wing to force a return-to-work vote at the first meeting as happened at Tilbury yesterday.

Manchester and Preston have also followed Liverpool's lead. Shop stewards at Hull decided to recommend an unofficial strike from Monday. A meeting of the port's 2,600 dockers will be arranged before the weekend.

Clearly the greatest danger facing the men is that leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union, in active co-operation with the Tory government, will be able to isolate their struggle from the rest of the working class.

This will give the government maximum opportunity to break the strike by force.

Already military aircraft have been used against the Scottish dockers. Elsewhere armed services personnel are on a 24-hour alert to move into the big docks and shift cargo.

The Cabinet was reviewing the new situation after the revolt of the militant dockers, who have now become the main target. It is understood that troops will be used first to release cargo and

grain held in strike-bound warehouses and silos.

Meanwhile the open collaboration between the forces of the state, the Tory government and the union leaders becomes more blatant every day.

The scene at Transport House on Wednesday typified this. Jones and the delegates were cordoned by a massive 1,000-strong force of police while the meeting to call off the strike proceeded.

It was like the battle of the picket lines with a difference: the police were not defending employers and scabs but a building that, by right, belonged to the dockers outside.

Trotsky's characterization of unions under imperialism is most apt:

'Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy . . . who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class.'

Jones is playing this role. By advancing the latest proposals he is helping the shipping monopolies and the big port employers who dominate land and sea transport.

On the basis of promises he wants to break the resistance on the docks to the plans for a further 10,000 cut-back in the labour force, massive increases in productivity through containerization and a further erosion of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

This open treachery poses the question of a new leadership in the T&GWU.

It is the duty of every member of this union to fight to remove Jones and his clique and recall the biennial conference of the union to discuss action to defend the dockers' rights.

We warn all militants against any compromise with Jones and O'Leary on the basis that the dockers are three-quarters of the way towards victory.

There can be no peaceful co-existence between the rank and file and this discredited bureaucracy.

Just as there can be no peaceful co-existence or deals between the dockers and the employers. Any Communist Party member on the docks who says otherwise is leading dockers into another trap — just as they led them into the Devlin trap.

Finally the dockers must realize that concessions from the employers cannot solve the crisis they face.

6,000 say 'We strike on' — Liverpool Pier Head yesterday

Containerization in the hands of the monopolies will mean a vast reduction in manpower. This will occur whether or not the ports are registered.

The only alternative to the Jones-Aldington sell-out is nationalization under workers' control without compensation to the owners.

Jones himself recognized this

when he said that the two choices facing the dockers were a deal with the employers or new legislation to secure their rights.

These are the most crucial days of the dockers' fight. The working class must rally round them. If they lose their fight for the right to work it will be a blow to the whole labour move-

ment.
● Recall the biennial conference of the T&GWU.
● All unions to mobilize in solidarity with the dockers.
● Force the Tory government to resign.
● Elect a Labour government to nationalize the docks without compensation under workers' control.

'Don't fall into bosses' trap' — meeting urged

BY IAN YEATS

SIX THOUSAND Mersey dockers were told yesterday: 'If we chuck it now the employers will have the initiative'

Port steward Dennis Kelly, a T&GWU docks delegate, told a Pier Head meeting: 'While we go back to work and negotiations and inquiries start they'll be opening small wharves with part-time labour, getting half our wages.'

'Behind our backs they'll be cutting the ground from under us. There are no jobs in Liverpool, and if anyone accepts the £4,000 severance pay, after 12 months he'd be back at Social Security.'

The meeting unanimously rejected the latest Jones-Aldington proposals and voted to stay out.

Dennis Kelly said: 'We are not chucking this fight until we get cast-iron agreement on bringing the unregistered ports into the National Dock Labour Scheme and on making stuffing and stripping containers dockers' work.'

'In the whole history of the trade union movement I don't think anyone has said chuck the fight when the fight is at

its strongest and we're only half way to ending the battle.

'Cornelius Clancy was right when he said in London that anyone who accept Jones-Aldington is a lackey of the capitalist system. It is all part of the plan to lick our strike, smash our trade union and make us docile workers.'

Liverpool will be one of the ports hardest hit by containerization and modernization. By 1975 there will be 11,500 fewer jobs in Britain's dockland, many of them on Merseyside.

Birkenhead shop steward Larry Cavanagh told the meeting: 'There was nothing at all in the Jones-Aldington proposals about job security.'

'Our lads at the delegate conference hammered them line by line. The people who voted for them never took our lads up. They just sat back and voted. They couldn't wait to get back inside the gate.'

'All it promised was that there would be further committees set up to look into conditions on the docks.'

'But while these committees

are being set up employers like Vestey are saying they will not give jobs to dock workers. How can Jones offer 200 jobs when the employers say 11,000 will be put out of this industry in the next two-and-a-half years?'

Cavanagh said the dockers were fighting for the basic right to work and he thought many other sections of workers could be rallied to their support.

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The consensus however is strongly in favour of unofficial action. 'We want them to give a statement of intent. We want nothing under the carpet,' said Norman Wright, stewards' convenor.



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AROUND THE WORLD

Italian coalition plans mass trial

BY JOHN SPENCER

ITALIAN police authorities are preparing a mass trial of nearly 600 left wingers in the industrial city of Turin.

They have already issued 579 summonses for subversive propaganda and association against members of groups to the left of the Communist Party.

The accused include 45 members of Potere Operaio, 300 members of Lotta Continua and 217 Maoists of various organizations.

Ten of the Lotta Continua members have been further charged with 'organizing' subversion and could be held in prison during the lengthy preparation of the trial.

The Communist Party has made no attempt to defend the

of leftists

victims of this mass trial who it has repeatedly denounced as 'leftists' and police provocateurs.

The case was set in motion by the Turin police department following a top-level meeting of police chiefs in Rome on July 10. This was one of the first acts of the new right-wing coalition under Giulio Andreotti.

The premier's 'law and order' campaign, however, does not extend to the fascist groups which are openly preparing for civil war.

At Mezzocorona in the mountains of North-East Italy, armed guards are protecting an encampment of over 50 fascists from the National Vanguard movement.

The guards wear military-style uniforms with belts and bayonets in plain violation of the law, yet they have not been touched by the police.

Inside the camp the fascists are wearing black shirts and displaying the runic cross, the one-time emblem of the Hitler youth.

The guards' uniform belts are inscribed with the motto: 'Our honour is called fidelity', the slogan of the SS now adopted by the fascist groups New Order and National Vanguard.

The fascists had originally tried to establish their camp on the outskirts of Trento. But they were driven away by the local people who refused to tolerate such a camp on their doorstep.

At Mezzocorona the local police, after 'casting an eye' over the camp, told the local paper they had seen nothing out of the ordinary. The campers were simply on holiday, they said.

Mariano Rumor, the Minister of Police, who has in the past repeatedly denounced armed camps, has decided to take no action against the Mezzocorona fascists.

Yet the fascists' leaders, Massimo Marchesini and Cristiano De Eccher, went on record in

January last year to the effect that:

'We who seek the true revolution prefer to remain in obscurity and conserve the political innocence of our militants.'

'We are an organized nucleus, trained in the use of arms, disciplined and ready to act when the need arises.'

'We of the National Vanguard are ready to crush a communist insurrection side by side with the army.'

The corrupt Italian administration is riddled with fascist sympathizers in high places. Yet the Stalinists of the Italian Communist Party maintain that this system can produce 'structural reforms' in the interests of the working class.

Meanwhile, the right wing goes about its preparations for civil war while the Communist Party fritters away workers' militancy in a series of partial strikes and protest actions and looks on as the state prepares to smash the left in mass trials.



Tartar festival in Chirchik (April 21, 1968) is broken up

Tartars demand end to terror

CRIMEAN Tartars deported en masse from their homeland by Stalin, have sent two petitions to the Kremlin with 38,000 signatures demanding to be allowed to return to the Crimea.

The Tartars, falsely accused by Stalin of having collaborated during the Nazi occupation, were swept from their homes

in 1944 by GPU special units and 'resettled' to the East of the Caspian Sea, to the North of Moscow, and in the Soviet Far East.

Half the deportees, 110,000 men, women and children, died of their sufferings during deportation and 'resettlement'. Their lands were handed over to Russian settlers.

The Tartars' fate was shared by the Karachai, the Kalmucks, the Chechens, the Ingush, the Balkars, the Meskhetians and the Volga Germans, all national minorities who fell victim to the Great Russian chauvinism of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The operation of deportation was directed by Marshal Voroshilov, who recently died loaded with honours in Moscow. He ordered the destruction of all Tartar national monuments and graveyards and the obliteration of all trace of the Tartar nation.

The Tartars were not mentioned in Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's crimes at the 20th party congress in 1956 and had to wait for 11 more years before their fate was officially acknowledged.

It was not until September 1967 that the false accusation of having betrayed the Soviet Union was lifted officially. But the decree of the Supreme Soviet admitting the falsity of these charges described the Tartars as 'citizens of Tartar nationality formerly resident in the Crimea', indicating that they could not return home.

A group of Tartars who did try to return were driven out with great brutality by the secret police. They have consistently been subjected to police repression for voicing their demand for full national rights.

Last May 18, anniversary of their deportation, the Tartars organized demonstrations in Kurgan, Fergana, Samarkand and Bekabad, where those who died in the deportation are buried.

Police with submachine-guns cordoned off the cemeteries and arrested several of the demonstrators.

The petitions demand an end to 'the political terror and national discrimination against the Crimean Tartar people' and call for a just solution of the Tartar question:

'We shall strive towards this with all determination, in spite of all difficulties, until our legitimate demands are met, until our cherished dream is realized, together with our hopes, and our just, entirely natural desire to live and work in our homeland, the Crimea.'

The Crimean Tartars' demands have received the support of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the USSR.

Among their most outspoken champions is General Grigorenko, now confined in a GPU psychiatric prison.

Grigorenko was arrested after he had answered an appeal from 2,000 Tartars to act as public defence spokesman at a trial of their leaders in Tashkent.

A BLACK South African contract labourer, who works a seven-day week, 11 hours a day for £3.25, has been sacked because he had nothing to wear to work.

Masingayi Xhakalegusha, 31, was fined £10 earlier this week for failing to obey a lawful command of his employer.

He had told the magistrate he had been unable to work when ordered to do so because he had washed his only pair of trousers the day before and they were still wet.

After the case, the foreman of the poultry farm, Johannes Lebenburg, cancelled his contract and gave him a train ticket back to the Transkei.

Lebenburg said that his firm employed 12 contract labourers who were given free accommodation but no food or medical treatment—their only 'perks' were a pair of overalls and boots.

Nixon vetoes 'reckless' budget

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

RICHARD NIXON has used the presidential veto against what he termed 'reckless' budget proposals from the United States Congress.

The proposals, which form about an eighth of the total budget for the forthcoming financial year, cover government spending on health, education, welfare and labour.

Nixon denounced the \$30,500m proposals as 'a perfect example of the kind of reckless spending that just cannot be done without more taxes or more inflation'.

The US government faces a budget deficit which could be as high as \$35,000m and Nixon is determined to economize at the expense of essential social services.

His original budget strategy of going into deficit to stimulate the economy has failed and unemployment remains high while production stagnates.

The vetoed budget proposal now goes back to Congress where the Democratic majority are unlikely to be able to muster the required two-thirds majority to overrule the president.

Oufkir dead

KING HASSAN of Morocco has survived the second attempt in 13 months to overthrow his medieval dictatorship but he has lost his strongman, Mohammed Oufkir.

Oufkir was killed at the Kenitra air base 25 miles from Rabat after leading loyalist troops against rebel air force officers who had attacked the king's plane on its way back from Paris and bombed and strafed the royal palace.

The king survived a mutiny in the army last July and Oufkir as Minister of the Interior organized the summary execution of the coup organizers.

Gen Oufkir was a professional soldier who served as a mercenary in the French Army in Indo-China.

Seven years ago Oufkir was implicated in the kidnap-murder of Mehdi Ben Barka, a leading Moroccan trade unionist living in exile in Paris.

Although Ben Barka's body was never found Oufkir was sentenced *in absentia* to life imprisonment by a French court for his complicity in the affair.

If the coup attempt has achieved nothing else the death of this sadistic butcher will be welcomed with rejoicing by the working people of Morocco.



"OF COURSE I'M DOING SOMETHING ABOUT IT - I'M PLAYING AS HARD AS I CAN!"

This was Smith Square, London, on Wednesday



... but this is how Fleet Street reported it



We say:

DOCKERS were a little wiser yesterday about their 'left' leader, Jack Jones. But they were also wiser about the workings of the capitalist press.

They had come on Wednesday from all parts of the country to lobby their delegates. That is their right. It has been a time-honoured practice of trade unionists.

When they reached Smith Square they found it cordoned shoulder-to-shoulder by police. At other entrances stood a troop of mounted police.

On hand and dealing directly with the operation was none other than Robert Mark, the recently-appointed Metropolitan Police Commissioner.

After the docks delegates' decision to call off the strike, Jones incensed his members by inviting the Tory press into his suite on the third floor to hold a press conference.

Jones, the darling of Fleet Street industrial correspondents, was willing to talk to the hirelings of Lord Thomson, Lady Pamela Berry, Sir Max Aitken and Vere Harmsworth rather than his own rank and file.

They broke into the press conference.

This drew a statement yesterday from two leaders of the National Union of Journalists, president Harold Pearson and general secretary Ken Morgan. They said journalists covering the conference were 'man-handled and had their notebooks and photographic equipment damaged.'

They went on: 'Making every allowance for the understandably high feeling of the demonstrators, the incident was a disgraceful and inexcusable one.'

'The dockers and any sympathizers of theirs who took part

would do well to remember that most, if not all, the journalists attending the conference were themselves loyal trade unionists merely doing their jobs.'

This is arrant humbug. The same NUJ leaders have not uttered a word in condemnation of Herman Roberts, ex-'Birmingham Post' industrial correspondent who is now a judge with the National Industrial Relations Court.

Roberts, an NUJ member, sat with Sir John Donaldson on the three-man bench which jailed the five London dockers. Yet Pearson and Morgan have made no moves to get Roberts expelled from his honorary membership of the union.

The other point in the NUJ statement is that it talks darkly about 'sympathizers' who may have been present.

This is the same bogey which the right-wing press introduced yesterday — the suggestion that 'evil, outside forces' were on the lobby.

Instead of joining the press proprietors in slugging the dockers they should be defending them against the lies and distortions of the capitalist press. In any case what did the men 'who were merely doing their jobs' turn in to their editors?

Listen to them: Geoffrey Goodman, industrial editor of the 'Daily Mirror': 'In 23 years of industrial reporting nothing in my memory matches the disgraceful behaviour yesterday of men who called themselves trade unionists... if ever a union leader has fought for dockers' jobs it is Jack Jones in the present dispute.'

Using the most lurid language he could throttle out of his typewriter Goodman described how his beloved Jack Jones was shoved and manhandled by the lobbyists.

This is the same Goodman who the previous day, Wednesday, told his readers in another front-page story: 'Furious women stone pickets.'

Not a note of criticism in Wednesday's paper of the attacks on pickets by the brutal force

of the police or the right-wing ladies of Goole and Scunthorpe.

Dockers should note Goodman's special morality: it's all right for police to bash dockers and for women to throw stones at them. But it's not all right if dockers demand a face-to-face confrontation with Jones, their leader, in their headquarters, Transport House.

Let's pass on to the 'Daily Mail'.

Its inside story was headed: 'The ordeal of Jack Jones. Men he fought for scream: Crucify him'.

The article made no attempt to deal with why the dockers were so enraged; not a single docker was interviewed.

There were also the astonishing claims about a certain ashtray which figured in all the press reports.

Some papers said that it was thrown at Jones, but hit Alex Kitson, at the conclusion of the docks delegates' meeting. But two other papers—the 'Birmingham Post' and the 'Western Mail'—were equally certain that this had occurred when dockers arrived at the press conference.

Both carried identical paragraphs which stated: 'Later angry rank and filers burst into a press conference he was holding, turned the pressmen out, and forced Mr Jones to talk to

them. An ashtray and a glass of water were thrown at him.'

Workers Press Reporter Stephen Johns, who was present at the conference, says this is completely untrue. He saw the water hurled at Jones but nobody threw an ashtray at anybody else.

During the coming weeks dockers can expect the Tory press to accelerate its lies and distortions.

It happened during the power workers' strike and it happened earlier this year in the miners' strike.

Journalists on the capitalist press must join with other sections of print workers in repudiating the propaganda which their masters now want to churn out.

The smears can be stopped if journalists and print workers show complete solidarity with the dockers' struggle.

This solidarity was magnificently demonstrated when the five London dockers were jailed. NATSOPA chapels led a move to shut down Fleet Street until the men were released.

Lord Mayor's firm for monopoly probe

BY JACK GALE

THE government has instructed the Monopolies Commission to investigate the contraceptive industry.

This comes almost seven months after the London Rubber Co. had been attacked in parliament by Labour MP Leo Abse.

Abse declared: 'This monopolistic company, which manufactures 95 per cent of the rubber sheaths used in Britain, has a long history of social irresponsibility.'

'It has protected its inordinate profits in the past and present by the most ruthless methods. To ensure no competition would emerge it has taken over or crushed almost all who have entered this field.'

In addition to this LRC controls 90 per cent of retail distribution.

The chairman of LRC International, which prices its products up to six times those of United States producers, and whose profits increased by £1m last year, is Sir Edward Howard, Lord Mayor of London.

According to the current report from the Select Committee on Science and Technology, LRC's principal British subsidiaries are:

- Autonomis Ltd; LR Industries Ltd; L R Wines Ltd; Andre Simons Wines Ltd; Churchill and Williams Ltd; Geo. Idle, Courtney and Co Ltd; John Lovibond and Sons Ltd; Valentine Charles Ltd; Medical Supply Association (Holdings) Ltd; W. H. Bailey and Son Ltd; W. Gubbins (Northampton) Ltd; Hogg and Ross Ltd; Medical Electronics Ltd;

The Medical Supply Association Ltd.

In addition LRC International controls subsidiary companies in Sweden, West Germany, India, Austria, Holland, Italy, the United States, and Canada.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

VICTORY TO THE BUILDERS AND DOCKERS!

TUC MUST BREAK OFF ALL TALKS WITH HEATH!

MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

CENTRAL LONDON: Wed, August 23, 7.30 p.m. The builders' fight. Small Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn.

ACTON: Monday August 21, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Acton High St.

CROYDON: Monday August 21, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd.

GLASGOW: Wednesday August 23, 7.30 p.m. Partick Burgh Hall (nr Merkland St underground). UCS and the docks.

NEWCASTLE: Wednesday August 23, 7.30 p.m. Hotspur Hotel, Haymarket.



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BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS



Peter Walker, Secretary for the Environment, has power under the Housing Finance Act to order in commissioners to police the rent increases

RESISTANCE TO TORY RENT BILL GROWS IN THE NORTH

The rent revolt of tenants and local authorities against the Tory government continues to gather force.

The latest council to declare its intention to oppose the increases forced on working class people by the Housing Finance Bill is Edinburgh. The city corporation made a final cliffhanger decision to defy the government last Tuesday.

The vote was 25 to 24. The Labour Party (the biggest group on the council but without an absolute majority over Tories and Liberals) was aided by absence of government supporters through holidays.

VICTORY

Councillor Ron Brown, who has been in the vanguard of the movement, triumphantly told Workers Press of the decision.

'This is the end of a long battle. Now this decision is a final one, it's a victory but we have not won the battle.

'The next step must be to force the Tories out—no tenant can be secure until this has been done,' he said.

Apart from Scotland the rents battle promises to be fiercest in the North-West. There seven councils have decided not to implement the Act, which came into force on August 10.

These include Salford, Stockport, St Helens and the new town of Skelmersdale.

In Stockport where the council have already banned the sale of council houses, trades unions and tenants' associations have already begun to draw up a joint campaign for action against any imposed increases.

Under the Act an agent of the Secretary of State for the Environment can be installed in council offices to carry out the Tory offensive by decree. Councillors who stand in his way will be fined £400 and face jail if they refuse to pay the fines.

Tenants' leader Ron Williams says there will be approaches made to shop stewards to bring out local factories in sympathy with the tenants' struggles.

The idea is for the factory workers to join tenants' pickets on the big estates to bar the way of the men collecting the new higher rents.

Another tenants' association leader, Ken Marston, has called on 'all working people' to support the picket move.

Feeling in Stockport is very high. It is a militant town and took the brunt of the engineering pay claim with Manchester. Local people are strongly supporting the council's move.

ALLEGIANCE

A recent probe by the town's ultra-Tory 'Advertiser' revealed that most people backed the decision to defy the law.

The greatest weakness in the Stockport battle comes from the right-wing in the Labour group, six of whom are magistrates and as such they must swear allegiance to the law of the land.

One Alderman, John Holland, made an ambiguous statement to the local paper on this issue.

When he was asked where he stood on the issue of the law he said that to disobey it 'might' be wrong. Clearly there is a strong chance that this group may capitulate.

In Manchester there has been massive pressure from the tenants' association on Labour councillors who have prevaricated on this issue. One of the strongest associations organizes the 90,000 strong Wythenshawe estate, reputed

to be the biggest in Europe.

They have already interrupted council meetings and demanded that Manchester stand firm against the government.

The other great danger in these militant battles which are building up a strong head of steam is that the 'action only' campaigns may take the focus off the real issue—the removal of the Tory government.

In these industrial towns of Lancashire and North Cheshire there is a truly enormous groundswell of opposition to the Tory government.

This finds its expression in the big tenants' revolts. It could be mobilized with factory action aimed at bringing the Tories down.

Otherwise while the picketing on the streets continues the Labour leaders may eventually capitulate in the town halls.

There is a parallel with the engineering sit-in strikes that swept the Manchester area. While the men fought hard and stuck it out the national leadership got on with drawing up a rotten compromise.

But one thing is certain. On D-Day, October 1, there will be massive and widespread resistance in towns like Stockport to the Tory drive to make the working class pay for economic crisis.

TORIES THREATEN TENANTS WITH EVICTION

Hundreds of tenants in Cumbernauld, Scotland, are being threatened with eviction by the development corporation for refusing to pay Tory rent increases.

Many have received circulars from the corporation warning that action will be taken if the arrears are not paid within seven days.

Cumbernauld Corporation took advantage of the Housing Finance (Scotland) Bill before it became law.

Rent increases were imposed under the Bill—it is now an Act—as long ago as May 28.

The chairman of the corporation is Sir Donald Liddle. For a general manager, tenants have to put up with a brigadier, C. H. Cowan.

The page-long warning to individual tenants says the first step will be to prosecute them in the Sheriff Court, followed by eviction orders if necessary.

The local rent action committee formed to fight the increases, is concentrating on legal arguments with the corporation.

A counter-letter has been drawn up for tenants to send back to the corporation. It tries to argue that the rent rebate position has been altered by amendments to the Bill as it went through parliament.

It demands an immediate refund of any extra rent which was paid unnecessarily. But the corporation has said they will not withdraw their own letters.

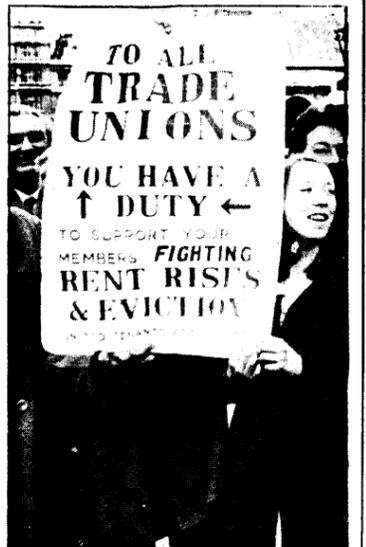
A recent meeting of the rent action committee rejected a call by an All Trades Unions Alliance speaker for the formation of a Council of Action to mobilize tenants and workers to prepare for the General Strike force the Tories to resign.

Communist Party member David Kane, chairman of the committee, said the proposal was 'not realistic' as the rent increases in the major cities did not come into effect until October.

Treasurer Doug Gilchrist—who drew up the counter 'threatening' letter—also tried to alienate potential support from the corporation's office staff.

He claimed staff at the rents office had 'over-reacted' to the situation and had put pressure on pickets.

In fact, many of the staff are sympathetic to the struggle being tenants themselves. Such provocations as have occurred have been the responsibility of a minority of supervisors and senior clerks.



TROOPS LEAVE BUT THE WAR GOES ON



South Vietnamese soldiers, who are sent in by the Americans to serve as 'live bait', run from the artillery fire of the liberation forces

Seven years and five months after the Marines first landed on the beaches of South Vietnam, the last American ground combat unit embarked for home last week at the Da Nang base.

According to the American command there are now no American troops directly involved in ground combat in Vietnam which has been entirely handed over to the troops of the Saigon puppet army.

The last troops to leave were men of the 3rd battalion of the 21st Regiment of Infantry. They were replaced by men of the South Vietnamese 3rd Division, which fled in disorder from the town of Quang Tri at the start of the current liberation offensive.

But though Nixon's public-relations men would like to give the impression that American involvement is all but over there are still 43,000 US military personnel in Vietnam, the majority at the Long Binh base.

And much more important there are the 600-odd bombers based mainly in Thailand and supplemented by the air and fire power of the Seventh Fleet.

The Nixon administration once had 543,000 men in Vietnam, in April 1969 in the aftermath of the famous Tet offensive.

But what appeared to be the army's strength—its numerical preponderance—was in reality its greatest weakness.

The troops simply refused to fight. They mutinied, 'fragged' their officers, took drugs, deserted and forced the president to bring them home.

The air war now being waged with unprecedented intensity is Nixon's answer to this problem. It supplements the efforts of the Saigon forces, who are as disinclined to die for America as the American troops themselves.

BOMBING

What Nixon means by 'Vietnamization' is the combination of automated air power and sophisticated weaponry with the blood and bodies of dragooned Vietnamese men.

Bombing is now the heart of the American military strategy: ground troops, though still important, play an entirely secondary role.

The Asian foot-soldiers are used to support the American bombers by:

- 'Showing the flag' when going in after bombing has caused the liberation forces to retreat and taking out supplies and refugees;

- Providing garrisons for the towns and undertaking police action against the population; and

- Serving as 'live bait' to draw the fire of the liberation troops so that the Americans can know where to bomb.

LIVE BAIT

Richard Boyle, an observer of the 1970 American invasion of Cambodia, described the latter process in the following terms:

'They're just using these kids as cannon fodder. The Americans send them out a few clicks (i.e. a short distance) so they can find out where the communists are.

'Then they call the bombers in. The Cambodians don't do anything, and they're dying like flies. Sometimes they're even caught in the bombing raids themselves.'

Describing an operation in the early months of last year, John Saar of 'Life' magazine told of similar tactics:

'As the operation evolved... new tactics appeared, calling for the ARVN [South Vietnamese puppet] units to stay mobile... They've reduced the heavily-outnumbered ARVN battalions to the role of live bait.

'The troops spent their days and nights running and hiding while US airpower struck at the pursuing North Vietnamese Army.

'Saigon spokesmen claimed the tactics were very successful, but some Vietnamese called them "inhuman".'

The withdrawal of US troops has not meant any decline in the intensity of the onslaught against the people of Indo-China.

The air war has distinct advantages for Nixon, however, in that it is automated more and more completely and requires only relatively gung-ho right-wing pilots to keep going indefinitely.

It is also extremely lucrative for the hundreds of American corporations with contracts to supply the electronics, the bombs and the planes.

The brunt of the air war falls on South Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese have suffered an appalling rain of death but their compatriots to the South are bombed even more heavily and systematically. Much of the South is simply a 'free-fire zone' where aircraft can dump their bombs at will.

This part of the war is played down by Nixon's agents in Indo-China, who use a combination of news management and straight-forward lies to cover their crimes.

This secrecy keeps the war acceptable to the people at home. The US was able to carry out air strikes against Laos for more than six years without making any public declaration, and the war there is still deeply shrouded in secrecy.

The US command prohibits even its own press from observing most of the air war at first hand by keeping reporters off raids outside South Vietnam.

In Thailand, where the B-52 bombers set out on their daily bombing runs, the military dictatorship obligingly prohibits any access to the huge US bases.

DOUBLED

The secrecy has little military justification—the only reason for it is that it hides the bulk of the air war from public scrutiny.

The Nixon government is as determined as ever to keep its puppets in power in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This is vital to its strategy of counter-revolution throughout Asia.

The air war is designed to warn every worker who may be contemplating revolutionary struggle of the terrible price he will have to pay.

But it has its own logic. In February 1972, the administration announced it was doubling the number of B-52s and aircraft carriers in Indo-China.

Nixon had to carry this out sooner than he expected when the liberation forces launched their continuing offensive two months later.

But it has proved inadequate to contain, let alone defeat, the courageous liberation forces who are winning victories in Vietnam despite the bombardment.

CONTAINERIZATION: THE CASE FOR NATIONALIZATION OF THE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES

THE UNIONS' BLACK RECORD

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

'You worry me. You're like some of my so-called militants. They're scared of the employers. I'm not scared. My job is to defeat the employers.' Tim O'Leary, national docks secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, to a Workers Press reporter.

The dockers' fight is not unique. They are facing what every other worker in Britain has been facing over the last five years—a massive cut-back in the labour force and a drive for higher and higher productivity.

This partly accounts for the dockers' characteristic strength and independence — from the employers and union bureaucracy.

It also means that the port bosses have had to pay a high price for a smaller and vastly more productive labour force. The size of the severance bribe to get men out of the industry is not due to the employers' love of their labour force, but because the Scheme prevents them from forcing the men out.

Therefore, the scheme cannot be viewed as some legal regulation peculiar to dockland. It is a most important basic right won by dockers—and one that should be extended to cover the whole of the working class.

EROSION

It has been going on in the shipyards, the car industry, the railways and the mines.

But there is one factor that gives the dockers' struggle its particular bitterness and special form — the National Dock Labour Scheme.

The Scheme was introduced in 1947 by the Labour government. It gave portworkers a legal guarantee of security of employment by setting up a register of men and forbidding the employment of men not on this register. It also ensured that a docker received certain regular payments whether there was work for him or not.

The Scheme was administered by the National Dock Labour Board, jointly controlled by the unions and port employers. After Devlin the Scheme stayed, but the men were allocated to particular employers. Any surplus went on a 'temporary' unattached register where they got minimum fall-back pay each week.

The Scheme is not just a buffer against unemployment. Without it the dockers would not be the powerful fighting force they are today—it is the sheet-anchor of all their rights and conditions.

Its most important effect is to deprive the employers of their right to hire and fire. On the dock, employers cannot threaten dismissal and mass unemployment to unco-operative labour force.

For this reason employers hate the scheme and have always conspired to get rid of it. This became an urgent necessity when they were forced to modernize and begin containerization. The container revolution meant massive investment in new ships, berths, cargo handling equipment, containers, lorries and so on. Normally such a move would have been accompanied by a productivity scheme aimed at tricking the labour force into accepting big redundancies similar to the Measured-Day Work proposals in the car industry.

To an extent this has happened on the docks. Devlin and successive severance schemes have slashed the labour force from 60,000 in 1967 (the year of Phase I) to 40,000 today. Containerization has been accepted and on many modern berths manning levels are considerably reduced. This was the kind of 'slow erosion' of the scheme that the employers wanted. But they came unstuck.

Eventually dockers realized that their rights and conditions were being pared away to nothing and they called a halt to the dangerous process. This is the background to the



current strike and the ill-fated Jones-Aldington report.

This second 'new deal' for dockers is a desperate ploy by the employers — aided by union officials — to get their plans back on the rails.

They offer more severance and, through the proposal of work-sharing, hope to convince dockers that the TUR has vanished. In fact dockers on full pay will be subsidizing the 'unemployed' men.

If the employers can get around this latest impasse, they hope to drive forward and reduce the labour force by another 20,000. The hope is that some day the docker labour force will be so weak and denuded that the fight for basic rights will be abandoned.

The Jones-Aldington episode, however, does highlight another feature of dockland struggles — the continual co-operation of union officials and employers.

It is rather sickening to hear Transport and General Workers' Union leaders talking about the 'great human problem' caused by modernization. We heard none of this wailing back in the 1960s when the employers were launching their attack — then, we were told,

Devlin and productivity would make every docker's street 'sunshine street', to quote Pete O'Hare T&GWU district secretary in Liverpool.

T&GWU officials played a major role in bringing in containerization without any safeguards at all for the labour force, despite the fact that the effects of this development on the labour force were obvious.

SCRAMBLE

The key period for these developments was between 1965 and 1970. The earlier date marks the first desperate rush into containers by the big British and European shipping lines. This scramble was accompanied by intense lobbying, by employers, of union officials and the Labour government. Of course it was the era of Harold Wilson's 'white-hot' technological revolution, so all the big talk about a 'revolution' in sea transport sounded very impressive to the feeble reformists in the Labour government.

One of George Brown's first jobs was to set up a national

development committee on exports. In September 1965 it produced its report. A revealing passage noted the development of containers and roll-on, roll-off services and recommended:

'From the concept of through-transport has stemmed the idea of Inland Container Depots (ICDs) where full loads can be broken down . . . and delivered . . . away, but not necessarily far away, from the congested port area.

. . . if groupage systems could be further developed there might be a significant reduction in the transit time for this type of load. An increase in the number of ICDs should make it easier to extend groupage.'

This was probably the first time the container depots had received official recognition and encouragement in Britain. A member of this committee was none other than Tim O'Leary, the T&GWU's national docks secretary. Yet the report nowhere mentioned the problems for dock labour, which would result from the growth of ICDs.

During the next two years the Labour government introduced successive legislation to



Top: dockers walk away in disgust from a meeting where a T&GWU official is explaining the Devlin report in summer 1965. Above: Jack Jones and Tim O'Leary during the dock strike in 1970.

change customs clearance and transport regulations to aid the development of container and roll-on, roll-off networks. The one thing they did not do was to carry out their pledge to nationalize the docks.

The major shipping lines and stevedoring firms were not touched by legislation—on the contrary the Labour government did almost exactly what these interests wanted.

The collaboration continued when the shippers began to establish their container depots. In part three of this series we showed how the T&GWU agreed to the recruitment of non-registered labour in the depots. When they were forced to act, the T&GWU leaders attempted to suppress industrial action over the ICDs by fighting a series of fruitless legal battles.

Over the last five years they have been in court about 60 times over the definition of dock work. This was very expensive and a complete waste of time; the judges came out almost exclusively on the side of the employers.

When the container revolution in Britain was well under way, the employers, with great delicacy, began to work towards their long-desired goal—a free hand with the dock labour force and the abolition of the scheme.

In September and October 1970, soon after the introduction of Devlin Phase II, they began talks with Jack Jones, T&GWU secretary and Tim O'Leary. They were wide ranging, but one of the key topics was the eventual abolition of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

SECRECY

The thinking of the shippers was summarized in a memorandum sent to the Tory Minister of Transport, John Peyton, by Sir John Nicholson, head of Ocean Steamship Co. On the Scheme he stated:

'For dock labour the ultimate aim should be the substitution of normal industrial agreements and relations for the present statutory regulation of the industry (the circumstances of 1947 no longer apply). This does not preclude workpeople's participation in the process which govern the running of dock labour affairs, but such participation would be the consequence of agreement between employers and union and would not be dependent on statute.'

These were the views that the big shippers put to Jones and O'Leary when they met them in secret at the Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, on October 1, 1970.

An employers' memo on this discussion made these points on dock labour and its status:

'We wholly shared Jones' earlier view that until Devlin II bedded down it could be disastrous to talk publicly about any change in the existing structure.

'As previously explained, we must look forward to the changes which would match the alterations in the pattern and form of employment and to that end statutory obligations must disappear at some stage.'

Later the president of the Port Employers' Association, Sir John Nicholson, then head of the Ocean Steamship Company, met the Tory Minister Peyton and reported on the discussion with Jones and O'Leary. A memo on this meeting made these points:

'I took the opportunity of explaining [to Peyton] that I had made it my business to ascertain that Jack Jones

a) was apparently not hostile to our conception of the NPC [National Ports Council] despite his understandable and doctrinaire preference for nationalization; b) would be prepared, at the appropriate time, to discuss our ideas about

substituting the NPC for the NDLB [National Dock Labour Board] though he thought, and we entirely agreed, that it would be most damaging if anything of this kind was ventilated in public before Devlin II had bedded down.'

This direct move by the employers has failed for the present. The T&GWU, through Jones and O'Leary, retain at least a verbal commitment to the scheme.

But the Adelphi episode and the container issue all serve to show just how close the union leadership came to abandoning all the rights won by the dockers in over a century and a half of struggle.

They did this because they believe that 'rational' discussion can smooth away the antagonisms between the working class (in this case the dockers) and the employers. This is the hallmark of reformism and the dockers have paid the price with a 30 per cent reduction in the labour force in five years.

Now the same men who failed to safeguard their members during the container revolution are helping the employers over the last major hurdle. If fully developed, modernization on the docks could mean a labour force of 5,000.

Such a denuded force could not withstand the pressure for a revision of the Scheme. The dockers would be in their most vulnerable state since the 19th century. This is the meaning of the Jones-Aldington plot. Any compromise must, therefore, be entirely rejected.

Those who argue that 'copper-bottomed guarantees' would solve the issue are also misleading the dockers.

Suppose all the container-base jobs went to the dockers, suppose all the ports were registered and suppose the temporary unemployed register (TUR) was abolished? Would it solve the crisis on the docks? The answer is no.

Modernization in the hands of private employers means a vastly-reduced labour force—at the port, in road transport and warehousing.

To reduce the struggle to one over a handful of jobs is to give the employers maximum advantage. They can then turn round and declare that the affair is nothing to do with them, that it is a squabble between workers for an inevitably declining pool of employment.

The inescapable conclusion from the evidence on containerization is that there is no solution to the dockers' problem outside nationalization of the entire port transport and shipping industry.

This cannot be passed off once more as some long-term dream. Another 'deal' will be a disaster, whatever the guarantees — 'copper-bottomed' or otherwise.

There is only one way to go forward—with the political policy of nationalization, without compensation under workers' control. This means that the No. 1 task on the agenda is to remove the Tory government and put Labour back to carry out this job.

As we said at the start of this article the dockers' plight is not unique. All workers are in this situation.

The employing class faces economic crisis and harsh international competition. Nowhere are these problems more severe than in the very sinews of the capitalist system—international trade and transport. To survive this crisis, the employers must make the working class pay in unemployment and eventual loss of earnings.

The dockers are now in the vanguard. They must not be left isolated. All workers and unions must rally round this strike with industrial action and make the dockers' struggle the fatal blow that will force the Tory government out of office.

From the Dockers' Tanner Strike 1889 to Devlin 1967. An historical series on the organization of the dockers by Jack Gale

FIGHTING THE EMPLOYERS' OFFENSIVE

PART 2

Despite the victory of the 1889 'Dockers' Tanner' strike the fortunes of port workers continued to rest heavily on trade fluctuations.

The employers, eager to recover what they had lost, joined together to form the Shipping Federation. The counter-offensive was under way—in Hull, for example, an employers' provocation smashed the union within seven weeks in 1893.

The principal object of the Federation was completely to destroy trade unionism on the waterfront—particularly in London. To this end, it built up a powerful scabbing organization. In 1900 a London dock strike was broken by scabs brought in from Swansea, Liverpool, Shields and Rotterdam.

The central conflict was over the closed shop. In the aftermath of the 1889 victory, the dockers were able to force this principle on the reluctant employers.

This enabled the union to exercise control over the number of men employed in a gang, speed of work and so forth. The employers' reaction was predictable. As a certain Mr Hill of the Wilson-Hill Line told a Royal Commission on Labour in 1891: 'Non-unionists give us more control of the men.'

Of course, the usual arguments against organization were trotted out—the men were 'out of control', they were breaking agreements, the unions could not 'enforce discipline' etc., etc.

The struggle for power between the unions and the bosses centred on the 'calling-on' stands. In the 1889 strike the men not only won the minimum wage of 6d an hour and 8d overtime. They could also earn a 'plus' calculated on tonnage rate.

More important, the men could elect a representative to check that these 'plus rates' were accurate. In practice, these representatives also checked union cards at the 'call-in' and this enabled them to stop non-unionists from being taken on.

The first step of the employers to break this was to encourage the growth of other organizations. They played upon the rivalries between the Dockers' Union and the organizations of the more skilled men—the Stevedores' and Lightermen's Union.

The Dockers' Union organized the mass of workers—the casuals. The employers assisted the relatively more privileged workers to stay out of the Dockers' Union and helped them to form the Association of Foremen and Clerks of the Docks, Wharves and Warehouses, and the Permanent Labourers' Mutual Protection Association. The Dockers' Union denounced these organizations as company unions.

Their members certainly enjoyed better conditions. They received a regular wage, they usually lived away from the waterfront and they subscribed to benefit schemes run by the employers.

By the second half of 1890 the trade boom was slackening off. In November that year the joint committee of the London and East and West India Companies terminated the 1889 agreement.



Top: the quayside at Albert Dock, London, an early stronghold of the Dockers' Union. Above: Harry Gosling, transport union leader.

Workers' representatives were swept away and union delegates were no longer allowed to examine union cards at the call-on. Despite widespread unofficial stoppages, the Dockers' Union failed to lead a fight and its membership began to drift away.

As the union weakened, the employers pressed home their advantage. Workers who remained loyal to the union were victimized.

In the London upstream docks the bulk of the work was given to permanent men and, after them, to regular weekly labour. Outside these categories, the casuals were formed into 'preference lists' and taken on for work according to their list number.

This meant that a small number of men got regular work while the vast majority, in the casual grades, got hardly any work at all.

This was a clear threat to the Dockers' Union.

In February 1891, London stevedores struck work against the employment of non-union labour by the Shipping Federa-

tion to unload ships manned by non-union crews. The strike was lost and by March three of the largest shipping lines were employing non-union (or 'free') labour supplied to them by a Free Labour Office at the Albert Dock.

In June, 1891, the P&O line broke with the union over the issue of double-time payment for working holidays and also took on 'free' labour.

Throughout the period between 1892 and 1911 the employers held the whip hand in the ports. By the end of the 1890s the Victoria and Albert district of the Dockers' Union was the only one to retain any real strength.

In 1900 the Victoria and Albert dockers struck work for the stevedores' rate of 8d and 1s. They also demanded that men should be hired outside the dock gates—a procedure which enabled the closed-shop to be enforced. The Shipping Federation defeated the strike with the aid of imported scabs and by 1906 the Dockers' Union was virtually extinct in London, although it maintained its existence in the provincial ports.

In this period, the dockers faced not only the opposition of the port employers, but also that of the large firms which used the docks. Associated Portland Cement was one firm which disapproved of the use of union labour to handle its business.²

During this time, the decline of trade enabled the employers to attack the unions, particularly over control of hiring procedures.

As the mass organizations declined, the Stevedores and Lightermen were left as the only unions with real influence, especially in London. In 1911, however, both these organizations agreed to join with the Dockers' Union and the largest

provincial transport unions to form the National Transport Workers' Federation.

This was not before time. The workers faced powerful foes—not only the shipping companies, but also the Cement Combine and Scruttons Ltd, the largest stevedoring firm in London.

In April, 1911, the Dockers' Union launched a campaign to raise wages to 8d and 1s. The Stevedores' Union immediately endorsed the claim.

But the spark came from the seamen. In June the seamen's union called a national strike and dockers in Hull, Goole and Manchester came out in sympathy. The sailors' union was affiliated to the National Transport Workers' Federation, and this enabled the dockers and lightermen to co-ordinate their claims with that of the seamen.

This united action frightened the port employers and they met the executive of the NTWF in July.

The NTWF wanted (1) full recognition of all transport unions in London and (2) a port rate of 8d and 1s.

The final settlement, known as the Devonport Agreement (after Lord Devonport, chairman of the Port of London Authority) brought men earning 6d and 8d up to 7d and 9d and those already on the latter rate were, subject to arbitration, to receive 8d and 1s.

The employers agreed to recognize the unions, but not the closed-shop. On this inadequate basis, the NTWF leaders called off the strike.

But they had miscalculated. They had satisfied the employers, but not their own members. The men threw out the Devonport Agreement and came out on strike, despite the pleas of Harry Gosling and Ben Tillet.

The strike was started by

the London coal porters and swiftly spread through the Victoria and Albert and Surrey docks. Bowing before the storm, the NTWF leaders issued an official call for a strike throughout the Port of London, which began on the very day when Sir Albert Rollit was due to hear the arbitration case.

This may well be relevant to the arbitration decision—to grant the 8d and 1s to the men whose case was being considered.

But this was not enough to stop the strike, which rapidly spread to carmen, stevedores, crane drivers, tugmen, barge-men and ship repairers.

With tons of food rotting on the docks, the government intervened and substantial concessions were made. The NTWF declared the dispute at an end—but, in fact, it continued for another ten days because the PLA refused to reinstate about 3,000 labourers.

The working class was definitely on the offensive. In July and August, 1911, the dockers' Union expanded its London membership from under 2,000 to over 22,000. The stevedores doubled theirs from 4,000 to 8,000.

This placed the closed-shop on the order of the day. On August 14, London dockers refused to be called on inside the gates. The same day a general transport strike erupted in Liverpool. On August 17 and 18 a national railway strike began.

On August 18 the London employers conceded that men should be called on outside the dock gates—thus ensuring union control over hiring.

But the peace was an uneasy one, soon to be disrupted.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

¹ J. Lovell 'Stevedores and Dockers', p. 126.

² Harry Gosling 'Up and Down Stream', pp. 53-54.

MYTHS FOR THE CORPORATION MEN.

Reviewed by Leslie Stewart

The apologists for the capitalist system have from the beginning tried to show that it is a 'natural' mode of production.

This means that the profit motive is also natural, as is the exploitation of man by man.

Thus the classical economists, Adam Smith and Ricardo, justified the idea of the freely competing individual by explaining that his behaviour was based on that of the solitary and isolated hunter or fisherman or on that of Robinson Crusoe on his desert island.

Others tried to find a rationale for the system in mythology, but as Marx pointed out there is 'nothing more tedious and dull' than attempts to 'explain the origin of an economic relationship—whose historical evolution the writer does not know—in a historico-philosophical man by means of mythology; alleging that Adam or Prometheus hit upon the idea ready made...'

Today the apologists of capitalism do not go back to classical mythology. They have seized instead on what they call the New Biology.

This is a view of human life and of the origins of human behaviour based on the work of animal psychologists like Conrad Lorenz, or the appropriately-named Lionel Tiger, or Desmond Morris ('The Naked Ape'), or Robert Ardrey, whose 'The Territorial Imperative' is an attempt to prove that the defence of territory, whether it be a semi-detached or an empire, is a natural law of behaviour as incapable of change as dominance of the weak by the strong, or as racialism.

It is a way of thinking which appeals to the childish concepts of leadership and of 'the pack', which is one of the basic concepts of British middle-class education—the view of human relationships which found its myth-maker in Kipling and his 'Jungle Books'.

It attempts to prove that the life of modern man is still ruled by animal instincts or by what are assumed to have been the patterns of social organization of early man.

The dangers of transferring to human societies the patterns of animal behaviour are obvious. But the enthusiasts for the New Biology are not afraid of a theory which promises a means of isolating 'a factor which can be used to help us to improve the vast clumsy modern corporation not only as a place for humans to work in but also as a profit-making industrial unit.'

That quotation is from Antony Jay's 'Corporation Man'.

Jay is a Cambridge graduate who, after serving in the Corps of Signals where he was commissioned, went on to join the BBC's 'Tonight' team.

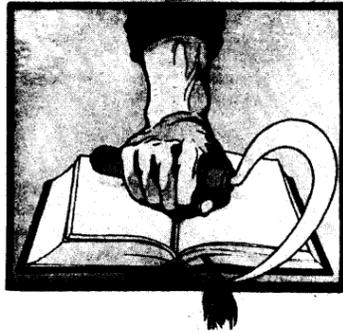
Now a freelance, he wrote the script for the 'Royal Family' documentary—the BBC's massive and expensive attempt to sell the monarchy to the viewers as an institution whose members are ordinary people with a cosy family life.

But his real importance is as a consultant.

In television he is adviser to David Frost, whose programme he devised.

He is adviser to Aubrey Singer, the BBC executive whose department produced

BOOK REVIEW



'CORPORATION MAN' by Anthony Jay. Cape Publishers, £2.50

the 'British Empire' series.

He is a consultant on business management and one of the best-selling apologists for capitalism.

Not an original thinker but 'with it', a modern myth-maker.

His theory is that men (women he hardly considers except as camp-followers) work in hunting packs of 'ten-groups' which are 'the result of millions of years of tension and interaction between the social structure of the ape troop and the logic of the wolf pack'.

Each pack competes with other packs but comes together with them in the larger loyalty of the Corporation tribe.

Corporation tribes come under the King who rules the Empire.

Naturally this is a highly undemocratic social organization based on the concept of leadership.

'Of course any leader will often want to talk to his group before giving an answer, but that is visibly different from having to defer to their will if it conflicts with his,' he says.

Jay is a great believer in leadership and wonders why some people are embarrassed by it; can it be, he wonders, that they see in it 'an oppressive denial of human equality?'

He is comforted by the feeling that 'lower down' the principle is 'understood and unambiguously expressed' in terms of 'governor and chief and squire and gaffer and boss'.

A lot of this is adman stuff on the level of the poster which shows Tarzan bursting through the jungle with a packet of peanuts in his hand.

It might be just possible to dismiss as harmless nonsense the idea of sharp young executives thinking of themselves as a hunting pack that comes back to the wise old chief, the managing director, for a 'talk round the fire at the end of the hunt'.

But Jay extends his views to the shop floor.

Now the vicious dangerousness of his thinking becomes apparent.

Jay believes that strikes are caused by the activities of what he calls 'malignant cells'—ten groups of workers that have, as it were, gone wrong.

Of course, he admits, the strikes will have 'a sensible-sounding pretext', such as more money or longer holidays, but in fact a strike is the 'ultimate expression of the break-down of the corporation's tribal system'.

An all-male tribe, he explains, is always liable to bouts of collective aggression, whereas 'a reasonable proportion of women working with the men dilutes the concentration of aggressive energy and makes the chieftain's (i.e. the boss's) task easier'.

Historically, he concludes it is the 'all-male tribes in mines and docks and car factories which have provided the longest and bitterest strikes, whereas strikes of all-female tribes are extremely rare'.

On one level, this is ridiculous nonsense; on the other, it is an argument for the dilution of labour by (if possible) unorganized female labour.

His solution to the problem posed by these 'malignant cells' is to isolate the workers in small groups as much as possible from their fellows.

He particularly admires a Belfast factory where the machines were grouped and 'white lines painted on the floor round each group'.

When one of the groups struck, the other groups stayed at work. The groups, he says triumphantly, had arrived.

It is not surprising that he finds his ideals of industrial management in Japanese industry where 'workers meet together in their free time, possibly under the chairmanship of the foreman, to discuss how the job is done and how to do it better'.

Once, he quotes approvingly from 'Modern Japanese Management', 'this was done entirely without pay... now Mitsubishi pays a token two hours' pay a month in recognition of these efforts'.

What Jay wants within industry is a form of corporatism in which 'ten-groups of workers can be closely involved in the success of a giant corporation'.

What he is after, behind all his romantic terminology, is the strengthening of the structures of monopoly capitalism and the integration of the workers into a system where they will know their place, collaborate and happily increase the profits of BMC, General Motors, or Mitsubishi.

In such a close working relationship, mutiny 'or strike, as it is called in civil life' is a virtual impossibility.

Jay is a man who is capable of saying of great corporations and their aggressive competition for higher and higher profits and growth that 'greed hardly comes into it at all'.

He dismisses the great revolutionary moment of the storming of the Bastille in the first days of the French Revolution as 'mindless mass behaviour'.

He calls for the reduction of the numbers of university students because young people are concentrated in 'groups beyond the acceptable tribal size, and without adequate tribal structure'.

Of Lenin he says: 'I might give him the leadership of a complex project that required energetic dedication, but I would not let him anywhere near the complex realities of long-term corporate management.'

He believes that the Heath government was returned to power because 'the camp had been favoured at the expense of the hunters: too much national expenditure to subsidize health and homes and schools, too much government restriction on the activities of industry'.

Jay's last book on management was translated into twelve languages.

No doubt his new 'Jungle Book' is also a best-seller because it provides the myths the corporation men need. They have found a new thinker, a man with access to the mass media: a dangerous man.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

NF GENERAL

Introducing Major General Richard Hilton, DSO, MC, DFC. He was educated at Malvern College and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. He served in World War I, the Indian mounted artillery from 1924-1930. He then became staff captain at the War Office and went with the British Expeditionary Force to France at the outbreak of World War II.

From 1941 to 1944 he was commander of the Royal Artillery in the 15th (Scottish) Division and was wounded in action.

At the end of the war he was brigadier, general staff to the allied forces in Norway. From 1947 to 1948 he was military attaché in Moscow.

Why are we telling you all about him?

For the past few weeks he has been writing a series of articles in 'Spearhead', the journal of the extreme right-wing National Front.

Is Major General Hilton the only British general in the NF?

temporary accommodation provided by local authorities, numbered 5,459 at the end of 1971. This is an approximate increase of 14 per cent over the previous year.

Not only are there more homeless families, they are staying homeless longer—732 families stayed in temporary accommodation as long as 18 months, compared with 599 families the previous year.

The number of homeless single people in temporary accommodation increased by 2,520 between 1971 and 1972, and they are also staying there longer.

These figures do not, of course, include the number of homeless people who are staying with relatives or friends, paying out their savings in bed and breakfast hotels or hostels, or just living rough.

The number of children in local authority care in England, says the report, rose from 68,255 in 1970 to 83,621 in 1971 and the number of receptions into care rose from 49,756 to 61,917 in the same period.

Such is life in Tory Britain! The economy may not grow much, but private enterprise can certainly turn people out of their homes.

Below: Property tycoon and Tory head of the Department of Health and Social Security, Sir Keith Joseph.

HOMELESS

According to a report just drawn up by the Department of Health and Social Security, the total number of homeless families in England staying in



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Scabs crash picket with police aid

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BY AN overwhelming majority, a mass meeting of the 170 process workers at the International Synthetic Rubber Co plant at Fawley, Hampshire, has voted to continue an official strike now seven weeks old.

Youth fight for union recognition

A STRIKE by 11 print workers at Toye, Kenning and Spencer Ltd, Bedworth, near Coventry, for union recognition is now in its third week.

The strikers—all young members of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades—told Workers Press that they are determined to remain out until they win recognition.

But over 100 young workers, members of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, are still at work.

Strikers say that these other workers had voted to come out but were prevented from doing so by their full-time official.

SOGAT official R. A. Martin is still investigating this state of affairs.

The central SOGAT branch in Coventry is arranging collections among print workers for the Bedworth strikers. Appeals are also being made to car factories in Coventry for financial support.

The operators, members of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, decided to reject the management's first pay proposals. For six weeks, ISR had refused even to negotiate.

The dispute is over a new grading scheme, unilaterally imposed by management and rejected by the employees because it grades workers rather than jobs and is seen as an attempt to split the union.

The strike has been marked by massive police intervention in support of scab lorries attempting to breach the picket lines and keep up supplies to the plant, and in support of scab staff trying to maintain production.

Specially hired scab drivers are getting £75 to drive rent-a-truck vehicles at speed through the 24-hour picket lines. The company has underwritten any damage to the vehicles.

The police have been escorting these lorries to and from the plant and have also blocked attempts by pickets to follow the trucks to find out more about them.

The police have ignored complaints about the dangerous way the trucks are driven through the pickets.

Last Sunday, one of the strike-breaking lorries smashed into two of the pickets' cars parked on the side of the road.

The next morning the same lorry but a different driver raced through a mass picket. Both police and pickets had to



Police hamper pickets as a lorry pushes through

jump for safety.

The lorry was travelling too fast to turn into the plant entrance and was forced to drive into a dead-end road where it was trapped by angry pickets.

A prosecution may follow. Solidarity with the strike is growing in the area.

Maintenance workers and contract cleaners employed at ISR have observed the picket lines, and apart from the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union their action has been declared official.

Esso workers at the adjacent oil refinery have refused to supply essential oil, and National Union of Railwaymen members have refused to shunt wagons into the plant.

International Synthetic Rubber, which owns the Fawley plant, is a consortium of major tyre and rubber firms and is one of the largest producers of synthetic rubber in Europe.

Workers launched a 60-strong picket and were faced with a 200-strong force of

police. Two men were arrested for trespass. They were guarding two rail tankers the company want to get into the factory.

The men are against the latest deal because 30 per cent of them would be unable to reach the top pay grade.

Another problem is management's refusal to give an assurance that no action will be taken against workers who continue to black transport firms who have broken picket lines during the strike.

Tory routes hive-off blamed for BOAC loss

BOAC, Britain's state-owned overseas airline, has made a £1.4m loss in the year ended March 31. This is the first overall loss by BOAC for eight years.

But the annual report released yesterday says BOAC fared far better than many competitors during an extremely difficult year.

Among the reasons blamed for the loss are uncontrolled proliferation of charter flights, which continued to poach scheduled traffic and 'vigilance against hijacking', which had to be maintained despite its effect on punctuality and costs.

In spite of this BOAC would have made a small profit 'had we not been deprived of our profitable West African and Libyan services, which were transferred by government order to British Caledonian'.

This is a barbed reference to the Tories' decision to hive-off the route to the government-created private, 'third force' airline which caused much bitterness at the top of BOAC.

The report says the BOAC board decided that it would not be commercially justifiable to pay a dividend on public dividend capital, although this could have been done by depleting reserves.

This decision was supported by the British Airways Board.

But the government had taken action under the 1967 Air Corporations Act to require a payment of £3.25m—equivalent to a 5 per cent rate on BOAC's public dividend capital.

BOAC had pressed for a new charter concept, where seats would be sold to the public prepared to buy their tickets well in advance.

There are now signs of the emergence of an understanding between governments, as the result of discussions in which the British government played a leading role, said the report.

On Concorde, BOAC is con-

cerned that the aircraft's sonic booms should be acceptable to the countries into and over which it will fly. 'This is a matter which the government also have very much in mind.'

In the seven years since the public dividend capital has formed the part of BOAC's capital, £52.4m has been paid in dividends to the government—equivalent to an annual dividend of 11.5 per cent on the £65m public dividend capital.

BOAC chairman, Keith Granville said at a press conference

that to pay the government its dividend of £3.25m the corporation had to dip into reserves to the tune of £1.8m.

But he emphasized that BOAC's financial position was still strong, with reserves of about £77m.

He said the present year offered little hope of any substantial improvement in trading results and the forecast was 'little more than break-even'.

A tremendous effort would be needed to get back to previous high profit levels.

Building society puts up interest rate

ANOTHER building society yesterday announced higher interest rates for investors, despite last week's 'no change' recommendation from the Building Societies' Association.

The Sussex Mutual Building Society is following the lead of Leek and Westbourne, and will pay investors an extra ½ per cent a year from October 1.

The new rate of 5½ per cent tax paid is equivalent to 9 per cent gross a year. Borrowers will not face any increase until later in the year. The society's assistant managing director, Michael Horton Ledger, said he believed the move would give a 'fairer deal for investors'.

He said: 'We believe that as much as possible should be done to reward investors, without whom none of the great social benefits of building societies would be possible.'

TWO DOCKERS arrested on the picket at Neap House Wharf and fined £165 at Scunthorpe last week were yesterday ordered to pay the fines at £1 per week. The rate will be raised to £2 a week when they return to work.

For the time being the rates the society charges borrowers will stay put 'to avoid undue hardship'. But increases in these are planned from December 1.

Tories attack rent strikers' benefits

MORE than 13,000 people in Northern Ireland are having Social Security and welfare benefits deducted at source in a government measure against the year-long rent and rates strike.

So far £1.12m has been taken off householders withholding rent and rates in the protest organized by the Civil Rights movement after the introduction of internment on August 9 last year.

A further £1.13m is still outstanding in the public sector, however, and another £850,000 in rates has not been paid.

But the strike is gradually losing support. A recent estimate of householders taking part is 18,500 as compared with around 25,000 last autumn.

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TV

BBC 1

9.45 Camberwick green. 10.00 Flashing blade. 10.25 Attenborough and animals. 10.50-11.00 Noggin and the omruds. 12.00 Show jumping. 1.00 Eu tyb a'u tebyg. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.00 Show jumping. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Monkees. 5.20 Ask Aspel. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.
6.20 SHOW JUMPING.
6.30 THE VIRGINIAN. The Hell Wind.
7.45 IT'S A KNOCK OUT!
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.
9.25 MISS UNITED KINGDOM 1972.
10.15 FILM: 'OLYMPIA 36'. Film by Leni Riefenstahl about the 1936 Olympics in fascist Germany.
11.00 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
11.15 SUMMER TALK.
12.00 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.
8.00 ONE PAIR OF EYES. We're coming into our own. Arthur Dooley.
8.45 SPORT TWO.
9.45 GARDENERS' WORLD.
9.55 THE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES. Otto Klemperer with the New Philharmonia Orchestra.
11.15 NEWS ON 2 and weather.
11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

ITV

11.30 York golf festival. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Freud on food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Dan. 1.40 Bush boy. 2.05 Castle haven. 2.30 York golf festival 3.45 Delta. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY.
6.30 ARNIE. Father meets Daughter.
7.00 THE BEST OF PLEASE SIRI False Alarm.
7.30 THE FBI. The Gold Card.
8.30 SHUT THAT DOOR! Larry Grayson.
9.00 MAN FROM HAVEN.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 YORK GOLF FESTIVAL.
11.15 WICKED WOMEN. Anne Maria Moody. Jane Asher, John Stratton.
12.15 SCALES OF JUSTICE. The Material Witness.
12.45 DOCTORS' DILEMMAS.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.30-3.55 London. 4.05 Happy house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.22 Jimmy Stewart. 4.50 Peebles. and bamm bamm. 5.20 Primus. 5.50 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Cartoon time. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 London. 11.15 Film: 'The Frightened City'. 12.50 News and weather in French. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 11.13 News. 11.15 Film: 'The Frightened City'. 12.50 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 11.30 London. 12.55 News. 1.00 Beloved enemy. 1.25 Hillbillies. 1.50 Let's face it. 2.15 Sport. 3.55 Weekend. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 Shut that door. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Sale of the century. 8.05 FBI. 9.00 Lon-



Liverpool sculptor Arthur Dooley (BBC 2, 8 p.m.) with some of his work; Kenyan athlete Kip Keino (BBC 2, 8.45 p.m.) Olympic training at 6,000 ft.

don. 11.15 News. 11.25 Film: 'The Mummy's Hand'. 12.40 Weather. Guideline.
HARLECH: 11.30 London. 3.45 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20 Flaxton boys. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 Shut that door. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 11.15 Film: 'Hide-Out'. 12.25 Scales of justice. 12.55 Weather.
HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15-4.30 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y Dydd.
HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ANGLIA: 11.30 London. 1.40 World War I. 2.05 Mad movies. 2.30 London. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 Giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Glamour 72. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Combat. 9.00 London. 11.15 Film: 'Wicked As They Come'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.00 Golf. 3.30 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Larry Grayson. 7.30 Persuaders. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 London. 11.15 Film: 'Showdown'.

ULSTER: 11.30-1.10 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV news. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Jason King. 8.30 London. 11.15 Comedians.

YORKSHIRE: 11.30 London. 4.10 Calendar news. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar news. 6.05 Randall and Hopkirk. 7.00 Film: 'Yuma'. 8.30 London. 11.15 Film: 'The Tattered Dress'. 1.00 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.30 London. 3.40 University challenge. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Happy house.

4.50 Skippy. 5.15 Funky phantom. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 OK. 6.30 Riptide. 7.30 Shut that door. 8.00 Protectors. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 London. 11.15 Film: 'Stranger on the Third Floor'.

SCOTTISH: 12.00 Golf. 2.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Animal land. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Love American style. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 London. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 London. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 At odds. 12.05 On the buses.

GRAMPIAN: 11.30 London. 3.37 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 Bush boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Jesse James. 8.05 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 11.15 Job look. 11.20 Film: 'Kiss of Evil'.

Portsmouth stays out



BUILDING workers on strike in Portsmouth hold a mass meeting to discuss the situation (above). Afterwards a Transport and General Workers' Union shop steward summed up the mood of the men.
 'We're pretty strong minded now,' he said. 'Initially we might have accepted the latest offer, but we've been messed about too much.

We're prepared to stay out until the full claim is won.'

Crane driver John Clarke said he didn't think that George Smith, the UCATT leader and TUC chairman, should be involved with any talks or conciliation with Tory premier Heath at this moment. 'Now is the time to get rid of the Tories!' he said.

Athersley won't pay rent rise

BARNSELY'S Labour-controlled council decided this week to implement the Tories' 'fair rents' Act.

Finance Committee chairman Brian Varley, a Labour alderman, described the Act as 'vicious and highly political', but, he said, the council 'had to accept the law of the land'.

But already 700 tenants on the Athersley estate have signed a declaration that they will not pay the increase of £1 per week due to take effect in October.

Brian Sefton, secretary of the 360-strong Athersley Tenants' Association, said: 'People in Athersley will not pay the increase.'

'They will pay the rent they are paying at the moment and if

they want we will hold the increase for them. The corporation will not get it.'

Mr Sefton, who is fighting for a Council of Action in Barnsley, earlier told Workers Press: 'Tenants cannot win alone.'

'Men here are used to a powerful union behind them—the National Union of Mineworkers. The trade unions must back up the tenants in this fight.'

Preston builders want all-out strike call

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

MEMBERS of Preston building workers' strike committee want to know why their official leadership in London are not calling for an official national strike.

At yesterday's meeting UCATT area organizer Bill Faulkes was hard pressed to justify the lack of national leadership. 'Our leaders don't want to offend us,' he said.

Alan Moon, a member of the strike committee, called back: 'We are battling against the union leaders as well as the employers.'

Another committee member told how men he had called out had said it was not an official strike.

Faulkes replied: 'It is an official strike. What you lack is credentials. This prevents people from listening to you.'

'The men will not come out.' But the Preston men know that they will strike and said so. Yesterday Fairclough's main yard was closed by builders' pickets.

Mike Gallagher, UCATT secretary of the Adlington branch, told Workers Press: 'Nobody crossed the picket lines. The 200-odd engineers and boiler-makers held a meeting and went home.'

A resolution from Alan Moon calling on the national executive to stand up and openly declare a national strike was side-stepped by Faulkes, who promised credentials to the strike committee.

At Croft's on Wednesday, the names of three members of the strike committee were taken by police as they called out workers on the site.

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London building workers at their meeting yesterday

All London sites to be brought out

BY PHILIP WADE

A MASS MEETING of over 1,000 London building workers decided yesterday to pull out as quickly as possible every remaining site in the capital.

Many speakers demanded the union leaderships call a national, official, all-out strike for the £30, 35-hour week claim.

But leading members of the Communist Party opposed the idea and no resolution was put to the meeting.

The enormous turn-out for the meeting, which started at 9 a.m., showed the real determination of the rank and file to fight the claim through to the end.

Several contracting electricians also came to express solidarity with the building workers and condemned Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union leader Frank Chapple for failing to call them out officially.

Opening the meeting, Jack Henry, a CP member and Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians general councillor said escalation had rapidly taken place in London.

'Once we've consolidated we have to go outwards and attack Greater London as a whole,' he said.

'It's a question of a national strike, region by region,' he added, without explaining what that formulation actually meant.

Henry said the focal point of the strike was wages, hours and

more holidays. Running alongside it was the elimination of the lump.

'The fundamental question now is for 100 per cent unity behind the leadership in this fight,' he concluded.

Not every speaker from the floor, however, accepted Henry's cover-up for the union leadership, who have refused to call a national strike.

One steward from a Mile End site said his men had a grievance to bring to the meeting. They had been asked by the local UCATT organizer to pull out some sites in their area.

The site agent refused to let him speak to the stewards on the site still working. In the end the agent phoned UCATT regional secretary Len Eaton who told him the Mile End men were 'freelancers'.

'What kind of leadership is that?' the steward asked.

'The selective strikes policy was always treacherous. The union leaders have not called for an all-out national strike. And the London action committee failed to organize a lobby when the leaders met last Tuesday.'

'Instead of this splitting-up of London into six areas it should be one out, all out — like the miners and the dockers.'

'The union leaders tried to sell us out and only a massive demonstration stopped them. The leadership is avoiding the call because it would mean an all-out fight with the dockers against the Tories.'

At that point chairman Henry broke in and cut his speech short.

Another leading Stalinist, Lou Lewis, then tried to explain his position.

'I stand for an all-out national strike, but I also stand for reality,' he said in reply to the Mile End speaker.

'It has to be organized. The decision by the leaders means the regions can stop all the sites.'

A steward from the Laing's site, Gipsy Hill, said there should have been a call for a national all-out stoppage to halt the confusion.

'It is also an illusion to talk of conditions on the sites outside of nationalization of the building industry. And that means a fight to bring down the Tories.'

'Scanlon has sold out the engineers for a two-year deal and no cut in hours. We must call for a change in the official leadership of our unions,' he said.

Earlier, another Stalinist, Peter Cavanagh, had made the CP's position absolutely clear.

'Some slogans have been put across here for an all-out national strike. I've said it before and say it again.'

'They are living in cloud cuckoo land,' he said to no applause.

They were taking on the employers and what was needed was more effective picketing. 'Not slogans, but the facts of life,' he added.

Speaker after speaker yesterday came to the microphone to emphasize their determination to stay out and fight until the claim was met in full.

But after over three hours of discussion, the Stalinist leadership was unable to offer any perspective for the fight by builders against the employers and the Tory government.

The only perspective is for building workers to join with the dockers who are now at the forefront of the struggle against the Tory government.

No decent wages, no jobs security can be won today unless it involves the political struggle to remove the government. The unity of dockers and building workers will be a start. But it must be extended throughout the trade union movement.

Govan deal in trouble

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE PAY and conditions deal establishing Govan Shipbuilders in three divisions of the old UCS consortium has run into trouble.

Boilermakers from the new company are objecting to two clauses in the agreement.

One deals with the end of the 'work-in', the men want a guarantee that the 77 boilermakers still working-in will be re-employed by the company.

The other concerns pay. Management want to negotiate a new wage deal in the New Year, but they are insisting that rates remain static between now and January 1973. The boilermakers, however, want a free hand to put forward claims since there has been a pay pause at the yard for the last 12 months.

Boilermakers met in a Glasgow cinema yesterday where a large minority were in favour of throwing out the deal altogether.

The men eventually instructed their officials to return to management to get guarantees on the two remaining objections and report back to a further mass meeting next Thursday.

The decision was taken despite heavy pressure from Scottish boilermakers' leader James Murray.

He said that the Tory Cabinet had instructed Govan Shipbuilders managing director Archibald Gilchrist that the deal would have to be signed in its present form immediately or there would be no public money for the firm.

He also told the meeting that boilermakers' president Danny McGarvey had been told by the chairman, Lord Strathalmond, that any delay would jeopardize an order for ships from Kuwait.

The decision to accept the deal in principle was so close that a ballot had to be held.

The agreement, exclusively reported in the Workers Press on April 15, provides for a massive increase in productivity. The unions are pledged to introduce flexibility between crafts and break down the lines of job demarcation.

It also requires the boilermakers to relinquish their independent bargaining rights.

One clause insists that negotiations will take place between management and all the labour force.

This is a change from the present practice when unions like the boilermakers usually go it alone—a practice which allows leap-frogging claims by the lower-paid groups.

At the meeting MacDonald candidly admitted that he did not like the deal but it was at least better than the one signed at the fourth UCS division—Clydebank—now owned by Marathon Manufacturing of Texas.

There the stewards, led by Communist Party national executive member James Reid, have agreed to a four-year no-strike contract.

The boilermakers at Clydebank originally objected to losing their pay differential, but collapsed after Marathon chief, Wayne Harbin, threatened to pull out.

The Govan deal will set the seal on the long UCS struggle.

It was one where workers wanted to fight, but the Stalinist-dominated shop stewards' coordinating committee kept the temperature down with the 'work-in policy, handed over boats to the liquidator and traded jobs and basic rights with employers and the Tory government.

AUGUST FUND £669.10—14 DAYS LEFT!

IT CERTAINLY is a tough struggle this month. Our post yesterday brought £74.15 giving us a total of £669.10 so far. We are sure we can raise even more.

The enormous treachery of the union leaders opens up great dangers for the dockers and plays right into the hands of the Tories. It means that our paper is absolutely decisive today. Trade unionists everywhere are looking for an alternative to these reformist union leaders. More support than ever can be won from all those determined to fight to make this Tory government resign.

It is this determination which drives us on to complete our fund. We specially appeal to you, our readers, to do everything you can to change the position. Every month you fight magnificently. This month—please don't leave it too late. Post all donations immediately to:

Workers Press
August Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High St,
London, SW4 7UG.

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186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG

Socialist Labour League
PUBLIC MEETINGS

End TUC talks with Heath!
Stop Jones-Aldington collaboration!
Victory to the dockers!
Nationalize the docks and transport industries!
Make the Tories resign!

MANCHESTER
FRIDAY AUGUST 18
7.30 p.m.

Milton Hall
Deansgate

Speakers:
LARRY CAVANAGH (Liverpool dock worker)
ALAN STANLEY (Vauxhall Ellesmere Port shop steward)
Both in a personal capacity

HULL
MONDAY AUGUST 21
7.30 p.m.

Co-op Hall,
Kingston Square,
opp New Theatre

Speakers:
G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)
LARRY CAVANAGH (Liverpool dock worker)
JOHN NOLAN (T&GWU convenor, Hollis Brothers)
Both in a personal capacity

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Sit-in at Leyland factory

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE REMAINING 1,000 workers at the Thornycroft heavy transmission plant at Basingstoke have occupied their factory on a 24-hour basis.

The men are determined to halt the plans of the management, British Leyland, to sell off the factory to the Eaton Corporation of Ohio.

In the hiving-off deal Leyland has also sold the 50-acre site to a property company.

The decision to occupy was

taken on Tuesday with only 14 votes against.

Today Thornycroft stewards will address a mass rally of Leyland workers from the Cowley plant at Oxford and call on them for industrial and financial support.

Other Leyland workers, those employed by Jaguar, are also demanding combine-wide action as their pay strike enters its ninth week.