

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY AUGUST 31, 1972 ● No. 856 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

LABOUR RENTS 'FIGHT' COLLAPSES

BY PHILIP WADE

THERE IS now a great danger that the Labour Party's policy on the Tory 'fair rent' Act will collapse just four weeks before the first £1 increases are due.

The Housing Finance Act as every tenant knows is designed to destroy the basis of council housing in Britain, a basic right for millions.

Rents will be doubled, subsidies slashed and council building wound up. Many tenants face eviction because they will be unable to pay the rents.

More than that it is a wage-cutting device, the rent going up when wages rise. In that sense it is intimately linked to the Industrial Relations Act.

Yet there are only 40 Labour-controlled local councils which are definitely not going to carry out this Tory, class legislation.

That leaves another 345 Labour councils which will impose the £1 rent increase on October 1.

In the last few weeks the collapse has been startling.

The rot started in Manchester, the biggest council in the North-West, when on August 9 they decided without dissent to use the Act.

They were swiftly followed by Liverpool, which voted by a majority of 40 to implement the Act.

Like Liverpool, Stockport then reversed a previous decision not to implement, with 11 Labour councillors and aldermen crossing over to vote with the Tories.

On Tuesday night the debacle came to a head when Sheffield—which had made big noises against the Act, even organizing a conference—fell into line.

Some 36 Labourites in Sheffield joined the Tories to ensure the implementation motion was carried.

Also in Yorkshire, Labour councils at Pontefract and Castle-

ford switched previous decisions to defy the Act.

In London the retreat before the Tories has been just as complete. Only one London borough—Camden—is still defiant out of 21 Labour-controlled councils.

Yet in July, Anthony Crosland, shadow housing spokesman, called for a 'concerted, collective and furious campaign by local authorities' against the Housing Finance Bill as it was then.

Many Labour councils encouraged tenants to form associations and fight the Bill when it was introduced last winter. Now they have left them in the lurch, leaderless.

The Labour leaders' abject betrayal of the tenants is paralleled by the cowardly retreat of the trade union leaders before the Tory onslaught against the trade unions.

With one million unemployed, and the long-term jobless growing, and the Industrial Relations Act used many times against workers, the union leaders run to Edward Heath for consultations.

At no time have they led any fight against this reactionary Tory government. They instead have chosen the path of class collaboration with the Tories.

In this situation, where the Labour and trade union leaders have run away from a fight, the Tories will try and confuse and split the working class with racialism.

Now only the building of Councils of Action in every area can in any way mobilize against the Tories the millions of trade unionists fighting attacks on their rights to work and to strike and tenants facing savage rent increases.

Millions of workers have shown determination to fight. Now Councils of Action must unite every trade unionist and tenant and every other section of the working class in action against the Tories.

They must lead the fight to halt the retreat and capitulation of the Labour and trade union leaders.

These Councils must fight for the TUC to stop running away and call a General Strike until the Tory government resigns.

A Labour government must be elected which will be pledged by the mass movement to carry out socialist policies of expropriation of the basic industries under workers' control and without compensation.



Camden council workers leading the march from the Barbican building site yesterday. ● See report p. 12

Fines for Clyde shipyard pickets

SEVEN workers from the shipyards of the Lower Clyde were fined a total of £35 yesterday after being found guilty of charges arising out of a picketing incident.

The men are among the 750 engineers employed by the Scott-Lithgow consortium who have been on strike for over ten weeks for a pay increase and a shorter working week. They were arrested for a

breach of the peace when they attempted to persuade lorry drivers not to break their picket at one of the consortium's yards in Greenock. One of the lorry drivers admitted in evidence that the pickets had been friendly. Counsel for the defence said that but for the awkward posi-

tion of the yard gates the charge might have been one of obstruction and not breach of the peace.

Counsel for the prosecution said that the men had gone beyond the limits of picketing laid down in section 134 of the Industrial Relations Act.

But in his verdict Baillie Blair, a Liberal councillor for Greenock, said he had not taken the Act into account.

A further case involving 22 pickets was proceeding yesterday.

The strike at the yards continues in total deadlock. Informal talks between unions and management have ended in complete failure. The management have not advanced their offer of £2.75.

The strikers received a severe blow two weeks ago from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' national executive.

They have agreed a national pay deal which offers nothing to all but the lowest paid engineers. Despite this the Greenock men have voted overwhelmingly to fight on.

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NO SETTLEMENT of the ten-week piecework strike at Jaguar's Radford, Coventry, factory emerged from a lengthy meeting between strike leaders and union officials yesterday.

A further meeting will not take place until next Wednesday. Members of the strike committee said nothing had come out of yesterday's discussions to justify calling a mass meeting.

● See 'Sack from Jaguar', page three.

Tories will isolate Asians

PLANS were drawn up yesterday to put Asians arriving from Uganda in special hostels and reception centres.

The Ugandan Resettlement Board is understood to be drawing up a register of beds, if possible near London's Heathrow airport, for the Asians who all hold British passports.

Reception teams which will include a Board representative as well as someone from the Supplementary Benefits Commission were also discussed at the Board's first meeting at the Home Office.

The Board is also looking towards such organizations as the Women's Royal Voluntary Service, the Red Cross and the

St John Ambulance Brigade for help.

From yesterday's two-hour meeting it was clear that the Board is planning to isolate the Asian community in inferior living accommodation. This is in line with the Tory government's own racist approach to the crisis.

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Stop criticizing cash policy

Trade war warning by Nixon

BY PETER JEFFRIES

PRESIDENT NIXON has formally warned the Common Market countries that further criticisms of US trade and financial policy will be met with immediate trade war.

The unprecedented warning has been issued directly to France—in American eyes the major source of opposition. But Nixon's aides have made it clear that the same treatment awaits any other country that steps out of line.

The immediate cause of this sharp outburst is the publication next week of the latest OECD report on the reform of world money and trading relations.

The US has wrecked the report in advance by deliberately issuing a minority statement of dissent which opposes the report's main line. (See yesterday's Workers Press.)

But the Nixon administration chose to oppose publicly what it knew was a compromise by EEC members.

M. Jean Rey, former EEC Commission President, commented yesterday:

'Other members of the group agreed in a spirit of compromise to modify their initial personal positions. Had these members known that final acceptance of this compromise would be withheld by certain members of the group, they would have expressed their views differently.'

In other words, only total capitulation will now satisfy the Americans. They have no intention of yielding on the question of dollar convertibility into gold which was abolished as a result of the August 15 measures last year.

Nor have they the least intention of easing their drive against foreign tariffs in Japan and Europe.

Specifically, Nixon has warned that if next month's International Monetary Fund meeting turns into an anti-American forum, he will personally mount the rostrum and deliver what a White House source described as a 'brutal' reply to the Europeans in the only language they understand—trade war.

The Republicans have no intention of allowing anything to interfere with their November Presidential election preparations.

It is certainly this trade war which dominates every aspect of the world capitalist scene. It overshadows the US-Japanese talks which open today between President Nixon and Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka.

The Americans expect as a minimum that Japan will agree to take \$750m emergency imports together with increased purchases of US farm produce totaling \$400m.

But the Japanese have little immediate use for many of these imports, such as enriched uranium. They will make virtually no impact on the huge US deficit with Japan, now running at an annual rate of over \$3,000m.

In return Tanaka is hoping that the Americans will agree to a joint campaign against the trade restrictions operated by the EEC to the detriment of them both.

Clearly European shipbuilders for one are frightened by the announcement this week that the Sanko Steamship Company in Japan is seriously considering having 50 huge tankers built for leasing to owners in Scandinavia and the UK.

It is impossible for British yards to build such tankers at anything near competitive prices. Whereas such tankers could be built for around £5m in Japan,

they would cost up to £8m in British yards.

'There is already a dearth of orders throughout the world,' said Norman Sloan, director of the Shipbuilders and Repairers National Association.

'The Sanko deal does give us cause for concern.'

Among the firms considering chartering the tankers are Ben Line, Court Line, British and Commonwealth Shipping and Stevinson Hardy International.

The impact of the growing trade war will be felt most severely in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, already overwhelmed by debt to the bankers in the metropolitan countries.

Latest to feel the blast of the crisis is Madagascar. The state of emergency called yesterday by General Gabriel Ramanantsoa was taken in the light of the grave problems facing the country's economy and the present atmosphere which hinders the determination to achieve economic recovery.

The source of the crisis is the slump in export prices and crop failures due to bad weather. Agriculture is responsible for over a third of the island's output and nearly two-thirds of her exports which go mainly to France.

This development follows Harold Wilson's warning this week that two-thirds of the world faced a severe economic crisis and vast unemployment unless present trading policies were reversed.

And reversed they will be! But in quite the opposite direction to the one which Wilson hopes, and one which will intensify the crisis enormously in every part of the capitalist world.

Scot rules feudal island

A 'NEO-FEUDAL' system operates on the Cocos Islands in the Pacific where Malay workers are paid less than £1 a week and can work only for the islands' owner, it is revealed in a confidential Australian government report.

The report says the issue could be internationally embarrassing for Australia, which has controlled the islands for the past 17 years. The islanders are Australian citizens.

They can work only for the owner of most of the freehold land, Mr John Clunies-Ross, a descendant of the original Scots founder. He pays them \$2 a week, which must be spent at the company store.

Clunies-Ross, who, together with his wife and an overseer, are the only whites on Home Island—one of the main islands in the chain—has said he wants less interference from Australia.

Australia's Minister for External Territories, Andrew Peacock, told parliament yesterday that relations between Clunies-Ross and the islanders 'required reappraisal'.

'The relationship is one based on the concept that he holds absolute sovereignty over the inhabitants. This is a view with which I do not concur,' he said.

Liberation forces on move

Cambodian puppets face new battle

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

LIBERATION forces have launched a new offensive south of Phnom Penh in Cambodia, threatening a number of strategic towns and provoking a crisis in the capital.

The Cambodian premier, Son Ngoc Thanh, is currently in Saigon for talks with the South Vietnamese puppet government.

He is seeking assurances that they will come to the aid of the Phnom Penh regime under the terms of the mutual defence treaty of 1970. The Cambodian leader also raised the possibility of establishing an air-lift between Saigon and Phnom Penh in the event that the liberation forces cut supply routes.

IN VIENTIANE, capital of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister, is facing the threat of a take-over by even more extreme rightists.

Led by the Sananikone family, one of the country's most powerful business interests, they are pressing for key cabinet portfolios and for a complete reorganization of the present government.

The Laos government still clings to the defunct formulae under which it was set up as a 'neutralist' administration under the 1962 Geneva agreement.

Chairs at cabinet meetings are still left vacant for the Pathet Lao who walked out of the government in the mid-1960s and have been fighting it ever since.

According to foreign diplomats in Vientiane, the situation is proving an embarrassment to the Americans who prop up the Souvanna Phouma government.

They would lose any justification for their intervention in the country if the government were to fall.

However, Washington may well feel that a government dominated by the Sananikone family would be more amenable to their plans.

This would be in line with their encouragement of the most extreme rightists in neighbouring Thailand, who recently overthrew parliamentary government by military coup.

Canadian parliament recall over dockers' strike

THE CANADIAN parliament is to be recalled, probably today, to legislate an end to the docks strike in British Columbia, premier Pierre Trudeau has announced. The port of Vancouver has been tied up since August 7 by a strike of longshoremen demanding a change in hiring practices. Dockworkers in other British Columbia ports joined the strike on August 23.

Parliament is expected to rush through an Act imposing compulsory arbitration and ordering an immediate return to work. Trudeau's Liberal government has several times resorted to similar action against strikes since he took office.

Jail protests are growing

BY IAN YEATS

'We are human beings and deserve to be treated as such' sums up the frame of mind of the men demonstrating in Britain's prisons.

This message was shouted to journalists by one of 69 men occupying the roof at Chelmsford jail.

Yesterday 95 prisoners were on the roof at Camp Hill Jail, Isle of Wight, and another 25 squatted on the tiles at neighbouring Parkhurst.

More than half the 370 inmates at Albany Prison (IOW) face disciplinary charges and 50 others were put on report on Tuesday after a night of demonstrations in which blazing bedding and furniture was hurled from cell windows.

At Leicester all 370 prisoners refused to leave their cells for work or meals on Tuesday in sympathy with the Parkhurst men, but yesterday officials claimed the situation there was back to normal.

Prisoners at Camp Hill and Parkhurst (IOW) say they will not leave the rooftops until all disciplinary charges against the Albany men are dropped. Now attempts are being made to starve them back to ground level.

Rioting had been going on at Albany since the previous

Thursday night and batches of 25 men were allowed to leave their cells for the first time yesterday. One of the groups staged a sit-down protest in an exercise yard.

The Home Office and prison authorities have decided to treat the demonstration 'passively' although a warning has been issued that ringleaders will later be dealt with 'severely'.

At Albany 30 'militants' have been segregated and placed in 'E' wing while officials made it clear that nothing would be done to improve prisoners' now squalid living conditions until they behaved.

Underlining the recent disturbances is a nationwide campaign for recognition of the prisoners' union PROP (Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners) launched in May by 44-year-old Richard Pooley, who has spent 20 years of his life in jail.

About 4,000 men in 26 jails supported the union's call for a one-day strike on August 4 and now a three-day stoppage is planned in conjunction with a campaign of non-co-operation.

The union has won support

from university academics and Pooley plans a lecture tour in the autumn aimed at attracting student support for PROP's fight for recognition and improved prison conditions.

In the past six years, life 'inside' has grown considerably worse.

This is partly because more men have been driven to petty crime, partly because new building programmes have been knocked on the head and partly because of the failure to implement the 1966 Mountbatten Report.

Mountbatten wanted all high-risk prisoners in a single jail so that others need not share the rigours of their confinement.

After the escapes of George Blake and Frank Mitchell in 1966 security became the top priority and the acceptance of Prof Sir Leon Radzinowicz' recommendation that high-risk prisoners should be dispersed has made life tougher for everybody.

What this means to the men inside was succinctly conveyed by another rooftop comment yesterday when a man shouted: 'We are being treated like pigs.'

The basic problem is that as Britain's prison population has risen, her largely Victorian jails with men incarcerated for long periods in small cells have become woefully inadequate.

This position has been worsened by the marked falling off in industrial work, which has hitherto helped prevent frustration and boredom among large numbers of prisoners.

Overcrowding, rigorous security and a sharp fall in prison industry has brought prisoners' tempers to boiling point.

They are, of course, by no means immune from the social upheavals taking place on the other side of their walls and their brave struggle for better conditions reflects the fight within the trade unions and the working class for the defence of basic rights and living standards.

Both groups are part of the same struggle against the masters of capital and in 90 per cent of cases from the same working class.

Their problems will only be resolved when, as a first step, the Tory government is forced to resign and a Labour government is elected and forced to carry out socialist policies including drastic prison reform.

Coventry strikers don't want MDW Sack threat by Jaguar boss

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

JAGUAR founder Sir William Lyons stepped into the ten-week pieceworkers' strike at the company's Radford, Coventry, plant with a threat that 3,000 could lose their jobs if it goes on.

The threat—which screamed from local newspaper headlines as union officials met shop stewards yesterday morning—came in a personal statement from Lyons warning that repeated acceptance of wage claims could price the company out of the market.

Losses sustained through strikes against a company refusing to concede pay demands could be 'tragically serious', he said.

'But they do not saddle a company with a permanent increase in costs, whereas a wage demand, if given, results in a price increase of the product which is there to stay and heralds dangers for the future.'

If Jaguar lost out in competition in export markets, he said, the factory must cut back production by whatever amount it lost. This could mean 3,000 of the 9,000 workers Jaguar employs in Coventry losing their jobs.

Lyons (70), says he strove throughout his years as head of the firm against conceding wage increases which would increase costs, and his threat was clearly designed to panic shop stewards into accepting Measured-Day Work (MDW) proposals.

The strike followed the 1,800 assembly pieceworkers' rejection of a pay offer which would replace pieceworking with a flat rate system. During the six-month agreement MDW would be negotiated.

Last Tuesday's mass meeting turned down the strike committee's recommendation of the £44 flat rate with a lump sum to those earning more. The company has since raised this compensation to £105, but has turned down strike committee demands of a £45 flat rate coupled with another £3 after six months.

Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' official Andy Boyle and the vehicle builders' Fred Palmer claim the agreement to take part in discussions was not a commitment to MDW.

But past experience has shown at Vauxhall's and Chrysler that once the management has gained an agreement to discuss MDW, they interpret it in whichever way they choose.

Through training courses for stewards, film shows, lectures, posters, worker-management discussion groups and the judicious use of the local press, management can create divisions among the workers involved.

Jaguar workers are fully aware of this pressure being applied at Longbridge, Birmingham — another section of the Leyland combine—where preparations are in hand for the production of the new ADO 67 model.

Talks on ending piecework began there a year ago, when management began refusing piece-

PA pulls out plugs to UPI



FOC at UPI, Mark Grantham, explaining his members' case to Ken Morgan (left) NUJ general secretary yesterday

work increases. After a threatened strike on a piecework price was called off on August 18, management attempted to split workers from their shop-floor leaders by 'taking soundings' on the issue.

One production worker commented:

'Some workers seem to think that Measured-Day Work is inevitable. This is really a "con trick" on the part of the management to get us to think that way.'

'In nine cases out of ten this idea has been implanted in workers heads so that they start thinking "what can we get out of it?"'

'I think we should solidly oppose Measured-Day Work and oppose any discussions at this stage. They don't call it Measured Day Work, but that is what they mean. I think the strike committee started off on the right note in demanding piecework increases, but more and more the question of discussions

in regard to Measured-Day Work has come into negotiations.'

For British-Leyland, the extension of MDW throughout their combine is the only solution in the face of cut-throat competition.

The company desperately needs to divorce the earnings of the worker from the level of output and destroy the power of the shop steward, in preparation for speed-up, the cutting of manning scales and the slashing of earnings.

Jaguar workers must oppose any concessions to the introduction of MDW.

In an era of rampant inflation, mass unemployment, and legally enforceable agreements between management and unions, only the removal of the Tory government, and the forcing into power of a Labour government pledged to nationalize the motor industry under workers' control, can secure the right to work and defend living standards.

Govan decision today?

THE 4,000 workers employed by Govan Shipbuilders will meet today to give their verdict on a working practices deal 24 hours before the final deadline for signing laid down by the company.

Prospects for full agreement have improved this week after a series of meetings between unions and Govan management over the issue of the 140 men still 'working-in' at three divisions of the four-yard ex-Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

Strongest resistance to the deal had come from the 1,400 boilermakers who were insisting that their 77 members in the 'work-in' should be employed by the company when it goes into operation on September 11.

But now boilermakers' officials seem ready to accept the latest management proposal for a phased employment of re-

trained men during September and October.

They will put this to a meeting of their members.

Other unions are likely to follow. Govan Shipbuilders say they will need 200 extra men by Christmas and company chairman Lord Strathalmond has pledged to take on 'work-in' men if they are 'suitable' after any necessary retraining.

The biggest crisis on the Upper Clyde, however, is at Marathon Manufacturing, the new owner of the fourth UCS yard—Clydebank.

More than half the current hourly-paid workers there face a redundancy threat during the last quarter of this year.

Marathon says it will employ 700 by the New Year. In a bid to get a substantial increase in this number, the unions have already offered round-the-clock shift-working.

The first crunch will

come on September 29 when the liquidator will vacate the Clydebank yard.

He will employ about 1,000 men to complete the two remaining contracts in the other yards.

This will mean almost immediate redundancy for several hundred men and this total will grow as the liquidator's work is finished.

After a meeting with shop stewards and unions Marathon pledged yesterday to do 'everything practicable' to build up manpower requirement at the yard.

Where possible it would operate double shift work on production. This does not meet the unions' and stewards' latest demand to double the yard's labour force by Christmas.

There was always the threat that the Marathon situation would hold up the Govan Shipbuilders agreement.

PRESS ASSOCIATION news links to the London office of an American agency were cut yesterday.

The plugs were pulled on United Press International after a delegation of UPI workers on official strike visited Ken Morgan, National Union of Journalists secretary.

Morgan agreed to instruct the PA chapel that copy for transmission should be marked 'not for UPI'. Members of the National Graphical Association at PA were later instructed to see that such copy did not get to the agency.

Support for the UPI strikers also came yesterday from Belgium, where journalists have been asked not to touch UPI copy.

Mark Grantham, the strikers'

FoC (branch secretary), told Workers Press his members were extremely encouraged by the solidarity shown by 'good trade unionists both here and in Europe'.

● A PEACE formula to end the dispute which hit production of the Manchester 'Evening News' last week will be considered today. Until then 100 journalists who held prolonged union meetings and disrupted production for five days are working normally.

The plan is understood to include the experimental introduction of shorter hours immediately leading to a four-day week from next year.

The journalists have been offered increases of around £450 a year backdated to July 1, and a further £200 from next July.

POCKET LIBRARY

Why a Labour Government?

A reply to some centrist critics

By Cliff Slaughter

A series which appeared in Workers Press in June, 1972 is now available as a pamphlet in the Socialist Labour League Pocket Library.

'WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT? A Reply to some centrist critics.' By Cliff Slaughter Price 5p

Other titles in this series include: The Case for a General Election By Alex Mitchell.

The Ulster Dossier
The Social Security Swindle which includes the All Trades Unions Alliance Draft Manifesto and the Charter of Basic Rights.



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LAWS AGAINST OATHS, MUTINY AND SEDITION

Part 2 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

'There was a time when strikes were forbidden, and every strike was almost inevitably accompanied by physical conflicts. Then, as the result of the development of the strike struggle, in other words, as the result of the violent onslaught of the masses on the law, or to be more exact, of the masses upon the lawful force, strikes were legalized.'—Leon Trotsky, 'Where is Britain Going?'

The 'Whitehall Evening Post' of February 23, 1768, states: 'Friday and Saturday last a great number of coal-heavers who refused to work at the usual prices went on board several colliers lying below bridge, and would not let those coal-heavers work who were contented with the present wage allowed for working in the Pool.

'A desperate fray ensued, wherein several heads and limbs were broken, but the assailants got the better and brought the others on shore.'

The coal-heavers picketed London streets and stopped coal carts coming into the town. Coal-heavers and sailors also picketed the Thames wharfs in boats 'and obliged all the men employed at the wharfs to leave off and join them'.

All carts of coal, flour or wood met in the same streets were escorted back to the wharfs they came from. Sailors unriggered the ships to stop them sailing and coal-heavers placarded Tower Hill with their demands: The eightpence for each five tons unloaded to be increased to a shilling.

The 'Whitehall Evening Post' commented: 'There was very little corn brought to St Mark Lane yesterday. The above sailors now take the men out of the corn and coal-ships and oblige them to join their body.

'Orders are said to be sent down to Sheerness etc. for several men-of-war tenders to be manned from the guard ships to protect merchants' vessels in the river from the insults of the rioters.'

The sailors and coal-heavers marched through the Strand and held a mass meeting at Stepney Fields. The strikers eventually went in a body from employer to employer, getting them each to sign an agreement to increase wages.

A demonstration to parliament was also made to ask MPs to ensure that the agreements were kept and to arrange better regulations for the seamen's wages. It was well understood that pay was a political question being controlled by Acts of Parliament.

Massive concentrations of troops were formed in London in an attempt to quell the unprecedented political unrest of that year which grew around the Movement for Popular Rights led by John Wilkes.

'Wilkes and liberty' was the



John Wilkes leader of Movement for Popular Rights.

main slogan of the weavers, coopers, watermen and tailors as well as the merchant seamen and coal-heavers who struck work.

On May 10 half of the Riot Act was read and troops opened fire on the demonstrators in St George's Fields, killing six and injuring 15 of the crowd. This only raised the agitation to new heights. Certainly, the authorities found that 'appeals to reason' counted for little.

For example the same journal notes that the Lord Mayor of London went up to the rioters in a complacent manner '... intreating them to desist from violence: notwithstanding which some of them cried out "Knock him down" and one of them, now in custody, threw a piece of timber stuck full of nails at his Lordship.'

The events of 1768 and a subsequent increase in examples of workers combining brought vociferous demands from employers for strong labour laws.

They especially wanted action against intimidation of businessmen and 'peaceable' workmen.

These were finally enacted by the Tories in the 1790s in panic legislation against political and workers' associations following the French Revolution of 1789, an event which was greatly feared by the British ruling class as an encouragement to revolutionary action here by the 'lower classes'.

In France, the new ruling capitalist class soon began its repression of workers who had only just thrown off the yoke of feudal and religious oppression.

In September 1794, a wage freeze was imposed, strikes banned and a penalty ordered for refusal to work for the scheduled rates of wages.

In Britain in 1793 a Shipping Offences Act recalled the sailors' actions of 1768 and penalized 'a riotous assemblage of three or more seamen, ships' carpenters, and other persons obstructing the loading and unloading, the sailing or navigation of any vessel.' Sentence could be up to 14 years' penal servitude.

The determination of the ruling class to crush the radical and working men's societies was reflected in the appointment of a Committee of Secrecy by parliament to investigate revolutionary plots, and in the suspension of habeas corpus in 1794.

Members of the London Corresponding Society were held in prison for several

months without trial as 'insurrectionaries'.

When they were finally brought before the courts, the jury found them not guilty of treason and they were released, though habeas corpus remained suspended until 1807.

During this period, frequent strikes, food riots and machine-breakings were put down by soldiers, who were often found to be unreliable, however, because of their sympathy for the crowds they were sent to attack. A nationwide network of barracks was built to keep troops separated from the rest of the population—formerly they had been housed mainly in private dwellings and inns. Industrial areas appeared almost as if controlled by an army of occupation.

In 1795 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed.

This severely restricted public meetings, allowing for the arrest of speakers and making the use of lecture, political and reading rooms dependent on licences. The same year, the Treason Act penalized the writing of material inciting hatred of the Crown.

Following the Spithead and the Nore mutinies by sailors of the Royal Navy, the incitement to Mutiny Act and the Administration of Illegal Oaths Act were passed in 1797.

These laws, originally against 'treasonable action', were used later as Labour Laws.

The Incitement to Mutiny Act, for example, prevented agitation within the forces against bad wages and conditions and also made any worker who picketed against members of the forces acting as strike breakers, open to arrest for sedition.

The labour leader Tom Mann and others were charged and sent to prison under this Act in 1912 for appealing to soldiers not to shoot workers during the miners' strike of that year. The Administration of Illegal Oaths Act was used to charge and transport the Tolpuddle Martyrs for seven years in 1834.

A further Act, in 1798, required the registration of newspapers and punished the editor, printer and publisher and even the casual possessor of an unlicensed sheet. Also, all copies of newspapers were required to carry stamps, the fees for which were at a high level in order to suppress cheap, popular publications.

Finally, in the last two years of the century, absolute powers of repression of the trade unions and dissident political societies were given to the courts by parliament.

The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were drawn up by Pitt and Wilberforce. They

made the combination of workmen to gain an increase in wages or a decrease in hours, or solicit anyone else to leave work, or object to working with any other workman, strictly illegal under pain of three months in prison or two months in a 'House of Correction'. In practice, judges could impose harsher sentences by accusing the defendants of conspiracy.

Originally the laws had been aimed at journeymen millwrights. It was the anti-slave trade 'philanthropist' Wilberforce who insisted that it should be extended to include all workers — 'and then it would be a measure that might be of great service to society.'

In 1799 the Unlawful Societies Act was also passed, aimed at the complete suppression of the remaining radical societies which had survived the earlier measures.

Five organizations were actually suppressed by name in the Act: The United Englishmen, The United Britons, the United Scotsmen, The United Irishmen and the London Corresponding Society.

A further Newspapers Act strengthened the previous measures, requiring printers to have a licence from a magistrate, and all publications to have the printer's name on them.

The search for, and seizure of, all suspected seditious and blasphemous material was empowered. Thus did a frightened capitalist class hope to bring about the total destruction of all organizations and newspapers which could in any way question its right to rule.

During the following 25 years unions continued to form and operate as illegal organizations. Strikes were carried out and blacklegs dealt with, often violently.

A scab, or a knobstick, as he was called then, was not only helping to lower wages, but if he chose to name the strikers known to him, could have them arrested and imprisoned.

The workers' organizations would be broken and their families inevitably reduced to pauperism and the workhouse.

A tremendous spirit of loyalty, solidarity and sacrifice developed in the working class during this period enabling the successful growth of the trade unions and political societies in spite of all measures taken by the employers and the courts.

The Luddite movement of this period engendered a special fear in the ruling class, with the violent destruction of machinery, mainly textile and

clothing, by those impoverished and out of work. It threatened a time when the working class might turn against the capitalist class itself, rather than the means of production which it owned and controlled.

Eventually, Luddites, were shot down by troops and a law was brought in to make machine-breaking and damage to other property punishable by death.

In the economic crisis following the war with France which ended in 1815, the government became even more preoccupied with the possibilities of political unrest and revolution.

Over half a million returning soldiers and sailors now came on to a labour market already racked with the problems of unemployment brought about by labour-saving machinery.

Informers and provocateurs were sent to infiltrate all labour, radical and 'insurrectionary groups' to spy and to incite actions for which the members could be tried and sent to prison, banished or hanged. Neither were the type of people making up the official forces likely to be much better.

The early police, the Bow Street Runners, were paid on conviction of offenders which meant the more evidence of guilt they could manufacture, the better. This was the so-called 'Blood Money' system.

One runner, George Vaughan, was discovered with others in 1816 encouraging children to burgle a house so they could be caught in the act. Vaughan could then receive the £40 reward paid for the conviction of house-breakers.

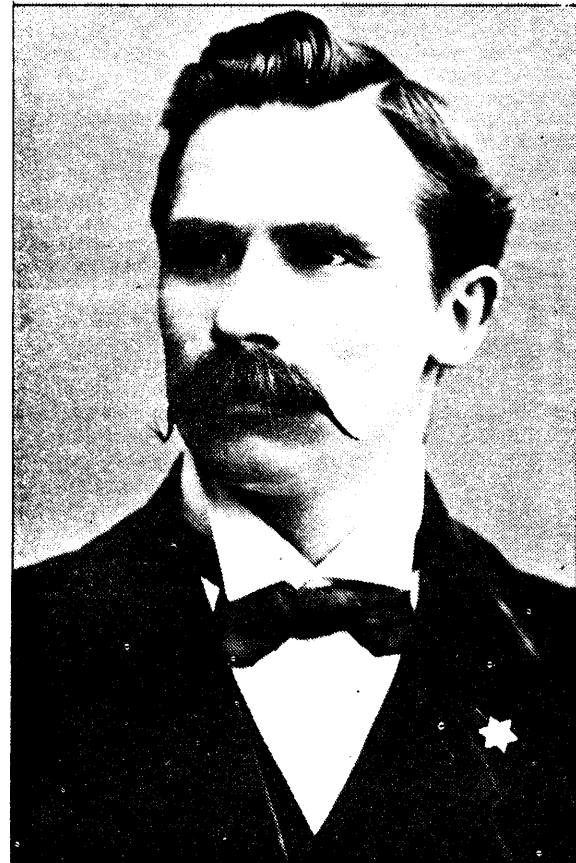
A series of Acts of Parliament during 1817 and 1818 brought a new political offensive by the Tory government then in power. In 1817 all the Spencerean societies and clubs—regarded as the left wing of the radical movement—were suppressed by name in a new Treason Act.

Habeas corpus was again suspended—a traitorous conspiracy has been formed for the purpose of overthrowing by means of a general insurrection the established laws and constitution of this kingdom—ran part of the Suspension Act.

Penalties were laid down against householders allowing unlawful assemblies in their premises. Political meetings within one mile of Westminster Hall were also banned when Parliament was sitting, save in connection with Parliamentary elections.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

¹ 'Whitehall Evening Post' May 10-12, 1768.



Left: a Bow Street Runner who was paid according to the number of convictions he made. Right: Tom Mann, labour leader sent to prison under the Incitement to Mutiny Act of 1797.



Maulana Beshani, veteran peasant leader who is organizing mass hunger marches on September 5.

BENGALI WORKERS FACE LIVING ON PIG FOOD

BY IAN YEATS

Bengali workers beg in the streets of towns while villagers are forced to live on food normally fed to pigs, according to a man who has recently returned from Bangladesh.

Kaled Yousuf told me that shortages of foreign exchange have paralysed Bangladesh industry and opposition to the Awami League government was mounting.

Veteran peasant leader Maulana Beshani has organized nationwide mass hunger marches for September 5.

He has also pledged to offer the people a constitution of his own on October 15 if by then Sheikh Mujib has not announced a constitution and returned full civil rights to the people.

Meanwhile Mujib's police have stepped up their arrests of left-wing journalists and militants, censorship has been imposed and strikes are banned.

In northern Bangladesh units of the Indian and Bangladeshi armies have been putting down armed rural guerrillas who had set up Maoist-style 'base areas' in which they had redistributed land and set up a system of government and education.

Faced with growing desperation and unrest among workers and peasants Mujib has given free reign to the Lal Bahini ('Red Army')—an organization of poor and mainly backward workers led by Abdul Mannan, ex-secretary of the UK Bengali Workers' Association—who act as shock troops against the protesting organized workers.

Demands for workers' control in the state run industries are branded as commun-

ist-inspired and disruptive by the Lal Bahini.

Workers' anger has been fanned by the unrestricted profiteering of middlemen and the sight of unbridled corruption among whole layers of Awami League officials.

Mujib gave urban workers a limited pay rise when he came to power and peasants were given marginal tax concessions.

Apart from shortages of raw materials, manufactured goods and food, prices have risen by about 300 per cent and no moves have been made to alleviate the suffering of millions of landless peasants.

Kaled Yousuf told me that with mills and factories standing idle industrial workers were being forced back to their already hard-pressed villages. Among men with large families there were even a few cases of suicide.

In the villages, millions of peasants are living on a mixture of ghechu roots and rice. Ghechu is a root normally fed to pigs.

According to Yousuf few peasants actually fought for the Awami League in the war against Pakistan and although their plight was bad before post-war shortages and the ravages of the fighting, now it has been intensified.

Mujib's base, said Yousuf, was largely among the rich, the students and the urban workers who thought their wages would benefit if Pakistani exploiters were driven out.

In practice foreign exchange shortages have meant that destroyed factories cannot be replaced nor new plants built.

Sixty-five per cent of industry—jute, oil, steel etc is working below capacity because of the cessation in supplies of raw materials.

Although jute has been

grown since the war little of it reaches the silent mills many of them run by penniless and allegedly inept Awami League officials brought in after Pakistani employers left.

Instead peasants sell to middlemen who carry the jute across the border to India where they can be sure of payment.

Workers' protests are stonewalled by the government and if pressed often invite visits from detachments of the Lal Bahini.

Yousuf claimed that the myth of communist disruption—which includes anybody from liberals to Naxalites—was being used in the same way as after the war persecution of the Biharis was used to divert attention from the problems facing the country.

Yousuf said that only a massive injection of international aid could save Mujib's government from unleashing a full-scale repression against workers and peasants in Bangla Desh.

Under the existing government even the usefulness of aid was in question. Most of it never found its way past the already rich he claimed.

The Awami League he said now face a crisis they know they cannot solve and which they never wanted.

He quoted ex-Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed as saying: 'Before God we tried to preserve the nation of Pakistan in spite of the oppression, neglect and servitude inflicted on us.'

Having inflamed the passions of millions of workers as a lever on Yahya Khan the same passions now threaten Mujib unless he can start the factories and provide food and homes on a mass scale.

CAR MEN LOOK EAST

Western motor manufacturers, faced with shrinking markets and increasing competition on their home ground, are looking eagerly at the prospects for expansion in eastern Europe.

By comparison with the United States and the countries of western Europe, these are virtually virgin markets, offering rich pickings to the motor monopolists.

In its latest 'Review', Barclays Bank can scarcely refrain from drooling at the mouth.

'Despite a population of 350 million,' it enthuses, 'the Comecon area at present has only just over 4 million cars on its roads—a stage of development comparable with the United States of 50 years ago.'

It notes with pleasure the increased production of private cars envisaged in the current development programmes of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the USSR.

'In Rumania, which has hitherto concentrated mainly on tractors and heavy diesel vehicles, output of Dacias—manufactured under Renault licence—is expected to reach 50,000 (by 1975) compared with 12,000 in 1969.'

Car totals within eastern Europe and the USSR are expected to reach 10 million by 1975 and 17 million by 1980. By comparison, the rate of growth of the West European market is expected to fall by at least half during the coming ten years.

To meet their planned targets, the Stalinist bureaucracies in eastern Europe have been arranging with the big capitalist motor firms to construct huge plants where their cars can be produced under licence.

The prototype of these deals is still the Fiat agreement of 1966 under which the Italian firm built a huge plant on the Volga at a place appropriately renamed Togliattigrad.

The Italians put up most of the money and trained the staff (now more than 50,000-strong) in return for a \$750m share of the profits. The plant at present produces a third of the total Soviet automobile output and is not yet in full production.

Agreement

Fiat has a similar agreement with the Polish government to establish two large factories in Silesia in collaboration with the Pol-Mot corporation of Warsaw.

The Silesian factories will produce for the home market and also supply spare parts for Fiat's Italian factories. From 1975, the planned minimum output of the Polish factories is expected to run at 150,000 cars a year.

To emphasize the potential of the market, Barclays 'Review' cites the ratio of cars to people in the various Comecon states.

In Poland, two years ago, there was one car for every 66 people, and over the next 20 years this is expected to be reduced to one for every seventh person.

Hungary has one car for every 35 people and Czechoslovakia—with a longstanding domestic motor industry—one for every 15.

Skoda, the Czechoslovak firm, has a joint arrangement with East Germany and Hungary to establish a factory with a capacity of 500,000-600,000 vehicles a year.

Because of the shortage of foreign currency, many of these are car-marked for export, but Czechoslovakia has contracted with the USSR to take 215,000 cars (mainly Soviet-built Fiats) over the next five years.

These should go some way to meeting the lengthy waiting list for cars, which at present has 300,000 names on it. The cars go chiefly to the lower reaches of the bureaucracy and the privileged technicians and intellectuals.

The price of a car is way out of reach of the average industrial worker: in Czechoslovakia, for example, the average car sells for 50,000-70,000 crowns, representing two to three years' wages for a factory worker.

The running costs—of the order of 16,000 crowns a year—are a further deterrent to any worker wanting to buy one.

The same goes for the Hungarian worker, whose average annual wage of 26,400 forints compares with a price of 120,000 forints for a Zsiguli (Soviet-built Fiat).

Reserved

As a further deterrent, prospective buyers must put down a 50-per-cent deposit in advance for a car built in a Comecon country. Cars imported from the West require a 100-per-cent deposit.

Even in the USSR, the cheapest car, the Zaz, costs twice the average annual wage.

There, as in the other states, a large slice of each year's output is reserved for the use of the Party and state officials.

Clearly the bulk of the demand for increased car production comes from the increasingly affluent and privileged bureaucratic layers in eastern Europe.

For them the possession of a private car is a vital status symbol and a means of further differentiating themselves from the common people.

This appetite for highly-priced consumer goods is something the vast bulk of the working class can only dream about; their needs are unlikely to be satisfied even by the relatively ambitious production programmes envisaged in the next decade.

But the lucky owners of the new vehicles are likely to find that all their problems are not over when they get behind the wheel. Roads and servicing facilities are still extremely rudimentary and plans to improve them are completely out of line with the car-production programme.

In Czechoslovakia, for example, there is estimated to be one petrol station for every 800 cars, but the petrol corporation plans to expand its facilities by only about 3½ per cent a year, compared with 20 per cent annual growth forecast for cars.

Garages and petrol stations are also few and far between in the USSR, and only one-sixth of the road network is paved.

A whole range of ancillary services, in addition to improved roads and service stations, will be necessary to support the new car-owners.

Barclays 'Review' notes that 'western suppliers of plant and licenses may find considerable opportunities to benefit from East Europe's "motorization" during the 1970s', though it fears that sooner or later the increased production will have its effect on the capitalist markets.

THE 'WORK-INS' EXAMINED

BY IAN YEATS

As the Briant Colour work-in drags to the close of its tenth unresolved week and a new cliff-hanger develops at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders the Stalinist leaders of 1,400 engineering workers at Walsall are planning an occupation of their own.



Top: Bill Freeman of Briant's work-in. Above: Alan Colpitts, convenor at Tube Investments.

Tube Investments, owned by Lord Plowden, have brushed aside all pleas from workers at their Green Lane plant to keep the factory going.

During a recent meeting with members of the nine-man action committee set up to fight the proposed closure Plowden told members their best interests would be served by running the place down in an orderly manner.

No closure date has been announced, but when it is the committee will recommend occupation until the shut-down is postponed or a new owner is found.

The plant manufactures stainless steel tubes for use in nuclear power stations. The chances of a new owner being found willing to maintain the existing workforce in the same lines are even slimmer than those of a printer taking over Briant Colour.

Briant owner Derek Syder abandoned his Old Kent Road factory after losses of £200,000 over two years. So far most potential buyers have either not been convinced of the possibility of making the works viable or have hinted at the need to slash the workforce.

While the fight for Briant Colour stagnates, the so-called victory of the original Stalinist-inspired work-in at UCS teeters on the brink of disaster as it becomes clear that the Marathon Manufacturing Co have not in fact guaranteed anything like the total number of jobs at present existing at Clydebank.

Despite Stalinist claims that bad management and profiteering are the root cause of each individual shut-down, the fate of the work-ins points incontrovertibly at the real problem: recession.

SLUMP

Tube Investments, Walsall, is even more obviously a victim of the slump than Briant Colour—the proposed shut-down there being directly related to the fall in demand for nuclear power stations.

Lord Plowden, who was first chairman of the British Atomic Energy Authority, knows better than anyone the effects of slump on the demand for nuclear power and is least likely to be swayed against market developments by pressure from workers.

In Britain and Europe governments have decided to slash their plans for building nuclear power stations and Plowden clearly believes that existing demand can be most profitably met by fewer factories.

Instead of facing up to the political challenge posed by acceptance of the view that

opposite—looking for prospective employers.

This happened at UCS in a graphic way, with the signing of a four-year no-strike pledge and the sacrifice of all traditional trade union conditions in order to get a buyer for Clydebank.

Like the UCS leaders, Bill Freeman and Alan Colpitts pick their words carefully.

Derek Syder has undertaken to provide the work-in at Briant's with 'substantial' orders and credit. These guarantees were vital if the business was to be built into the kind of viable going concern with which a potential buyer might be attracted.

Even though no such orders have materialized, and what work there is has been largely won by the work-in committee or from the trade union movement, Bill Freeman is confident that more pressure will induce Syder to play ball.

With the firm still in the hands of liquidator P. Granville White this seems unlikely.

Other snags are that prospective employers not only want to slash their work-force, but Freeman claims they are worried lest what they believe to be communist-inspired militancy at the factory spreads to workers in their own organizations.

CRITICIZED

He is clear that no victory has yet been won and he criticized the 'Morning Star' for giving the impression that it had. 'We have gained some points,' he told me. 'But that's all.'

That is all. While the work-in committee fends off unacceptable offers and struggles to revive a failed business the liquidator plods on down his inexorable path.

Workers Press wholeheartedly supports the struggle of all workers for jobs, but retains the vital right to criticize their leadership and put forward alternative policies which we believe can alone in the long term end the spectre of unemployment for everyone.

Those policies turn on kicking out the Tory government and electing a Labour government pledged to nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

We criticize the Stalinist leadership of the work-ins because instead of beginning the fight with the Tory government and the recession, they begin and end with a perspective of bad or corrupt management and thereby encourage workers to believe that the corpse of capitalism can be brought back to life. It cannot.

Bill Freeman claims it is impossible to raise these slogans either in his factory or within the print unions because on the one hand the men and women he leads don't understand the issues involved, and won't look beyond their next day's bread and butter, and on the other the right wing on the print unions is at this stage too strong to be beaten.

Alan Colpitts takes the



Top: Briant workers and supporters on the march against closure in London. Above: the Briant work-in.

same view. Commenting on the need for a political fight to kick the employers' government out of office he told me: 'It's one thing saying it, but it's another thing doing it. I'm left but I know the views of the working class are not. A lot of them vote Tory and support the employers.'

By contrast minutes after I spoke to Alan Colpitts workers going back to the factory after lunch told me they didn't think an occupation would get off the ground.

LEADERS

They said this not because they were all Tories but because they thought the closure was bound up with the general trend towards rationalization and the Common Market. Getting rid of the Tories, they said, took priority over anything else.

These were the very men who minutes earlier convenor Colpitts was telling me were wavering about the forthcoming fight. If they were, it certainly

wasn't because they weren't ready to fight. It might have been because they had their doubts about the kind of fight the 20 CP members at the factory would like to wage.

For both Freeman and Colpitts the fight ends just where in reality it begins. Once the work-in, or in the case of TI the occupation, has begun, if no postponement is effected and no buyer appears the workers are left high and dry. There may soon be murmurs of dissension among the men and women at Briant's fending largely for themselves with their incomes supplemented by grants from the fighting fund.

The process of rallying the labour movement to the work-ins through their contributions to fighting funds is itself a deception, glossing over the fact that the political fight throughout the movement to mobilize it against the true authors of unemployment at Westminster has not even begun.

At Walsall, if the 1,400 men lose their jobs, they will join an unemployed register 5,000-strong and rising, with a



Workers from all over Scotland took part in massive marches in support of 'No Closures, No Contractions at UCS'. Yet since the work-in began, 2,000 men have left the yards with a prospect of 1,000 more redundancies at Clydebank.

declining number of vacancies currently pegged at about 500. A spokesman for the local labour exchange told me that any unskilled men sacked from the factory could be on the dole a long time.

These tidings bring comfort to no one at the modern single storey factory, where new extensions were recently completed and stand empty.

The CP leaders have held public meetings in the town, lobbied MPs, including Tories, visited the Department of Employment and rallied the local council, who claim the projected closure would be a knock-out blow for Walsall.

Said Alan Colpitts: 'We must have made an impact. Before the company would only talk on the basis of closure, but now they are willing to talk on the basis of job opportunities on this site.'

This illusion that the protest campaign has changed Lord Plowden's mind about the closure, as opposed to the means of effecting it, underlies the popular belief among the men that there will either be a postponement or an alternative buyer.

And many are being allowed to think it is not slump forcing Plowden's hand but merely bad management.

But Tube Investments' attitude has been uncompromising. If they are willing to talk it will almost certainly be to explore ways of getting rid of a hot potato perhaps by talking about voluntary redundancies, phased closure and help to find a new owner.

Such a process will not only demoralize the men and dissipate their fighting strength, it will pave the way for the day when the site is ploughed up and corn planted.

If all fails, says Alan Colpitts: 'We might as well sit in here as stand on the street corner.'

Like Bill Freeman, James Reid and James Airlie before him, Alan Colpitts believes the extension of the fight for jobs

at TI throughout the labour movement and against the Tory government and its unemployment policies is problematical.

The problem, they will say, is that the working class is not ready for that kind of fight. 'You can only call for what you can expect and not anything Utopian', said Alan Colpitts.

At the same time the Stalinists point to UCS and Briant Colour as beacons for the working class to follow.

PERHAPS

Said Alan Colpitts: 'What we are fighting is a working-class campaign. We think if everyone stood up and said "we've had enough" we wouldn't have the problems we've got.'

Bill Freeman said much the same thing, adding that if work-ins spread throughout the working class the movement could reach a point where perhaps the Tories would be forced to resign.

While attacking workers for the political backwardness they themselves intensify, the prospect the CP leaders hold out is the development of a spontaneous movement, one of the effects of which might almost accidentally be to bring down the Tory government.

Workers Press say there is only one answer to unemployment.

The fight for the right to work in individual factories must be carried into the labour movement linked to the struggle to kick the Tories out of office and elect a Labour government pledged to nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

Ultimately it is a fight which will not be won without the building of the revolutionary party which alone can provide the independent leadership the working class needs to carry it to power.

The abortive Bolivian revolution of August-September 1971 which brought the CIA-sponsored regime of Col Banzer to power has had a considerable impact on the Trotskyist movement.

Not only did these events prove the complete bankruptcy of the revisionist forces of the Unified Secretariat in Latin America, but they also revealed the theoretical degeneration and blatant political opportunism of the Lora-Lambert tendency within the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). These grave events gave a vital fillip to a discussion on the philosophical and political roots of the opportunism of the POR (Revolutionary Workers' Party of Bolivia) and its subsequent betrayal of the Bolivian proletariat.

No development of Trotskyism we believe is possible without an understanding and assimilation of the lessons of the revolution and counter-revolution in Bolivia 1970. In the interests of such a discussion we are publishing this critique of the 'Workers' Vanguard' statement on the POR. It has been submitted for publication by the Greek section of the ICFI.



Bolivian miners during street fighting in 1970

THE SOVIETS

Part 3 in the series Workers' Vanguard and the Bolivian Revolution

WHAT does 'Workers' Vanguard' (WV) think the POR should have done that it did not?

... the comrades of the POR omitted their basic duty, to put forward the slogan of soviets, to work for the country-wide extension of the committees, which to their credit only they had built in the mines and to crown this embryonic soviet organization with a congress of the committees on a national scale and finally, to work out a soviet constitution.'

As far as the peasants are concerned, what, according to the WV, should the POR have done? 'The poor peasants ... in their struggle against the landlords, needed peasants' soviets.'

Thus what conclusion must we draw from the Bolivian Revolution, according again to the WV? 'In conclusion, in Bolivia, as elsewhere, we must struggle for soviets [WV's emphasis], in which the masses would recognize the organ of leadership [our emphasis] which strikes decisively for power and for a real workers' and peasants' government.'

So the panacea has been discovered. Anyway we prefer to agree with Trotsky and see these 'phraseological genuflections before the soviets' as 'a misunderstanding of their historical function' (L. D. Trotsky, 'Germany 1931-1932').

Let us see better how the inspirer of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905 answered the fellow-thinkers of the WV of 1932 in Germany:

'The soviet *per se* is not the possessor of miraculous powers. It is the class representation of the proletariat, with all the strong and weak points of the latter.' (Trotsky, *op. cit.*)

When Urbans of the centrist Socialist Workers' Party of Germany cried that the leadership of the struggle belongs to the soviets elected by the masses without any involvement of any party, Trotsky answered: 'But to declare that the soviets "by themselves" are capable of leading the struggle of the proletariat for power—is a demonstration of vulgar fetishism for the soviets. Everything depends on the Party which leads the soviets'. (Trotsky, *op. cit.*)

The WV presents us with its soviet panacea, completely ignoring the dialectic between the soviet and the Party, between the masses and the revolutionary vanguard. The POR as well did exactly that. It refused to give the masses revolutionary leadership, it refused to build the revolutionary party whose absence

was catastrophic during the Bolivian revolution.

It was impossible to build this party without a struggle to win over, to the cause of the proletariat, the broad masses of the peasants.

The POR did not do any work with the peasants, it has no programme for them. From January 1971 until August, in its organ 'Masas', the peasants were referred to only once very briefly.

To say that the Bolivian peasants needed soviets is to confuse one means with the end. The peasants would have answered quite materialistically that what they need is land, an agrarian reform.

The WV, with its drivel about the leading role of the soviets, retrogresses not only to the positions of the centrist SWP of Germany, but even further to the German KAPD and anarchosindicalism.

Lenin in 'Left-Wing Communism' and the Communist International at its first Congresses, and with the words of Trotsky, struck out implacably at the middle class and sectarian movement of so-called 'Communism of councils'. This movement not only ignored the dialectic between Marxist consciousness and the spontaneous movement of the masses, but also turned its back on the bloody experience of the European revolutions.

Do we perhaps need to remind the WV about the German revolution of 1918-1919, when the soviets of workers and soldiers filled all of Germany, and yet, because their overwhelming majority followed the Social Democratic Party, not only did they not lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but were slaughtered and smashed?

Or must we recall the revo-

lutionary events in Italy during the same period, when the factories were occupied by the workers' councils who took down the signs of the industrialists and raised placards with the names of Lenin and Trotsky. Must we recall how the whole of that terrible movement was defeated because the leading party of the working class was the Socialist Party, which turned back the masses and gave the country to the fascists?

Contrary to the WV, the inspirer of the workers' councils of Turin, Antonio Gramsci, came to the opposite conclusions and fought to build the party, leaving us some of the most important analyses of this grave task of the proletarian struggle.

Soviet fetishism and a reverent attachment to the spontaneous organizations of the masses are transformed, when the situation calls for it, into their opposite.

The same people who preach the leading role of the workers' councils, are dominated by a fear of the masses. This happened with the KAPD. This happened with the whole movement of 'Communism of councils'.

Their rejection of the dialectic leads them not only to see the role of the party, but also not to see the role of the masses within the fluctuations of the movement.

They see their relationship to the masses as a relationship of indoctrination, of propaganda. Their organizations are propagandist circles, where, as Trotsky observed, in the name of a demogogy about the leading role of the masses, the leaders begin to play a disproportionate role ...

The sectarian stand of the WV towards the masses appears at another point, and concretely with regard to the French proletariat.

It criticizes the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) because in May 1968 it did not advance the correct (according to the WV) slogans: 'Down with de Gaulle! Long live the workers' and peasants' government!'

On the contrary, the IC of the Fourth International, not ignoring the fact that the largest and most dynamic section of the French proletariat follows the French CP and the Stalinist CGT, criticized the OCI with the greatest severity for not having advanced the only concrete slogans, the slogans that would have uncovered the counter-revolutionary Stalinists and led the masses to their ideological emancipation from their treacherous leadership: 'Down with de Gaulle: CPF-CGT government!'

The WV's criticism of the OCI (and the POR) was not placed on this Bolshevik basis.

The fact that it does not grasp the whole essence of the dispute that brought the OCI into an alliance with the centrists and into irreconcilable opposition to the IC does not surprise us.

Out of the whole split, it retains only the events in Bolivia. The Bolivian events and the POR's treachery, which found enthusiastic support from the OCI, are only the consequences of a whole trend and method, the fruits of a whole system of centrist politics.

From the bitter lessons of Bolivia, Marxists are called on now, in the presence of today's huge conflicts, to draw the scientific conclusions in relation to a whole political methodology, as has happened with the lessons of Algeria, Cuba and Ceylon.

The WV does not concern itself with these problems. This is because, for it, they do not exist as problems, but as theses of its own centrist policies.

To Greek Trotskyists it has been well known for a long time that, both as far as the transformation of the 'United Front' from a tactic of a revolutionary party into a strategy (liquidation of the party) is concerned, as well as more generally in their anarchosindicalist adaptation to spontaneity, the positions of the WV were and are always identified with those of the OCI and its centrist friends.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Soviets filled all Germany in the 1918-1919 revolution, yet because their majority followed the SDP they were slaughtered and smashed

TORY PRESS



MISS GREER AND THE HIPPIES

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Just one of the virtues of this column is that we can chart the course of those columnists who titivate the middle class 'heavyweight' press.

In this connection we have previously drawn the attention of our readers to the meanderings of Miss Germaine Greer, the Australian-born author of the 'Female Eunuch' and the woman described as 'the high priestess of Women's Lib'.

One of the features of the 'Sunday Times' management is its special skill in choosing 'radical' writers and bringing them into the mainstream of 'safe' journalism.

For instance, when Miss Greer first signed her contract with the Tory 'Times' organization 18 months ago there was great consternation that the editor, Harold Evans, had shot his bolt and joined the underground press.

The retired colonels in Ramsgate, and the 'Readers Digest' crowd in Hertfordshire bristled with alarm at the prospect of Miss Greer's 'revolutionary' outpourings. But Evans is a much more consummate member of the ruling class than he is often given notice for. He knows his lefties; each Sunday they jump through the hoops for him, keeping the circulation — and thus the advertising revenue — buoyant.

Since the publication of her first article in the 'Sunday Times'—it was, I believe, a 'sensational' piece on vaginal deodorants — Miss Greer has fitted in beautifully with the requirements down at Thomson House.

Indeed, her position on the paper was made absolutely clear when the 'Sunday Times' chapel of the National Union of Journalists investigated her union membership. A delegation that went to see Evans were told that she was a union member — but not the NUJ. Glowing with smug satisfaction he announced she was in the Institute of Journalists (IOJ) which is a professional sect dominated by management, editors and PR men.

It then emerged that she had gained membership to this highly Tory outfit by the good offices of Evans who nominated her for membership and Denis Healey, who seconded her application. Healey, one of the most notorious right-wingers in the Labour Party — and one-time young communist — signed Miss Greer's application as a personal favour for his friend Evans.

Thus Miss Greer got her 'union' membership and her lucrative appointment with the Tory press. How this conduct fits in with the 'theory' of Women's Lib has never been



fully explained by Miss Greer.

This brings us to the present—to last Sunday's column by Miss Greer. It is about hippies, about how their cult is a 'liberating' factor in capitalist society. In a series of utterly ludicrous assertions, Miss Greer says:

'Phenomena which are in themselves superficial may have profound effects. Long hair and the mystique of gentleness (!) brought the sexes together quite unconsciously and so other developments became possible.

'People made better love and more of it than before, for which relief many thanks.'

There is historical proof that long hair has been in fashion in other eras; there is no proof at all that 'better love' results from long hair.

She goes on in the same vein: 'It is something to be grateful for that men are so much better-looking than they were.'

This too is attributed to the spirit of the hippie movement.

But having passed out bouquets to the hippies for having allegedly aroused beauty and grace in the male population—and, incidentally, started the 'ecology issue'—she then launches into one of the most virulent attacks on the hippie movement since Malcolm Muggeridge and the Festival of Light Brigade started their reactionary campaigning.

Listen to the spokesman for women's liberation: 'Those who fled, and still flee, their homelands to wander in India or Nepal or Mexico or Bali are grotesque parasites upon peoples who cannot afford them and have nothing to learn from them.

'The smugness of hippie communities disporting themselves wherever the weather is good, regardless of the political climate, is repulsive and unpardonable. Their disregard of the customs and the decorum of the civilizations which they invade is no better than contempt. For all their reverence for the ecology, they cannot see themselves as pollution.'

Without Miss Greer's emotive and shrill language we made the same point in an editorial in Workers Press on July 20, 1971. Following the baton charges on hippies on the island of Ibiza we said: 'Franco's trigger-happy, truncheon-wielding police have given Ibiza hippies a savage lesson on the real nature of fascism.'

'Many of the hippies fleeing from Franco's "island paradise" received their political education in the student protest movements of West Germany and the United States. Their common hallmark was a profound middle-class contempt for the history and traditions of the international workers' movement and for Marxist theory. Tired of protesting against US imperialism . . . they decided to seek freedom in fascist Spain.

'For years these radical drop-outs' idea of bliss was to smoke pot and sunbathe on the beaches of Ibiza while Franco's police and army crashed strikes, arrested and tortured their leaders and came within 24 hours of executing six Basque freedom fighters. Now that Franco has given them a mild dose of the same treatment, it is to be hoped that they will begin to learn the political facts of life.'

We have condemned the anti-working-class concepts of the itinerants of the hippie world, but we do so from a political standpoint. And we also attempt to understand and analyse the extreme disorientation that makes American teenagers throw up the affluence of, say, California, to live in the destitution of India.

But having belaboured those who loll in the colonial and semi-fascist countries, Miss Greer does not draw any political lessons. In fact, her arguments about hippies being 'pollution' seem only to extend to those who go abroad. In her view, therefore, it is all very well to free-load in your own country but not in downtown Simla.

Miss Greer thus has a neat formula. She can vent her moral outrage in the 'Sunday Times' about the shortcomings of the way the hippies behave abroad, but she gives herself and her cronies a blessing to carry on their 'good work' in their own countries of residence.

This is a prescription for resentful and frustrated youth to acquiesce under capitalism.

It keeps them from taking up political questions and from understanding the nature of class society and how a revolutionary leadership can and must be built to end the exploitation of man by the privately-owned productive forces.

No wonder Miss Greer is such a prize catch in the 'Sunday Times' stable.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

NON-EVENTS

The fourth anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia passed off 'quietly' without public demonstrations in the main cities, according to western correspondents there.

This is indignantly denied by the official Prague Stalinist newspaper 'Rude Pravo'. 'There was something doing,' says the paper:

'In the fields people were exerting every effort to reap the grain; northern Bohemian miners were untiringly rectifying the consequences of a natural catastrophe; and South Moravian pipe and tube makers announced their pledge to shorten the delivery time by 40 days for the construction of water transit parts for transit gas pipelines.'

The paper concludes this pitiful catalogue of non-events with the lame statement: 'And these are not isolated cases proving the commitment of citizens.'

Indeed not! It is reliably reported that large numbers of people ate their dinners on August 21 (and in some cases, breakfast and tea as well). Next time 'Rude Pravo' might consider using this fact to 'prove' the necessity for continued Soviet occupation.

ROOT OUT THE RACIALISTS

More racist leaflets have been handed round in Leeds in a bid to incite the local population against coloured workers.

The latest one—headed 'Are You Afraid of a Fight—is a blatant attempt to promote violent attacks against immigrants.

It invites people to join the 'Youth of Leeds' in a demonstration against the British passport holders of Asian origin who are being forced out of Uganda by the Amin regime.

It reads: 'The Asians and the Asian-lovers have threatened to cause trouble. But we feel you will not be afraid of any trouble they care to offer.

'You are advised that you are legally entitled to use only sufficient force as is required to defend yourselves and your friends.'

The anonymous leaflet invites people to join a meeting in the centre of Leeds—in the vicinity of a number of homes owned by West Indian workers.

One Leeds teenager said he was handed the leaflet by a

'scruffy elderly man' and two youths in a City Park.

This is more evidence of the concerted campaign launched by the extreme right in Britain's industrial centres to split the working class and protect the real enemy, the Tories and the employers.

Recently Colin Jordan's British Movement handed out literature on the Leeds dole queues. This demanded 'White Power' and blamed unemployment not on the people who close the factories—the bosses and the Tories—but on the coloured workers and unemployed.

It is clear that the labour movement in Leeds will have to mobilize to root out the individuals and people who are spreading this racialism.

NIXON'S RAT-PACK

One of the more gruesome sights at the Republican convention—and there were many—was that of Sammy Davis Jnr giving President Richard 'Genocide' Nixon a bear-hug.

While protesters were being arrested outside by the hundred, Davis was inside warmly greeting the man who has set out with the aim of obliterating North Vietnam with bombs.



It wasn't so long ago that Davis was with the so-called 'rat-pack' around the Kennedys. He was joined by Frank Sinatra, among others.

Davis then made great speeches as to how he was breaking from his opulent past and joining the fight for the underprivileged and the oppressed.

Now, as if Nixon didn't have a big enough 'rat-pack' of his own already he is joined by . . . Sammy Davis Jnr.

BOOKS



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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

CAMBRIDGE: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m. Red Cow (behind the Guild Hall). 'Lessons of the dockers and builders' strikes.'

HOLLOWAY: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park. 'Victory to the builders. For united action and no separate site deals.'

LUTON: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Hall, Lea Road.

SE LONDON: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, New Cross Station. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

SWANSEA: Thursday August 31, 7.30 p.m. Oxford Street School, Oxford Street. 'Crisis of leadership in the unions. Sons of the dock strike.'

LIVERPOOL: Friday September 1, 7.30 p.m. Common Hall, Hackins Hey. 'Lessons of the docks and building strikes.' Speakers: Larry Cavanagh (dockers' steward), Mike Farley (building worker). Both in a personal capacity.

CROYDON: Monday September 4, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

DAGENHAM: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Lessons of docks strike, UCS jobs fight.'

HULL: Tuesday September 5, 7.30 p.m. White Hart Hotel, near Drypool Bridge. 'Victory to the building workers.'

SLOUGH: Tuesday September 5, 7.30 p.m. Slough Community Centre, Farnham Rd. 'Force the Tories out! Expose the traitors in the labour and trade union movement!' Speakers: Frank Tomany and Brian Bailey, both in a personal capacity.

WOOLWICH: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Queen's Arms, Bura Road, SE 18. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

RHYMNEY: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Rhymney Workingmen's Club, Rhymney, South Wales. 'Crisis of leadership in the trade unions.'

SOUTHALL: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

EAST LONDON: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Market Square, Crisp Street, Market, E14. 'What is Stalinism?'

HULL: Monday September 11, 7.30 p.m. Church Hall, Wawne Road, Bransholme (opp 'The Swallow'). 'Fighting the Tories' Rent Act.'

Railway workshops, Plessey and PSF slash

BY DAVID MAUDE

FIVE HUNDRED and fifty Swindon rail shopmen are to lose their jobs by Christmas as a direct result of Tory government policies. The cut-back, which results from the plan to close the town's locomotive works, forms part of a plan approved by the Ministry of Transport to axe 20,000 railwaymen's jobs over the next four-and-a-half years.

Since nationalization employment in the industry has been cut by 66 per cent without a fight by the union leaders.

Ten years ago there were 126,000 shopmen at 28 works. Now there are 50,000 at 14. By 1976 the British Railways Board wants to rid itself of at least 5,500 of these . . . and so the shadow of the dole has fallen across Swindon.

The railway workshops have always been a lynchpin of employment in the town.

At their peak in 1950 they employed 10,000 workers. The introduction of diesels slashed the workforce by more than two-thirds, but this latest planned attack is even more fundamental.

It would reduce the workshops to a centre for servicing diesel locos. These are rapidly being replaced by electrical units. The only other activity will be patching up battered, obsolete wagons soon to be withdrawn completely.

There is no reason for believing this would be more than a very temporary arrangement before the final death-blow. Even the first stage of ending loco operations would push the already rising unemployment level in the town past the intolerable 3.9 per cent national average. Complete closure of the workshops would be a disaster.

Yet disaster is the prospect facing Swindon's workers—and not only in the rail workshops.

The Plessey company, whose employment of a large number of women workers has enabled many working-class families at least to survive the rocketing cost of living, has embarked on a major rationalization and 200 jobs will disappear by next March.

Pressed-Steel Fisher has for some time been a popular source of employment, but its owner, British-Leyland, faces shrinking markets at home and overseas and is in deep financial trouble.

Over 24,000 Leyland workers struck on Monday against the threat to close the Thornycroft factory at Basingstoke. Whether Leyland—and the jobs at PSF—will survive entry into the Common Market is questionable.

The big question facing Swindon workers and their families is how they are going to defend their jobs.



Part of the railworks being demolished

How to fight the jobs crisis in Swindon

Not one job or job-opportunity can be allowed to go. That is a matter of principle. With over 2,000 unemployed in the town, no trade unionist can become involved in productivity deals, short-time working at reduced earnings, 'voluntary' severance or 'natural' wastage. These cynical horse-trading devices have been used for years by employers to get big redundancies in the factories.

Secondly, there can be no lasting solution to the scourge of unemployment while the Tory job-assassins stay in power.

Only the resignation of the Tories and the election of a Labour government pledged to the nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control can provide the conditions for halting the march to the dole forever.

No railway shopman can accept either management redun-



NUR's Sid Weighell

dancy notices or union-backed severance schemes designed to reduce manning levels.

All redundancy notices must be rejected. Railway shopmen

must insist that every worker is retained at full pay or, if individuals want to take severance replaced with no loss of earnings to the incoming worker.

These conditions must be insisted upon until the rest of the transport industry can be nationalized and the entire system of rail, road, air and port transport placed under workers' control.

The present union leaders are a million miles from this perspective.

When the plan to cut back 20,000 rail jobs was announced a year ago, Sid Weighell, assistant secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, declared at the TUC that it was time to call a halt to sackings in the industry. Industrial action would be used he hinted.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions,

Scottish east coast dockers want ports registered

SCOTLAND'S east coast ports were strike-bound yesterday as dockers continued their blacking action against 'scab' ships which used unregistered ports to dodge the recent national strike.

Trouble on the east coast blew up at Leith and Dundee when dockers refused to handle two ships, the 'Fastnet' and 'Paris' because they used the unregistered port of Invergordon when the national dispute was on.

Employers struck back by refusing to employ men on 'non-black' ships unless the bans were lifted. This caused a walk-out at the two ports which spread to Aberdeen, Methil, Kirkcaldy and Burntisland on Monday.

The Road Hauliers' Association has also taken a tough line. During the national dispute they agreed not to use the non-scheme ports, but they have made no such recommendation this time.

Behind the dockers' action

lies the fear that unregistered ports outside the National Dock Labour Scheme can employ men for inferior wages and conditions and will eventually destroy job opportunities for registered men.

It is also a clear expression of dissatisfaction with the Jones-Aldington proposals, which made no pledges on the non-scheme ports but merely promised an investigation.

In a statement to Workers Press, Aberdeen docker Ernie Davidson, delegate to the unofficial East of Scotland strike committee, warned that a new outbreak of national action could occur if Jones-Aldington did not bring all the unregistered ports within the scheme.

He told us about the formation of the strike committee and the feeling of the east coast men:

THE present action is a result of the policy agreed by the East of Scotland committee during the strike that any attempt to work ships that used non-scheme ports during the

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

strike would immediately be met by joint action from all the east coast ports. There are 24 to 26 ships on the blacklist.

The employers are trying it on with the 'Fastnet' and the 'Paris' in Dundee and Leith. They seem determined to make a stand. Our position was that we would work normally until the committee on the non-registered ports reports on October 31, but we won't touch the blacked boats.

The unofficial East of Scotland committee has been a great gain from the strike. It can unify the east coast ports and mean a lot for the dockers. If nothing is done about these non-scheme ports—especially Montrose—then we'll start picketing again whether we're at work or not.

I'm only a docker who wants to work, but I feel very strongly about this committee. It really could benefit all the dockers.

The main problem we face is isolation. We need national action on this question.

We gained nothing from the

strike. The temporary unattached register (TUR) and containerization aren't at issue here. The non-scheme ports are the question and we are waiting to see what the committee comes up with on October 31.

Montrose must be brought within the scheme and worked by registered dockers. We'll supply the labour. We can't accept anything less.

I don't think Jones-Aldington produced much for anyone. Increased severance pay was certainly a step forward, but Jones will have to come up with far more. He'll have to prove the TUR has been abolished, and the non-scheme ports must go.

I think most of the men here have always respected Jones, and I didn't agree with the way he was treated in London. But he'll have to come up with something now.

He says the TUR is to go and all dockers will have an employer, but the employers want fewer and fewer dockers so it

doesn't make sense. The day after the strike another employer down south announced he was closing down.

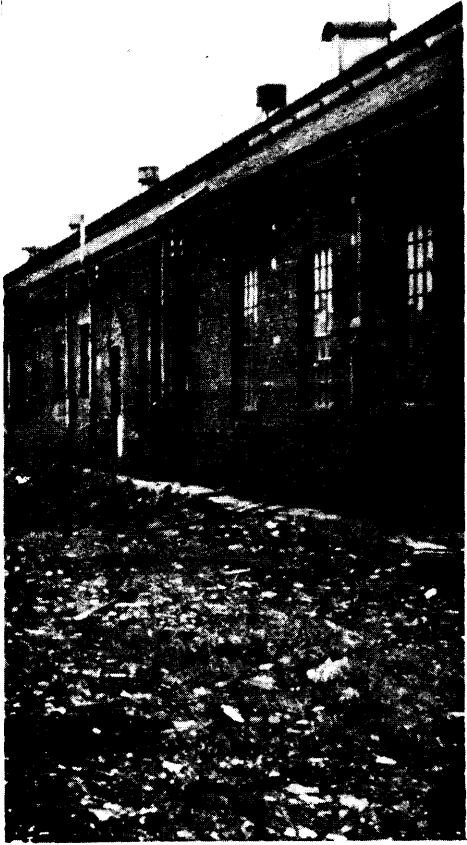
So far as we're concerned, October 31 is the deadline. If the non-scheme ports aren't abolished, then there could well be national action again. We may decide on some form of action before then to show the executive how strongly we feel.

It would have been best to continue the strike when it was solid and settle this question once and for all, but the leadership was lacking. The decision to go back in Hull and London was a great shock to us. I don't understand it. The shop stewards' committee seemed to wield so much power.

There's no question that the only answer is nationalization of the docks and transport industries. That's the way to unite the transport workers. But you won't get it out of the Tories.

I didn't realize that the port shop stewards' committee had dropped that from their demands some time back. I can't understand that at all.

workforce



which brings together the other unions representing shopmen, committed itself in June this year to fighting for 'a campaign, in association with other bodies representing the labour movement, to eliminate this scourge [unemployment], based on a policy of a planned socialist economy guaranteeing to all the basic principle of the right to work'.

Yet only five days after the CSEU conference broke up, Bill John, an engineers' union executive member who voted with his delegation for that resolution, was telling a railways delegate conference of his union:

'The difficulties which we find ourselves in in the wagon-repair side are expressly related to the national economic recession . . . the situation, therefore, is that because of the contraction in BRB repair work, redundancies are virtually inevitable in both the BRB and the private sector in railways.'

And early July found Weighell hoping that a pact with the British Railways Board for increased severance pay would solve the problem—a hope which signalled his complete acceptance of redundancy.

How can anyone who entertains these ideas lead a fight against closure of Swindon's workshops?

Some shop stewards want to 'postpone' redundancy notices, but the only way to struggle is to demand their complete withdrawal.

The joint consultative committee, which brings together works-committee representatives from rail workshops all over the country, is calling for a one-day token strike in support of Swindon. This is a start—but only a start.

What is required is a policy behind which rail shopmen and other workers can rally in defence of the right to work:

- No redundancies. Complete withdrawal of all redundancy notices. The entire labour force to be maintained at full pay until the industry can be placed under 100 per cent workers' control.
- Demand the NUR and CSEU leaders fight in the TUC for the calling of a General Strike to force the Tories to resign. Elect a Labour government pledged to nationalization under workers' control without compensation.
- For an integrated socialist transport policy, under the direction of workers' committees, involving the entire nationalized rail, road, port and air transport industries.

Uneasy Indo-Pak peace

INDIA and Pakistan have temporarily papered over the cracks that appeared in pledges made last month to live in peace and settle their differences without resort to force.

But an agreement reached on Tuesday between senior official delegations left many questions unresolved and in most respects was simply a reiteration of the agreement signed in Simla.

The two outstanding issues are the fate of 90,000 Pakistan prisoners of war currently held in India and recognition of the new state of Bangla Desh.

Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had given the impression at Simla that Pakistan would recognize Bangla Desh. But his representatives now say this will 'take time'.

China, Pakistan's ally, vetoed Bangla Desh entry into the United Nations last week.

The veto was defended in Rawalpindi on Tuesday by visiting Chinese deputy Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, who said China would do it again if necessary.

The Chinese Minister held two days of talks with Bhutto and other Pakistan government leaders. He said the veto had been 'just' and would be repeated unless Bangla Desh implemented UN resolutions calling for the repatriation of prisoners of war and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Bangla Desh.

Bhutto and Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Indian premier, are believed to be arranging a further summit meeting in October.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has categorically refused to meet Bhutto until Pakistan recognizes Bangla Desh.

Firemen's pay rise

PAY RISES averaging 8 per cent have been agreed for Britain's 30,000 firemen, it was announced yesterday.

The settlement, which gives some firemen increases of up to £3 a week, was coolly received by Fire Brigades Union rank-and-filers.

'On the whole it's not seen by the men as a bad settlement, although, of course, it reflects the Tory pay norm', Workers Press was told by one London station delegate.

'But if there are no "strings" this time there are definite dangers for the future.'

The percentage increases range from 7½ to 11 per cent, with the larger percentage increases going to the lower-paid.

For a 56-hour week, which is worked by nearly all brigades, a qualified fireman will receive £2,010 a year from October 1 as compared with to £1,850 at present. New recruits will receive £1,506, or £28.87 a week, as against £1,370 now.

A long-service fireman with 15 years to his credit will receive £40.60 weekly.

A leading fireman's rate goes up from £2,010 to £2,184, and that of a top sub-officer from £2,170 to £2,352. Members of the London Fire Brigade receive £160 a year more than other firemen.

The new scale for officer ranks will range from £2,862 to £3,990.

Many firemen believe, however, that their local-authority employers will use the next year to streamline the service along the lines of the Cunningham Report published last November.

A particular fear is that next year's negotiations may be used to extend the day manning system under which firemen can sometimes be on call 70 or 80 hours a week.

TV

BBC 1

9.15 Along the trail. 9.30 Robinson Crusoe. 9.55 Magic roundabout. 10.00 Olympic grandstand. 1.30 Herbs. 1.45 News and weather. 1.55 Olympic grandstand.

7.30 TOP OF THE POPS.

8.00 THE DICK EMERY SHOW.

8.30 HAVING A LOVELY TIME. Barry Took . . . at the Club.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES. Gymnastics and swimming finals.

12.30 Weather.

ITV

11.30 Nothing if not critical. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Common Market cook book. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Zingalong. 1.40 Arthur. 2.00 Castle haven. 2.25 Racing from York. 3.40 Jokers wild. 4.10 Nuts and bones. 4.25 Land of the giants. 5.20 Olympics and news.

6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS

7.00 FILM: 'IVANHOE'. Robert Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Joan Fontaine, George Sanders, Emyln Williams. The Saxon knight Ivanhoe sets about returning the throne to Richard the Lionheart.

9.00 MAX BYGRAVES AT THE ROYALTY. Guest Anna Karen.

9.30 THIS WEEK.

10.00 NEWS AND OLYMPICS AT TEN.

11.00 THE AVENGERS. The Curious Case of the Countess Clues.

12.00 EPILOGUE.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.15 Play school. 4.55 Harlem globe-trotters. 5.15 Blue Peter flies the world. 5.45 Magic roundabout. 5.50 Sounds of music.

6.45 BIRD'S EYE-VIEW. The Island Fortress.

7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.

8.00 HILLARY WALKS. On Hampstead Heath.

8.30 LOVE AND MR LEWISHAM. Dramatization of H. G. Wells story of an assistant master at a boys' school who plans a great future.

9.15 INDUSTRIAL GRAND TOUR. Bristol.

9.30 SHOW OF THE WEEK: 'OF THEE I SING'. By George and Ira Gershwin. Irreverent comedy about a presidential election in the 1920s. With Carroll O'Connor, Cloris Leachman.

10.35 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

10.40 FILM: 'PRISONERS OF FREEDOM'. Eli Cohn, Joseph Farah, Jack Cohen. Israeli film about three prisoners allowed to spend 24 hours at home.



Brian Deacon as Mr Lewisham and Carolyn Courage as Ethel in H. G. Wells' 'Love and Mr Lewisham' serialized in four parts. Episode 1 is tonight on BBC 2.

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News and weather. 1.00 Afloat. 1.25 Hogan's heroes. 1.50 Common Market cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.25 London. 3.40 Houseparty. 4.00 Heckle and Jeckle. 4.10 Send for Dithers. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 Primus. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 On the buses. 7.15 Film: 'The Late George Apley'. 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Court martial. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 2.15 Racing from York. 3.15 Common Market cook book. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 Little big time. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Dick Van Dyke. 7.10 Film: 'A Woman Obsessed'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Beside the sea-side. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Wales and ITV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15-4.25 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 11.00-11.30 Songs of the Celts. **HTV West as above except:** 6.18-6.35 Sport West.

ANGLIA: 1.40 Remember. 2.05 Joe 90. 2.30 London. 4.00 News. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Giants. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Film: 'Bad For Each Other'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Avengers.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.45 Racing from York. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Nuts and bones. 4.25 Forest rangers. 4.50 Pretenders. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Film: 'Bedevilled'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Marcus Welby MD. 12.35 Stories worth telling. Weather.

ULSTER: 1.45 Racing from York. 3.40 Gourmet. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 Cowboy in Africa. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Partners. 6.35 London. 7.00

Their kind of music. 7.30 Film: 'Texas'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Champions. **YORKSHIRE:** 1.45 Scotland Yard. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.25 London. 4.10 Nuts and bones. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Rainbow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.20 Film: 'The Spy With a Cold Nose'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Department S. 12.25 Something to sing about. 12.50 Weather.

GRANADA: 1.15 Freud on food. 1.45 Racing from York. 3.40 Peyton Place. 4.10 News. Nuts and bones. 4.25 Lidsville. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Amazing world of Kreskin. 6.30 UFO. 7.25 Film: 'The Rookies'. 8.50 Sylvester. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Police file. 11.35 Avengers.

TYNE TEES: 1.40 Scotland Yard mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 3.25 mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.25 London. 4.09 News. 4.10 Nuts and bones. 4.25 Woobinda. 4.50

Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Flintstones. 6.35 London. 7.00 Branded. 7.25 Film: 'The Spy With a Cold Nose'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Sportstime. 11.30 Cinema. 12.00 Police call. 12.05 Calum's ceilidh. 12.35 News. 12.50 Revolving chair.

SCOTTISH: 1.45-3.15 Racing from York. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Nuts and bones. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Shirley's world. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Frightened City'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Festival.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 Racing from York. 3.05 News. 3.10 Job look. 3.15 Yoga for health. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Nuts and bones. 4.25 Pippi longstocking. 4.50 Ivanhoe. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Top team. 6.35 London. 6.55 Film: 'A Ticket to Tomahawk'. 8.30 Shut that door. 9.00 London. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Young view. 12.00 Avengers.

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Court moves on blacking 'premature'

BY WORKERS PRESS REPORTERS

SPECULATION that the Hays Wharf group might take port employers to court because dockers were blacking their cold stores was described as 'premature' by a company chief yesterday.

George Tonge, a director of the £27m group and ex-chairman of the port employers said statements by managing director Geoffrey Bezer were 'perhaps a little premature'.

On Tuesday Bezer claimed the company's UK Cold Storage complex at Dagenham had been shut because of dockers who had refused to handle all goods bound for Dagenham.

Bezer warned: 'We shall use the Industrial Relations Act and have a go at the PLA [Port of London Authority] if need be. We are considering going for everybody.'

Yesterday Mr Tonge was in a more conciliatory mood. He said the first step would be to insist that port employers use existing procedures to ensure dockers stopped their action. These would involve discipline procedures under the National Dock Labour Scheme.

If legal action were to be taken it might not involve the Industrial Relations Act. The group could bring an action for breach of contract.

There is provision however for employers to take another employer to the Industrial Relations Court.

In a recent case involving blacking on Hull docks, court president Sir John Donaldson indicated that the road haulage firm Panalpina might have a case against North Sea Ferries, for not taking action against their docker employees who were blacking Panalpina's lorries.

But the warlike noises from Hay's might also be seen as an attempt to put further pressure on T&GWU leader Jack Jones to clamp down on dockers ignoring his call to stop all blacking.

Hay's Wharf is one of the hard-line employers who have steadfastly refused to have anything to do with the Jones-Aldington proposals which urge the employment of dockers in cold stores.

George Tonge gave up his post as chairman of the Port Employers' Association after they had agreed with the interim proposals of the Jones-Aldington report.

Council builders in London strike march

LONDON building workers marched 1,000-strong yesterday to the employers West End headquarters demanding the full claim of £30 for a 35-hour week.

They were led by Camden's direct works builders who joined the ten-week dispute on Monday — the first London council workers to do so.

It was the first demonstration of building workers in London since the union leaders tried to sign a compromise deal some five weeks ago.

Instinctively marchers took up the cry of 'Heath Out!', while others demanded no separate company agreements and a national strike. A section from the East End shouted for the nationalization of the industry and the resignation of the Tories.

What shouting and feeling there was came as a marked contrast to contributions of the leadership of the London building workers action committee.

Before builders left the Barbican in the City, itself the scene of bitter battles betrayed by the Stalinists, organizer Alan Tatam apologized for the small turn-out.

'There has been a number of slip ups in the organization,' he explained. In fact it is known that many building workers were unaware of the demonstration.

Calling for objective coverage of the strike by television, Tatam said: 'We have to bring democracy and dignity to the industry,' carefully avoiding any criticism of the union leaders.

Another committee member, Stalinist Pete Kavanagh, was equally bankrupt.

'We want a public inquiry

BY PHILIP WADE

into the corruption in the building industry. We want some publicity to take the lid off the Mafia,' he said.

But building workers on the demonstration were looking for more leadership than that.

'The mistake is that the union

leaders still haven't called a national strike,' UCATT militant Terry Smith from the World's End site told me.

'I don't agree with separate deals. It has to be all-out or nothing. No one agrees with these deals because they can

split the membership.

'The Tory government has ordered the social security not to pay anything to the single man under any circumstances. But George Smith [UCATT general secretary] is chairman of the TUC General Council and also set up this arbitration with the CBI. What use is that to us?'

'A new leadership definitely has to be pushed for when this is over.'

Others drew attention to the building workers' isolation and looked to support from other workers.

'The Tories are deliberately attempting to starve us back. We need support from the miners, dockers and all others we've assisted in the past. We want them to come out with us now,' said Aaron McLachie, a member of the strike committee at the Green Park hotel project.

'The general feeling is that George Smith has been dragging his feet. We have to work 60 or 70 hours to make a decent wage and we're not having that any more.'

'This government is not going to starve us back by cutting Social Security. We're out until we get the £30 basic for 35 hours. No one's interested in bonus agreements.'

A Camden direct works builder pinpointed the question of leadership:

'The leaders don't put up a fight. They are still playing two roles—one on our side and another on the side of the capitalists.'

'If it is to be a success there will have to be a national strike. Other workers must support us financially and by strike action.'

● The first site to join the strike in Oxford came out yesterday. Workers at Wolfson's College site struck in response to picketing.

North-West builders angry with leaders

MILITANT building workers in the Birkenhead area are angry at what they see as attempts by national and regional union leadership to undermine their strike.

Following the August 15 Liverpool meeting which agreed on a full local stoppage, mobile pickets have worked constantly to discover and bring out every site, however small. They have also brought out 'lump' workers.

The last major site, the market at Liscard, Wallasey, was stopped last week by pickets and they consider there is now a virtual 100 per cent stoppage in the area. They are maintaining a watch on cement and ready-mix concrete supplies for leads to any sites still working or re-starting.

But they have now learned that the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) has reached an agreement with four firms operating in the Wirral for an immediate return to work.

They have so far found it very difficult to discover what terms

have been agreed with these firms but most of the pickets are opposed to any splitting of the strike by individual settlements, even for the full claim, and intend to fight to prevent this happening.

The men are sharply critical of UCATT regional secretary Bill Crighton, who, despite plenty of militant and left-sounding speech-making, has from the beginning been in favour of separate settlements on the grounds that 'We must break the weakest links in the chain.'

Like most of the leadership in the area he was originally happy with the policy of selective strikes.

In fact the only site originally asked to come out in Birkenhead was Costain's motorway construction unit at Bidston Moss, which had only just returned to work after a six-week dispute.

The massive response to the strike has put the leadership on the spot. Many militants are convinced they are now trying to get off by looking for opportunities to split the strike.



Men from the Creffield factory lobby yesterday's Ford convenors' meeting

Ford opposition to moving plant

A MEETING of about 20 Ford convenors in London yesterday was expected to back a fight to stop the company sending work abroad.

The Transport House conference followed disclosures in a Liverpool newspaper of secret plans to drastically run down Ford operations in Britain.

The transfer of work to Germany, alleged in an article in the Liverpool 'Free Press', would not only directly affect job-opportunities in Ford plants, but would also have severe consequences for sub-contractors.

These include companies like Plessey, which has already substantially rationalized its factories throwing hundreds of men out of work.

The convenors were expected to endorse a resolution pledging their opposition to any transfer of work from the UK to Europe.

The convenors agreed to black all work from the strike-bound

Creffield Blackstone Engineering group plant at Tunbridge where more than half the labour force has stopped work in support of the demand for union recognition.

Ninety per cent of the firm's output goes to Ford's and Bert Saunders, leader of a four-man deputation to the convenors' meeting, said afterwards:

'Now that we have got this support the only thing that can stop us winning is time and finance.'

Up till now management has been able to keep the factory ticking over using a skeleton staff of about 70 workers who refused to join the strike.

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3. **Nature of the capitalist crisis** Tuesday September 19

4. **Historical materialism today** Tuesday September 26

AEU HOUSE Mount Pleasant Liverpool 1, 7.30 p.m.

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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.