

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY SEPTEMBER 18, 1972 ● No. 871 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

RENT AND FOOD PRICES SWALLOW WAGE RISES

BY OUR POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

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Just as miners and railwaymen found that their pay increases were quickly swallowed up by higher prices, so the building workers who grudgingly go back today will find the same.

And this is the limitation of wages struggles which many sections of workers have launched so determinedly against the Tories. They may achieve a few crumbs from the master's table, but they leave the master in charge of the banquet.

Only by removing the master—the Tory government—from office will a real wages struggle become possible. The election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies would mean that the fight for wages would become inseparable from the fight for socialist policies.

Take another look at the present wage crisis.

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● And not a week goes by in which housewives have to suffer increase in the food bill. In the past week announcements have been made that eggs will go up by 6p a dozen and coffee will also rise in price.

● At the end of October the lamely-organized CBI prices 'freeze' will end. If no new agreement is reached—and this looks to be the case—then a massive prices scramble will begin.

● There will be a further wave of higher prices in the New Year when Britain formally goes into the Common Market. Foodstuffs will be brought into line with the much higher prices of the Six. On top of this will be the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT)—to add a further 10 per cent to prices.

Writing about the massive price hikes in store for the working class, the Tory-owned 'Sunday Telegraph' said in a major news item yesterday:

NEW TORY ONSLAUGHT ON WAGES

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As the advance party was preparing lunch for the marchers, however, secretary P. Hutchinson walked in declaring he had been in touch with the trustees and under no circumstances would they allow a meeting.

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'The rises will affect every aspect of life including food, cars, household equipment, post, gas, electricity and homes.'

Where do these staggering increases leave building workers, who have just been awarded a pathetic 14 per cent per year after a three-month struggle?

It means that within only a few short months, the 26-month deal will be rendered completely out of date.

Building workers will again be among the most under-paid and exploited workers in the country.

And yet in the face of



determined attacks, the TUC is holding talks with the Tories and big business and the trade union leaders have agreed to work with the National Industrial Relations Court.

All talks with the Tory government, the mortal enemy of the working class, should be broken off immediately.

To resist these determined attacks, Councils of Action must be built in all areas throughout Britain.

These Councils must be representative of trade union branches, trades councils, tenants' associations, Labour Party members, Young Socialists and other tendencies in the movement, who come together to prepare for bringing Tory rule to an end.

Bus crews stop over jailed mate

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See today's
centre pages
review of

SOLZHENITSYN
AUGUST 1914



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FORMS P. 10

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Lebanon: Get-out demand to guerrillas

THE LEBANESE army yesterday issued an ultimatum to Palestinian commandos demanding they evacuate all Lebanese villages, the Fatah Arab guerrilla organization announced in Damascus.

The ultimatum followed the biggest-ever Israeli invasion of the Lebanon, in which a massive force of tanks, planes and soldiers crossed the frontier to ravage the countryside for miles inside Lebanese territory.

Dozens of Palestinians living near the border were killed, and

the Lebanese army said 69 of its soldiers had been killed. The attack, on a 20-mile front, included napalm bombing by Israeli jets and the systematic destruction of houses and bridges.

The Israeli command described the operation as 'a stroll', though the Lebanese army had put up the stiffest-yet resistance to the invasion. A number of suspected commandos were captured and taken back to Israel in army half-tracks.

The attack, beginning at dawn on Saturday, had been under preparation by the Israeli forces

for more than a week. Amid rabid calls for all-out international war against the Palestinian commandos, the Zionist leaders massed troops on the frontier for their most massive punitive raid ever.

The purpose of the raid was to heap humiliation on the Lebanese army and the Palestinians, kill guerrillas and civilians and destroy the homes of Palestinian refugees. Israel has long demanded that the Lebanese government take action to crush the commandos operating from its soil.

With the latest army ultimatum to the commandos, they appear to have achieved much of what they set out to do. Lebanon did not take up offers of aid from other Arab states, including Syria, Libya and even Saudi Arabia, to repel the Israeli invasion.

Instead it has now turned on the unfortunate Palestinians who are to be made the scapegoats for the vicious Israeli invasion. Al Fatah, the main guerrilla organization said yesterday that Lebanon's government had taken part in a plot to liquidate the

Palestinian commando resistance in Lebanese territory.

Fatah said the army ultimatum to the guerrillas on Lebanese soil contained the following demands:

● **Commando presence was banned from Arqub and Bekaa areas, close to the border with Israel.**

● **Commandos were banned from carrying arms outside the Palestinian refugee camps.**

● **Commandos must evacuate all Lebanese villages.**

The Lebanese regime, which only on Saturday was assuring the commandos of its 'unbreakable' support for their cause, now appears to have followed the example of the Hashemite king of Jordan, Hussein, and turned on the commandos, as the Zionists want.

Soviet troop concessions to US

THE SOVIET Union has made a major concession to the United States over the preparations for a European security conference.

During talks with presidential envoy Dr Henry Kissinger in the Kremlin last week, the Soviet leaders agreed to link the holding of the conference with talks on mutual force reductions in Europe, as demanded by NATO.

Kissinger, who returned to Washington at the weekend to brief Nixon on the results of his talks with the Kremlin leaders, said the new proposal was worthy of very serious consideration. KISSINGER has told reporters he detected a 'certain seriousness' in North Vietnam's attitude to negotiations over ending the Vietnam war.

On his way back from Moscow, Kissinger held his fourth set of private talks in the past two months with North Vietnamese politburo member Le Duc Tho in Paris, but refused to say anything about their content.

Invasion denied

UGANDA claimed yesterday that 1,000 Tanzanian troops had invaded its territory but Tanzania denied the charge and Britain rejected Ugandan suggestions that she might be involved.

A Ugandan military spokesman, announcing the invasion this morning, said the Tanzanian troops were heading towards a key town on the road to Kampala. He said Britain had a plan to invade Uganda and 'that may be the beginning of this plan'.

Tanzanian headquarters said the troops must be Ugandans, possibly Ugandan guerrillas. They certainly were not Tanzanians.

Relations between the two countries have been poor since General Idi Amin overthrew Ugandan president Milton Obote in January last year. Obote took refuge in Tanzania.



Schweitzer: Embarrassment to US

IMF chief Schweitzer squeezed out—report

MANAGING director of the International Monetary Fund Pierre-Paul Schweitzer has been squeezed out of this top monetary job by American pressure, according to the 'Washington Post'. The paper reported that Schweitzer's reappointment for a third five-year term beginning in September 1973 had effectively been vetoed by the United States. Neither the IMF nor the US Treasury Department would comment on the report.

BY JOHN SPENCER

The 'Post' said American dissatisfaction with Schweitzer, a French economist, was conveyed to him by Treasury Secretary George Schultz, who said the US would not back his re-election.

Schweitzer, a former director of the French Treasury who was once deputy governor of the Bank of France, was appointed to his present job in 1963 to give a 'European' face to the International Monetary Fund.

This institution, set up in 1944 to police the Bretton Woods monetary agreement, was always a tool of the United States. Now Schweitzer is to be replaced with a man who will follow Washington's instructions to the letter.

The ousting of the present IMF director is part of the American preparation for intensified economic and political struggle with Europe: at the IMF's annual meeting in Washington in a week's time the US will resist demands from France for a major increase in the official gold price.

rates. The latest flashpoint in relations between Schweitzer and the Americans was a report issued earlier this month by the IMF's executive directors.

It set out the sharp disagreements on monetary questions between the US and France, including the French demand for a rise in the gold price. The United States felt it was being pressurized by the IMF staff, which is responsible to Schweitzer, according to the 'Post'.

Nixon's measures of August 15 last year smashed the Bretton Woods framework of international finance, based on the convertibility of the dollar into gold.

Nixon ushered in a new era of international monetary relations involving a ruthless struggle for supremacy between the US and European capitalism.

Schweitzer's departure marks the end of an era in international monetary and economic relations. The Americans are driving out the man of Bretton Woods to make way for someone who will be their obedient servant in the struggle against their capitalist competitors.

The move against Schweitzer also follows the decision of Common Market Foreign Ministers meeting in Rome to go ahead with the Paris summit meeting in October. President Pompidou of France, who now says he is satisfied with moves towards EEC monetary unity against the US, has sent out invitations to his Market partners.

Schweitzer's presence at the top of the IMF was an obstacle to the Americans. According to the 'Post', US Treasury officials felt that, as an international civil servant, he was 'needling' the US beyond the scope of his authority.

He had earned the displeasure of former Treasury Secretary John Connally by criticizing the 10 per cent US import surcharge imposed last August as part of Nixon's package of trade-war measures.

He also called for a devaluation of the dollar against gold as the US contribution to the agreed realignment of exchange

Spanish strike wave: Troops are sent in

POLICE have detained 66 workers in the north-west Spanish port of Vigo where industry has been paralysed by a series of strikes. The civil governor, who ordered troops into the strike-bound city, said the workers had been detained 'in the interests of public order'.

He issued a statement saying the labour dispute, which began a week ago when workers downed tools at the Citroën car assembly plant, must be settled through the state-controlled labour unions and not by illegal strikes.

Management and worker representatives at the car plant failed to reach agreement in talks on Friday over the demand for a shorter working week and the reinstatement of five dismissed workers.

There were at least five solidarity demonstrations on Friday as strikes spread through the shipyards and factories in the area. Drivers walked off their buses, bringing the privately-owned bus service to a halt for two hours.

The strike has erupted at a particularly embarrassing time for the Spanish Stalinists as the USSR has just signed a commercial treaty with the fascist regime, opening up the prospect of an early restoration of diplomatic relations severed at the time of the 1936-1939 civil war.

The commercial treaty is a particularly vicious stab in the back for the Spanish labour movement, which is facing heavy repression and has always called on the Soviet Union and other East European states not to have any dealings with the Franco regime.

Moscow will now have a permanent trade delegation in the fascist capital and the Spanish government will send a similar delegation to reside in Moscow.

Discussions are now going ahead on the question of full diplomatic relations, the chief obstacle to which is the 510 tons of Spanish gold reserves shipped to Moscow by the Republicans during the civil war.

Franco is demanding the return of the reserves as a condition of restoring full diplomatic relations between the two states.

FORMER ULSTER Home Affairs Minister John Taylor told militant loyalists in Belfast on Saturday that more guns should be given to 'law-abiding' citizens to shoot down 'sneaking' IRA men.

He said this at a 500-strong rally, organized by William Craig's extreme right-wing Vanguard movement, which followed a march through the city in which masked members of the para-military Ulster Defence Association took part.

Iraq: CP creating a new Sudan

IRAQI president Ahmed Hassan Bakr is currently in Moscow to discuss Soviet military aid to Iraq, the confrontation with Israel and Iraqi oil exports from the recently nationalized oil fields.

Since Egypt's President Anwar Sadat expelled 20,000 Soviet military advisers this summer, Iraq has become the Kremlin's closest ally in the Middle East.

Premier Alexei Kosygin, who spent several days in Baghdad in April, invited Bakr.

The two leaders signed a 15-year friendship treaty with provisions for military co-operation,

including facilities for the Soviet navy at the head of the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

Soviet cash is already helping to develop the northern Rumaila oilfield and much of the oil is likely to find its way to the USSR. The Soviet Union is also supporting Iraq's decision to nationalize the western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company.

Bakr's government is the outcome of a military putsch in 1968 which restored the Ba'ath Party to power. This party, based on bourgeois-nationalist conceptions, is traditionally strongly anti-communist.

When the Ba'athists overthrew General Kassem in the 1963 coup they unleashed a bloody

pogrom of communists and trade unionists. A milder version of the same treatment was handed out to the left after the 1968 coup.

Bakr has recently released the pro-Moscow Communist Party leaders from jail and drawn them into a National Front to facilitate the alliance with the Kremlin.

When Bakr's lieutenant Saddam Hussein visited the USSR in February, he was referred to by the Soviet communiqué as 'comrade' Hussein, and the Ba'ath Party accorded the status of a fraternal organization.

This unprincipled alliance has strengthened the standing of the reactionary Ba'ath leaders in the eyes of the masses and left the

Communist Party rank and file as hostages to the regime.

So eager were the leading CP officials to show their willingness to serve the Bakr government that they did not even demand seats on the so-called Revolution Command Council as a condition of their collaboration.

The reality of this kind of alliance — entered in order to serve the foreign policy interests of the Soviet bureaucracy — was brutally shown in the massacre of Sudanese communists last July.

They too entered as subordinate partners into a nationalist-military regime. And when it suited General Numeiry to rid himself of their support, they were brutally butchered.

UNION'S CORPORATE POLICY THREATENS CARWORKERS

A fierce row over future pay and conditions policy is in progress inside the motor-industry section of the giant Transport and General Workers' Union.

Next month the section's national committee meets to consider the reactions of branches and regional bodies to a draft policy statement prepared by the National Union of Vehicle Builders, which is now merged with the T&GWU.

The meeting is a crucial one. Most shop stewards who have seen the statement are horrified by the thought that it might ever become accepted policy of the section.

The stewards' chief objection is that the statement opens the way for corporate pay questions to be settled in future on a corporate basis, direct between the union chiefs and the top employers.

It says: 'The national executives of the unions and the company shall have final responsibility for agreeing the basis of payment and the main working conditions.'

If accepted, this would cripple shop-floor organization.

It would mark another milestone in the union leaders' progress towards class-collaboration of the most open and direct character.

A strong hint of the kind of collaboration envisaged can perhaps be obtained from part of its discussion of wages questions, headed 'General observations on varying methods'.

'The general object of any method must be to provide progressive improvement in productivity', this says, dramatically enough.

EFFICIENCY

And it goes on to say that such improvement would be 'shared in providing adequate surplus for the firm for capital investment and improving fringe benefits, for maintaining an adequate return to investors, to improving wages of operators and to reducing the cost of job to purchaser'.

Carworkers who believed the whole purpose of their struggle for wages was to maintain and improve the standard of living of themselves and their families will no doubt be grateful for this enlightenment.

Trade unionism NUVB-style turns out to have as its chief aim raising employers' profits.

Other key points of the NUVB statement are:

- Union recognition of 'the necessity in achieving and maintaining the maximum efficiency in the company's operations'.

- No withdrawals of labour without the authority of the union executive, according to rule.

- Flexibility and mobility of labour between job-categories, grades and departments in cases where there are shortages of work.

- Acceptance by the union of job-evaluation as the method of fixing wages and deciding wage structures.

- Union agreement that flat-rate pay deals—perhaps with a small incentive component—shall be the predominant form of pay system.

This is well on the way to being an employers' charter.

The first point—about efficiency—is by no means simply a half-hearted nod in the direction of management which no one seriously intends to observe.

The clause goes on to say that 'it is accepted by both parties that the essential prerequisite is efficiency'. The union undertakes not to cause or engage in, or authorize its members to engage in, any strike against the company unless and until all the steps of the grievance procedure have been exhausted.

Like the British-Leyland procedure agreement signed earlier this year by the T&GWU, among other unions, the policy statement wants disputes settled at factory level, but provides for full-time local officials of the union to be involved in the final stage of talks.

It does not, however, follow the Leyland pattern in leaving the door open for national officials to come in. This is taken care of by the second point, which blocks industrial action not sanctioned by the national executive.

The policy statement seems to embody something like the principle of *status quo*.

There are statements that management decisions altering established wages, working conditions and manning levels, or involving dismissals, will not be implemented until the procedure is exhausted. It is laid down that 'conditions such as efficiency of production, methods of relief times, labour-loading relative to production . . . shall be mutually agreed at plant level'.

But the policy goes on to make the quite unnecessary concession for a union-prepared document, that all parties are 'conscious of the desirability of improving productivity and quality'.

It also attempts to draw shop stewards further into the web of collaboration with the employers through the setting-up of approved joint courses on technological and management subjects.

Another pernicious side of the proposed policy is contained in its outline of desired pay systems.

Two broad outlines are suggested.

The first is for a simple flat basic rate system—obviously on the lines of or on the way to Measured-Day Work—reviewed annually on the basis of 'improved productivity, level of cost of living, profitability'.

The second is for a high basic rate with a relatively small incentive component, for production achieved over an agreed norm, to be reviewed on the same basis, but with actual productivity earnings taken into account.

LOADING

In the first case, the statement says, 'in order to function accurately on this basis it will be necessary for the unions to have sound realistic knowledge of trends within the company'.

It is made clear that a leading role in determining 'economic labour-loading'—presumably including cutting down manning levels when the company says it is not making a profit—will be played by the trained stewards.

The second outline pay system is possibly even worse.

In this case basic pay for each grade, the production norm for the factory in question and the size of labour force needed to complete this production would all be matters for mutual agreement between management and unions.

The worth of any production over and above the norm would be shared to give the worker a (small) incentive bonus and the management for investment.

If the T&GWU motor industry leaders do not summarily reject this policy when they meet on October 13, they will deserve the condemnation of every carworker.



'ATTITUDE' TRAINING FOR YOUNG MINERS

You've heard of the 'Working Together' campaign. Well now it's the turn of the National Coal Board to run its own campaign—this time directed mainly at young miners—to provide 'attitude' training.

The NCB runs a four-day course for final-year apprentices from its south Midlands area at the Lindley Lodge training centre for young people near Nuneaton.

And this course, it seems, is one that the Department of Education and Science is happily able to finance.

First established in April 1970, the course was inspired by a number of leading industrialists to 'provide an opportunity for young people in the first years of employment to examine their attitudes towards work and society and to give them a greater awareness and understanding of other people and their problems'.

Presumably the 'other' people referred to are the employers, who, like those financing the 'Working Together' campaign, see this sort of course as a basis for teaching young apprentices that their interests and the bosses are not after all diametrically opposed but somehow merge together.

'Attitudes', like the one adopted by the majority of miners earlier this year that

Above: TUC chairman and UCATT secretary, George Smith

they were engaged in a direct confrontation with the Tory government which had to be waged ruthlessly if they were to defend their living standards, would of course be out.

But an 'attitude' like that of the TUC in its grovelling haste to get round the table with the Confederation of British Industry and with the Tory government itself would be much more welcome.

Central to this 'attitude', of course, is the idea expressed by TUC chairman George Smith, General Secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, who warned delegates to the recent TUC Congress at Brighton: '... we must never consider ourselves an alternative form of government'.

As young workers coming into the coal industry find themselves faced increasingly with the threat of redundancy and pit closures an 'understanding of other people and their problems' would presumably help them to swallow the bitter pill of unemployment with a somewhat better spirit, instead of fighting to defend their basic right to work.

The 'attitude' of the Tory government, however, with its patent disinterest in the 'problems of other people,' is one that must take lot of explaining—even by the no-doubt experienced lecturers hired by the NCB.

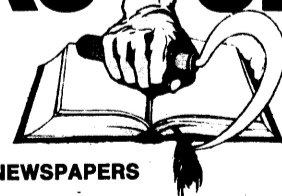
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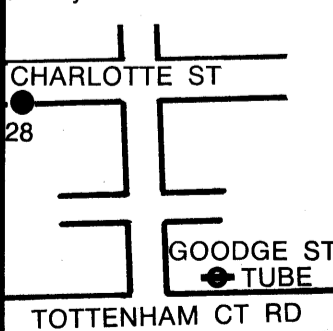
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PAPERBACKS CENTRE



THE POLICEMAN'S HANDBOOK ON ARRESTS

Part 17 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

Powers of Arrest

It is a middle-class fallacy that if you observe the law you cannot be arrested. The fact is, anyone can be arrested at any time if the authorities decide that you should be in custody.

Every policeman has a handbook containing a whole series of charges covering any eventuality ensuring that he can pull you in on one account or another, or on several.

The main factor on the picket line, for example, is not whether those acting as pickets can strictly observe all the laws, but whether it represents in the widest possible way effective and determined organizational strength, plus a clear understanding of the economic and political issues involved.

In this way the importance of even the smallest dispute can quickly be imparted to others, making any arrest or intimidation by police a provocation bringing more workers into action. For example, if the arrest is a deliberate political provocation, the employers and the state must expect a political strike in retaliation and realize that they must bear the consequences of their action.

Assuming that the strikers are not breaking the picketing laws—using violence etc.—the four main common law charges which may be used against pickets are:

1. Obstruction of the highway. This is said to be an action preventing or likely to prevent the public from using the highway (pavement or road). The police do not have to prove that anyone was actually impeded, which leaves them a wide field of events which merely might have happened.

2. Conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace. The word 'likely' allows an arrest on the basis of rowdiness or violence which might occur. In the printers' strike of June 1959, a policeman decided that two pickets on a door of the so-called 'Free Press Ltd' were sufficient. But when a third picket named Piddington attempted to join them he was arrested on the claim that a breach of the peace might occur.

3. Use of insulting words and behaviour. Here again, it is not necessary to prove that anyone was insulted, but only that they might have been. This was a very old offence with a maximum £2 fine attached. In 1936, under the Public Order Act, it was made a serious offence with a maximum penalty of £50 fine and/or three months' imprisonment. By a further Public Order Act of 1963, maximum penalties were increased to £100 fine and/or three months

on summary conviction and one year imprisonment or £500 fine on indictment.

4. Obstructing the Police. A person who resists or wilfully obstructs a constable in the execution of his duty, or someone assisting a constable in the execution of his duty, is guilty of an offence punishable by one month's imprisonment or a fine of £20 or both. (Police Act 1964.)

In the 1967 Tynan v Balmer case, a constable had asked Tynan to move pickets walking in a circle outside a factory. He refused, and was subsequently convicted of obstructing the constable in performance of his duty.

Other charges which the police can use against workers in this way include: **Affray**, if any two appear to be fighting; **Assault**, and this includes threat of violence; **Unlawful assembly**, where three or more persons gather together for a lawful or an unlawful purpose and a 'reasonable person' believes their action is going to lead to a breach of the peace; and **Possession of an offensive weapon**, an umbrella, pocket knife, poster stick, heavy belt and boots, have all done duty in the past, and in the notorious Challoner case of some years back, the police themselves thoughtfully provided half-a-brick per demonstrator to ensure conviction.

These are only powers of police constables. The Special Branch has enormously wide powers to search, confiscate and apprehend. It can raid homes and offices on any pretext under the Sedition Acts, the drugs laws or on the basis of some alleged information laid about any criminal activity.

Blacklisting and 'surveillance'

At the same time as employers have violently opposed the combination of workmen to better their conditions, they have always been quick to combine themselves to watch and beset, witch-hunt and blacklist strikers, known militants and anyone who questions the rule of capital.

As history shows, the state, through the police, Home Office, etc, has always been closely involved with recording details and activities of militants.

One comment on the growing links between police and business stated; 'More and more experienced police officers, particularly ex-CID men, are taking up appointments as security officers with big business firms, and they are able to maintain a close liaison with their colleagues who are still serving. This means that the countrywide network of intelligence and surveillance is growing all the time.' ('Security Gazette'. November 1970.)

Modern refinements for spying include the use of



cameras — motion, still and television — to photograph pickets, demonstrators and others; telephone tapping; 'bugging' with secretly-placed microphones attached to recording or transmitting equipment; new mail-opening techniques and the use of computers to store all information.

A special laser system can pick up conversations from vibrating window panes hundreds of yards away. Trailing bugs secretly planted on a person to give off a continuous radio bleep can be tracked by special equipment.

In factories a vast electronic work-watching system is available via modern telemetry and sensor systems which can monitor any action in any part of a works from the machining of a component to the draught of a breeze blowing through a window.

Police uses for closed-circuit television were recently mentioned in a 'Sunday Times' report:

'The specialist riot police forces in almost all countries have benefited from 1968 [the 1968 revolutionary events in France] and are now well equipped. Big cities have installed television coverage of the main roads—nominally for traffic control (as we're told in London). In fact, the main impetus came from the desperate need to monitor riots and move forces accurately. While I was visiting the traffic control room in Munich, a demonstration passed down a street a mile away. Effortlessly, the policeman in charge of the TV monitors zoomed in on the leading marchers: their faces filled the screen.'

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Exercising the policeman's powers. Top: searching cars going to a dockers' picket line at Neap House Wharf near Hull. Above: warning builders' pickets at the Stock Exchange site, London.

CASTRO WELCOMES PERU ARMY CHIEFS

Two months after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the anti-working class military dictatorship of General Velasco and Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba, a high-level Peruvian government delegation visited Cuba at the beginning of September.

The official delegation, headed by General José Graham Hurtado, chairman of the presidential advisory committee, included Carlos Delgado, director of Sinamos, the corporatist trade union, and Julian Regalado, president of the Fishing Federation.

Sinamos is the corporatist union body which Velasco is using as the spearhead for destroying the Peruvian trade unions. The Peruvian government is forcing workers to join Sinamos and abandon their independent unions with witch-hunts against militants and the organization of scabbing during strikes.

Castro gave Delgado full facilities to explain his reactionary views in Cuba. With his delegation he visited the Havana fishing port and engaged in prolonged discussions with the leaders of the Cuban trade unions.

Delgado explained: 'We

understand the difficulties of the Cuban Revolution since we are beginning to undergo problems of all kinds in carrying through the revolutionary process.'

He added that Sinamos was the embryo of the organization of popular power, of participation in the revolutionary process, and: 'For us, political differentiation can no longer be established between civilians and military, but between those who are for the revolution and its adversaries.'

It is worth noting that these 'adversaries' included the miners on strike in Cobriza, 25 of whom were shot by state forces earlier this year.

Castro's welcome for the butchers of the Peruvian working class is in line with the counter-revolutionary strategy of Stalinist support for Velasco.

While Delgado and his friends were in Cuba, a Czech delegation, headed by vice-minister of Foreign Trade, Jiri Hustoles, was in Lima with the offer of a \$20m loan for financing development projects.

The Cubans and the Czech Stalinists in this way give credence to the revolutionary rhetoric of Velasco and help the Peruvian Communist Party bolster up its collaboration with Sinamos against increasing opposition from Party rank and file.



NIXON'S LIES ARE NAILED

An American research worker at Cornell University has torn to pieces President Nixon's claim that half a million people were murdered in North Vietnam after the departure of the French in 1953-1956.

Nixon made the allegation in a speech in April 1971 and has frequently said that the North Vietnamese regime carried out a 'bloodbath' in the course of the agrarian revolution.

When D. Gareth Porter went to work at Cornell to seek out the source of Nixon's statement, and after a visit to Vietnam, he found that it rested on an assertion in a book called 'From Colonialism to Communism' by one Hoang Van Chi, published in 1964, which was financed and promoted by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Porter found that before leaving North Vietnam in 1955 Chi had not been a Vietnam cadre, as the CIA claimed, or even a member of the ruling party. He was, in fact, a wealthy landlord who had been dispossessed and had left the country.

In his book he put forward the figure of 5 per cent of the population as having been 'massacred'. At another point in his book he suggests that most of these were children who starved owing to the 'isolation policy' of the Viet Minh.

There was, Porter found, no



Victims of US bombing of North Vietnam in April this year

substantiation for any of Chi's allegations which were simply fabricated for propaganda purposes to suit the needs of his CIA paymasters. They enabled Nixon to excuse the very real

massacres of US imperialism with the charge that if the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front took over in the south a bloodbath would follow.

ARMY BREAKS URUGUAY RAIL STRIKE

Fifteen-thousand members of the Federation of Transport Workers in Uruguay are to come out on strike alongside 2,000 railway workers whose indefinite strike has paralysed rail transport in Uruguay for over a week.

These strikes follow closely the decision of President Juan Bordaberry's government to extend the state of emergency and to apply it more rigorously to the trade union movement.

An official communiqué issued after a meeting with Defence and Home Ministers, along with military chiefs, on September 7 stated: 'Armed forces will strive to guarantee the freedom to work during strikes.'

ILLEGAL

On Monday, the government Commission on Productivity, Prices and Incomes called the transport strike 'illegal'. The next step is to put the transport industry under the control of the army.

The workers are striking against a government wage freeze which has meant that incomes have been cut 20 per cent in six months by rampant inflation. The sale of beef is

banned in Uruguay and the prices of fish and pork are soaring.

The government clearly aims to make the defeat of the transport workers a stepping stone to the destruction of the trade unions and the imposition of a Brazilian-type police state.

FUTILE

The determination of the railworkers to defeat Bordaberry contrasts sharply with the leadership of the National Confederation of Labour, dominated by the Communist Party, which has organized a series of futile one-day national strikes, but refuses to call an all-out indefinite strike on the grounds that parliamentary pressure will be sufficient for the working class to win its demands.

There is also a sharp contrast with the position of the Tupamaros who rejected the working class for urban guerrilla warfare.

Their terrorism only isolated them from the working class and allowed the government to pick them off during the state of emergency.

Now, when revolutionary struggle has been engaged by the working class, the Tupamaros are in disarray as well as engaging in talks with 'left-wing' military.

AUGUST 1914 SOLZHENITSYN GAGGED BY THE KREMLIN

BOOK REVIEW



'August 1914', by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The Bodley Head. £3. 645pp



Alexander Solzhenitsyn: persecuted by the bureaucratic regime.

A major new novel by Alexander Solzhenitsyn is a literary and political event of considerable importance. The literary significance of a book from the pen of the man who wrote 'The First Circle' and 'Cancer Ward' needs no elaboration.

Like his other books 'August 1914'—published today—is honest, incisive, realistic and compelling. Solzhenitsyn himself has described it as the first novel in 'the chief artistic design of my life'.

But the Stalinist rulers of the Kremlin think differently. For them literature must be 'in uniform' and woe betide any writer who dares to step outside the rigid confines of their bureaucratic regime.

Solzhenitsyn not only refuses to wear their bureaucratic uniform and write hack novels to order, as do so many luminaries of the Soviet Writers Union, he has the temerity to write honestly about Stalinism and its infamous crimes against the Soviet workers and peasants.

For this he has been hounded, slandered and victimized by the Soviet literary chieftains, not to mention the

years he spent in concentration camps after the war for writing criticisms of Stalin in his private correspondence from the front-line.

Soviet readers will not be allowed to read 'August 1914'. They are treated instead to lengthy and lying denunciations of the book in the official press. The 'Literary Gazette', organ of the Writers' Union, which expelled Solzhenitsyn, wrote as follows:

'Although this composition seems to deal with an historical subject, anti-Soviet elements immediately grasped the rich opportunities offered them by Solzhenitsyn.

'Many western newspapers and magazines emphasize the anti-Soviet trend of this novel. For example, the "Washington Post" said that "August 1914" is a real undisguised challenge to the present regime and its essence.'

And if the 'Washington Post' says so, well it must be true! These official attacks tell their Soviet audience nothing about the book, but they tell us a great deal about the Soviet bureaucracy.

For 'August 1914' is a novel about the opening days of World War I, when the Tsarist armies were forced-marched across the frontier into East Prussia and were crushingly defeated by the Germans.

The Kremlin's spokesmen consider that an account of this episode in the pre-revolutionary history of Russia is 'anti-Soviet'. Solzhenitsyn should presumably have written only to glorify the victories of Tsarism.

Since there is no reference to anything Soviet in the novel, it is hard to see how it can reasonably be interpreted as being 'anti-Soviet'. But there are other reasons for the objections of the bureaucracy, which they would prefer not to announce too publicly.

For one thing, so distorted and overlaid literally with decades of lies is the official history of Russia that any honest historical novel instantly becomes a threat to the ruling clique.

For another, the exposure of Tsar Nicholas's complete unpreparedness for World War I raises disturbing echoes of Stalin's equally complete lack of preparation for World War II.

But even, more important, perhaps is the fact that in order to justify their rule the Stalinist bureaucrats have become retrospective defencists in relation to the imperialist war.

To cover up for Stalin's bungles in World War II means covering up also for the bungles of Tsarism in World War I. Otherwise all sorts of disagreeable comparisons might be drawn.



And perhaps most important of all is Solzhenitsyn's expressed intention not to stop the clock at the year 1914, but to proceed with an examination of the whole history of modern Russia.

A terrifying prospect indeed for the hacks at the top of the Writers' Union! For in this book, Solzhenitsyn turns his searing eye on the Battle of Tannenberg to devastating effect.

Tannenberg has always been one of Solzhenitsyn's consuming interests. In an autobiographical note he writes that he was arrested by Stalin's police in East Prussia, a region which is linked with my destiny in a remarkable way.

'As early as 1937, as a first-year student, I chose to write a descriptive essay on "The Samsonov Disaster" of 1914 in East Prussia and studied material on this; and in 1945 I myself went to this area (at the time of writing, autumn 1970, the book "August 1914" has just been completed)...

Tannenberg tore down the pasteboard facade of Tsarist militarism and revealed the rot underneath. The first clash between the Russian and German armies brought all the inner contradictions of Tsarism into view.

Subservient to its allies' wishes for an offensive in the



East to take the pressure off its forces in the West, Tsarist Russia launched a push into East Prussia which rapidly degenerated into a bloody shambles.

Led by bungling officers more concerned with keeping their noses clean than fighting the enemy and proceeding with a half-baked strategic plan which rapidly fell apart,



Top: thousands of Russian soldiers were taken prisoner in the early defeats of the war. Left: before August 1914, the Tsar (left) in the uniform of a German admiral with the Kaiser dressed in Russian regalia. Above: an officer attempts to drive deserting Russian soldiers back to their posts.

the Russian troops were sitting targets for the German opponents.

'... it can be claimed,' Solzhenitsyn writes, 'that it was the first defeat which set the tone of the whole course of the war for Russia: having begun the first battle with incomplete forces, the Russians never subsequently managed to muster enough men in time before an engagement.'

'Unable to discard bad habits acquired at the start, they went on throwing untrained troops into action direct from the railhead without a pause for acclimatization, thrusting them into the line wherever there was a breach

onwards, a Russian general's badges of rank come to be seen as symbols of incompetence; and the further up the hierarchy the more bungling the generals seem, until there is scarcely one from whom an author can derive any comfort.'

'August 1914', however, is not simply a dramatic account of an important battle. Through the descriptions of Tannenberg and the reactions and experiences of his characters Solzhenitsyn paints a powerful picture of an out-moded social system marching to its doom.

To the superficial contemporary observer, the declaration of war in 1914 was the salvation of the Tsarist regime. The voice of revolution was muted under a murky wave of patriotic fervour.

Many who had previously regard the Tsar as an object of hatred and derision suddenly found themselves subvert at his feet and Solzhenitsyn describes in his opening chapters how Sanya, a young Tolstoyan pacifist, volunteers for the army because he 'feels sorry for Russia'.

Like Sanya, his friend Varya, watching seemingly educated, intelligent people gathering with serious faces to read the Tsar's pompous proclamations, is unable to understand what has happened.

She asks him furiously:

'Who are you sorry for? That fool of a Tsar? Those disgusting little shopkeepers who join the Black Hundreds and beat up the Jews? The priests in their long robes?'

This theme is repeated again as the story unfolds: a Jewish family argues over the father's decision to pay homage to the Tsar on a demonstration of loyalty; ensign Lenartovich, a revolutionary, argues with a service doctor over the war and the system; finally, the young Vorotyntsev, a go-ahead staff officer, attacks the general staff during the post-mortem on the defeat.

Vorotyntsev's efforts to prevent the inevitable outcome of the generals' incompetence and place-seeking fail—he oversteps the bounds of conventional subservience with his bitter criticisms and is forced to leave the general staff conference.

The generals return to contemplating their plans for the next bloodbath, lying and twisting to evade responsibility for the lost battle. The fate of Tsarism, unable to correct its mistakes, trapped in its own history of blood and hypocrisy, is sealed.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks, alone of all the tendencies in the Russian workers' movement, stood out against the war from the very first day. Though Solzhenitsyn nowhere directly deals with the struggle

of Bolshevism in 'August 1914', the book shows a society ripe for revolution.

Again and again he contrasts the stubborn heroism of the Russian masses with the cowardice and hypocrisy of the generals: the representative of the new order chafing at the outworn restrictions of the old.

'August 1914' is a masterly description of the first days of the war which brought to a head all the smouldering conflicts within Tsarist society drawn into the maelstrom of international imperialist conflict by its own provincial ambitions of conquest.

With all the archives closed to him, Solzhenitsyn has nonetheless amassed detailed historical data in a novel of considerable power.

The epithets flung at it by the Stalinists will certainly rebound on their authors who want to keep the masses docile just as their Tsarist forebears did.

Solzhenitsyn is not a communist. But like the Bolsheviks of 1914, he has the courage to swim against the stream. In the eyes of the Stalinists this is sufficient to damn him as 'anti-Soviet'.

But the pigmies can shout as loud as they like. They remain what they always were, Philistine dwarfs who are not fit to lick the boots of the man they revile.

A three part series by Juan García, our Spanish correspondent on how the depression of the 1930s hit the Spanish province of Catalonia, and the resulting struggles of workers against unemployment while the armed forces of the state prepared for Civil War.

WHEN THE POUM MET THE EMPLOYERS

PART THREE

Strikes by building workers and dockers were two of the most militant strikes in a wave which swept Spain in 1932-1933. In 1929, the number of strikes was 96; the number of days lost 313,965. In 1933, the number of strikes was 1,127; the number of days lost 14,440,629.

The different working-class leaderships developed a division of labour to contain these strikes with the basic economic demands of a reduction in the working-week and an increase in wages.

Every left-phrase was used to avoid putting revolutionary socialist policies of the nationalization of industry under workers' control at the centre of these strikes.

Chief architect of this reformist stranglehold over the fight against unemployment and impoverishment was the Social Democratic Minister of Labour, Largo Caballero.

He set up regional offices of employment which collected most efficient statistics of unemployed workers but found no jobs. His other creation was the 'jurados mixtos', which were formed by three union representatives, three employers' representatives and a chairman selected by the Minister of Labour.

These bodies were organs of compulsory arbitration which had to be used before a strike or lock-out was started. The 'jurado' would be set up a few days before possible conflict. If an agreement was reached, but was rejected by the workers' leaders, they were liable to arrest. If no agreement was reached, the strike or lock-out could go ahead, although the law defended the rights to work of those workers who did not wish to strike.

The 'jurado' also decided on rates of compensation for workers who were made redundant.

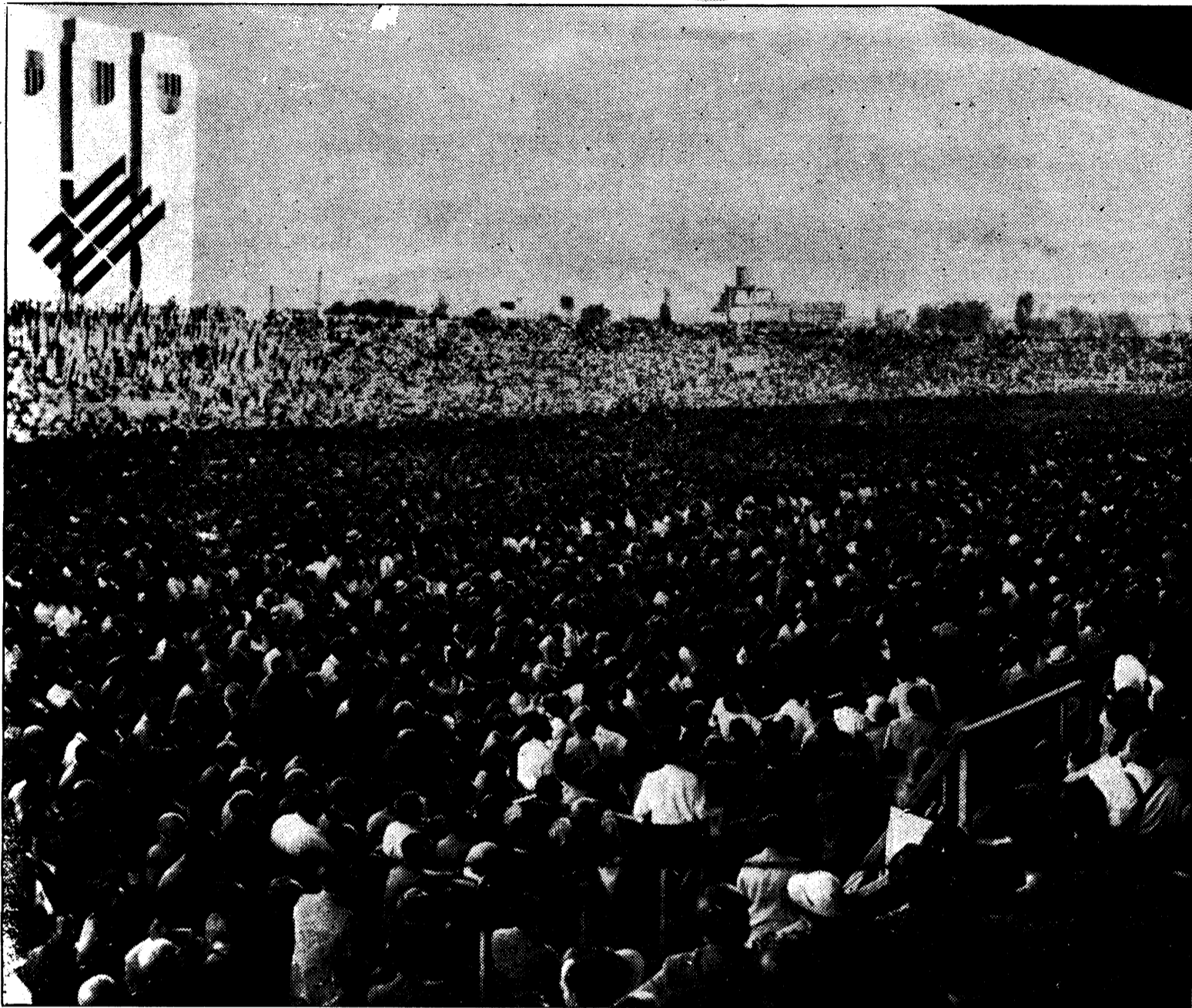
This legislation, which was passed by the Cortes (parliament) was accompanied by a Bill which stirred up a lot of 'socialist' debate and headlines, but which was thrown out of the Cortes.

This was Caballero's law for workers' control in factories employing more than 50 workers. The Bill established the creation of committees of workers' delegates elected every two years by their workmates. The 'control' committee would make sure agreements were respected, would intervene in the employment, sacking and sanctioning of employees and would examine the accounts to observe the relations existing between production, profits and wages.

Spearhead of collaboration

Having considered the relation between wages and profits, the 'control' committee would be able to attend meetings of shareholders, management and directors and speak, but would have no voting rights.

Caballero's policies may not have always got the support of the Cortes, but they were law for the UGT union, which became the spearhead of collaboration with the state.



Top: a meeting of the fascists in Valencia in June, 1935. Above: these machine guns awaited the workers of Madrid when they marched in the annual May Day procession in 1935.

The most virulent opposition to the UGT came, as we have seen, from the anarcho-syndicalist dominated working-class in Catalonia. The nature of this opposition will become clear from the parliamentary manoeuvres of anarchists and 'Marxists' during the period of militant strikes which they were leading in 1933.

On February 12, 1933, a conference of working-class organizations against unemployment was held in Catalonia. It included various unions, the CNT Worker and Peasant Block (BOC), later part of the centrist POUM, and the Union Socialista of Catalonia, later part of the Catalan wing of Spanish Social Democracy. The Union Socialista was a member of the

coalition Generalidad government with the bourgeois Esquerra party.

The conference called for a six-hour day and no reduction in pay and the payment of unemployment benefits.

The BOC manifesto proclaimed: 'The working-class must concretize its immediate aspirations in a series of slogans. These aspirations must be concretized, but we should be under no illusion that the problem of unemployment can be solved within the framework of the capitalist regime. We know too well that even though we accept a pittance, it will take a lot to get even that pittance to which we can aspire today.'

So the BOC concludes from the impossibility of solving the

problem of unemployment under capitalism that it is necessary to accept the pittance that capitalism hands out.

This programme was defended in the Generalidad in April by five social-democratic deputies and Marti Barrera, a working-class deputy of the Esquerra, and later in charge of labour problems for the Generalidad.

Although they dropped the demand for unemployment benefits, their measures were thrown out on the pretext that the Generalidad had no power to legislate on labour questions independently of the Cortes in Madrid.

Round-the-table

The futility of the reformist programme for combating unemployment became even clearer in 1935-1936 when the textile industry, which until then had avoided the brunt of the crisis, went into recession. Unemployment in the textile industry in Catalonia rose from 11,263 in 1933 to 23,958 in June 1936 on the eve of the civil war.

This development forced the reformists, the CNT and the POUM lefts into open, round-the-table discussions sponsored by the government Institute against Unemployment.

Among the employers' organizations taking part were the Association of Textile Manufacturers, Industrial Progress and Industrial Union. Of the workers' organizations, the UGT, CNT and POUM were present.

The CNT repeated its usual formula for a reduction of the working week. The POUM noted that the crisis in the textile industry could only be solved by the socialization of the means of production, but until that revolution took place 'only the class struggle will allow the working class to soften the consequences of the crisis which the employers want to thrust entirely on the shoulders of the working-class'.

A few months before the outbreak of the civil war, at a gathering thronged by big employers and bourgeois politicians, POUM trade unionists were advising that if the employers' measures were to work, agrarian reform was necessary to increase consumer demand alongside class struggle which, by boosting wages, would also increase consumption . . . and create jobs.

A week after Franco's uprising on July 26, 1936, against the Popular Front government, the Generalidad decreed a 40-hour week and a 15-per cent increase in wages.

After leading the Spanish working class for six years on a reformist programme for solving the crisis of unemployment, the CNT, UGT and POUM, along with the Communist Party and the Republicans in the Popular Front government, could legislate their programme.

The Spanish ruling class had long since concluded that what was necessary to crush the working class was not just unemployment, but a fascist dictatorship, which would destroy bourgeois parliament and all workers' organizations after three years of civil war.

CONCLUDED

Stalinist Crisis

DEEP DOUBTS INSIDE THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party's fortnightly journal, 'Comment', which is now little more than an internal bulletin for a few Party faithful, had a four-page spread on September 9 of answers to the question 'Why do we need a Communist Party?'

The presence of the item itself was a sure sign that doubts are running high inside the party. The nature of the questions themselves, as well as the painfully spelt out answers, can only mean crisis, decay and degeneration.

Prepared by the Education Department for discussion in the Party branches, the question which comes first is: 'Do militant struggles automatically lead to political advances?', followed by one about the smallness of the Party.

On the latter there is no analysis or explanation of what the CP is or where it came from, simply the lame remark: 'Our present size does impose limitations on our influence and this underlines the importance of building the Party.'

The third question: 'What are the reasons for the special contribution the Communist Party makes? How does it give leadership?' is answered in a manner which can be regarded as simple-minded or cynical — undoubtedly the latter.

Here we have the claims that the Party 'understands the dynamic role of the class struggle', 'is guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism' and, most breathtaking of all, 'puts forward a strategy for the socialist revolution in its programme the "British Road to Socialism".'

We cannot help referring to the unhappy slip on the previous page in which the Communist Party is made 'to open up understanding of the nature of capitalism, of the need for reactionary [sic!] change to socialism'.

There are regimes in which such a mishap would have been denounced as 'Trotskyist sabotage' and merited years in a labour camp if not worse!

Taboos and allies

The unnamed author ploughs on trying to keep up his spirits and those of 'Comment' readers as he comes to questions four and five: 'Are we placing too much emphasis on the development of the mass struggle and not enough on the advance to socialism? Or is it the other way round?'

It takes a while to sort out what this question means until it dawns that 'mass struggle' and 'advance to socialism' are shorthand terms for something else. 'Mass struggle' is what happens when the Communist Party supports broad movements, such as peace campaigns, in which any talk of class struggle is taboo and members are warned not to raise issues which might frighten away liberals, vicars, pacifists and all other 'allies'.

'Advance to socialism' means actually having the temerity as good 'Marxist-Leninists' to speak in a propaganda way about 'socialism'. Members are told that 'mass action and the ideas of socialism need to be intertwined at

all stages and at all times.' It would be difficult, indeed, to find such terminology, or such a conception, in the writings of Lenin or any Marxist.

Nothing nasty must intrude into the so-called 'anti-monopoly fight' such as a struggle against bourgeois ideology and its reflection in the working class, trade union consciousness. The Communist Party claims that it wants the defeat of the Tories by what it calls 'anti-monopoly policies' and the return of a Labour government 'which is pushed and influenced by the mass movement in the country to operate a left policy'.

A living and tragic example of the way in which such a policy works can, of course, be seen today in Chile, where the Communist Party stands behind the reformist President Salvador Allende to prevent a social revolution and the eruption of the working class and poor peasants onto the scene.



Allende: the Communist Party stands behind him to prevent a social revolution.

And so we come to the last big question which every reader and many Communist Party members must have had in mind from the start: 'Is the "British Road to Socialism" a revolutionary document, or is it a sign that the Communist Party is "no longer revolutionary" as some assert?'

In the past such subversive questions could hardly have been asked, but the Party is now desperate. Many members have already left because they came to the conclusion that the Party's programme was not revolutionary. But how can a revolutionary party maintain an 'anti-monopoly coalition' with the liberals, pacifists, vicars *et al*?

The answer is an inferior piece of casuistry which takes

A BLESSING FOR HUSAK

A nauseating aspect of the rule of the bureaucracy in eastern Europe is its dependence upon the support of the clergy, or at least a domesticated section of it.

The latest example comes from Czechoslovakia, where the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, has sent a fulsome letter of support to Gustav Husak, the Communist Party general secretary installed by the Russians after the August 1968 invasion.

The priests, thankful to the bureaucracy for their daily bread, assures Husak that 'they will lead the Catholic clergy and believers in taking part with alacrity and love in

the following lines. Revolution means 'taking state power, political power away from the capitalist class and replacing it by the working class and those allied to the working class'.

The 'British Road', it claims, 'is to use every arena of the class struggle, to combine the extra-parliamentary and the parliamentary, to build up a position where the power of monopoly capitalism is challenged and defeated'.

For good measure it is added: 'This is a process and calls for many battles, and will mean stages on the road to winning working-class power.' Precisely here comes the rub. What is meant by 'stages' on the path to winning working-class power?

In fact we are not told what these 'stages' are, only that there are 'ultra-left trends which try to jump stages in the class struggle resulting in divisions and not in unity'.

The reader who honestly wants to know where the Communist Party stands on the issue of reform or revolution can only be left in confusion by this statement. He is told about revolution, but he is not called on to prepare for one, for that is some stage in the future to be reached by unspecified means.

Coalition

Criticism of the reformist nature of 'The British Road to Socialism' has produced a reaction from the Party's King St headquarters which now sprinkles around a few revolutionary phrases while insisting as before, that the main task is the 'mass struggle' as defined above and the formation of an 'anti-monopoly coalition' with liberals, reformists and open supporters of capitalism.

The Soviet bureaucracy apparently needs a Communist Party in Britain, even a small one, not to lead a revolution, but to prevent one taking place. The CP has a limited value as a supporter of peaceful co-existence, the European Security Conference and a pro-Soviet foreign policy.

If the question is, does the working class need the Communist Party? The answer is emphatically no. It stands in the way of the construction of a revolutionary party and supports policies which can only deflect the working class from the struggle for power. The exposure of the kind of sophistries found in the 'Comment' article is a necessary hygiene.

the construction efforts of the homeland.

'We are sincerely grateful to you', they say, 'for the formulation of the human principle underlying the relations of the socialist state to believers, as well as the support our association has been given. While faithful to the church, we shall make great efforts to satisfy the religious needs of our believers and to document our love for our socialist homeland by our selfless work.'

Pacem in Terris is an organization of tame clergy which the bureaucracy has on hand for statements of this kind. Its existence, however, is an index of its desire to reach a compromise with the Vatican and the clergy as a whole. A little holy water would not come amiss for a regime which is carrying out its own Inquisition against oppositionists.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

UNTREATED

At least 28 black victims of syphilis who were allowed to go untreated in an experiment in Alabama, died of the disease.

The Public Health Service, under whose auspices the research was conducted, has revealed the findings, which were first published in the 'Journal of Chronic Diseases'.

The experiment, intended to determine through post-mortem what damage untreated syphilis does to the human body, began in 1932 in Tuskagee, Alabama.

Of 600 poor blacks involved, one-third received no treatment, one-third were treated with arsenic-mercury and one-third were free of the disease. A report on the experiment said that patients with uncontrolled syphilis suffered hardening of the arteries, abnormal lymph nodes and loss of vision.

GUNMAN

Detectives in Belfast are looking for gunmen with a difference. These quick-thinking lads took over a car-park near the city centre, forced the attendant to leave his post and then pocketed the parking fees.

It was a bargain for motorists as well because the gunmen charged only 15p. Alderman Jack Lewis, chairman of Belfast Corporation's police committee, complained bitterly: 'This is another reflection on how law and order has broken down in the city.'

INTIMIDATE US!

As any Fleet Street hack can tell you, the majority of building workers do not want the strike, but are being intimidated by a tiny handful of militants. (Quite a feat when you think about it.)

In the case of small isolated sites this can present some difficulties. In Wigan, the strike committee was phoned up by men asking 'When are you sending pickets down to halt our job?'

Around Lancaster, a number of bridges are being re-constructed for British Rail as part of the electrification programme.

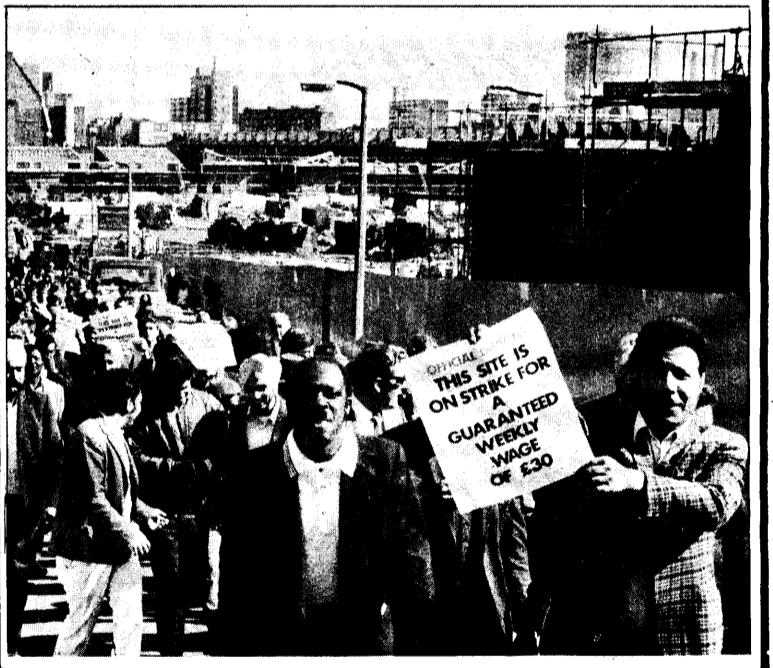
When pickets visited the bridge next to Lancaster station, one of them told us: 'The lads stopped straight away, no messing.' But another of these bridges was situated along a remote country lane and pickets only came across it by accident, while returning from another site.

When they arrived they were greeted by the men employed on the bridge who complained bitterly:

'Where have you been? We've been waiting. We even put signs down the bottom of the lane to show you the way to the site!'

A case of 'Come and intimidate us!' you might say.

Below: Battersea builders march out of their site to join the strike during its early stages, this July.



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THE RULE-BOOK FARCE AT BRITISH RAIL

Railway workers were given a new version of the British Railways Board rule-book last week.

The new rules, which come into effect on October 1, are designed to up-date the old rules, many of which referred to standard practices when operating steam-engines.

But where the old rules were packed into a pocket-sized, 5½in x 6½in black book of 239 pages, the new 150-page loose-leaf version comes in a red folder 8½in x 6½in.

This caused considerable amusement at a number of stations last week, as one of the rules is that railwaymen must carry the rule-book with them everywhere.

A BRB spokesman rather stupidly got himself quoted as saying that the rules revision, which has taken about two years of consultation with the unions, could help to increase efficiency.

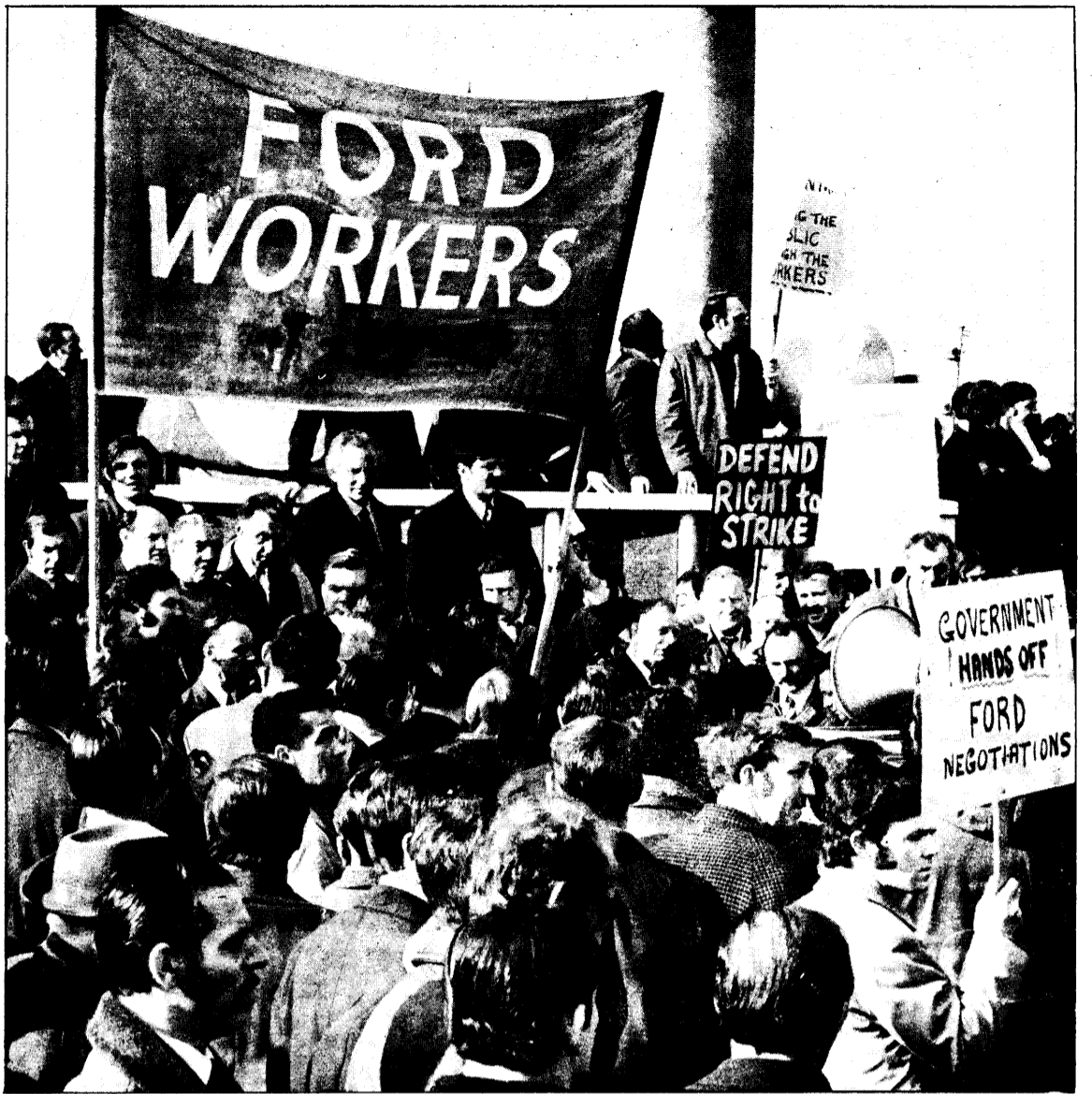
'Because the old obsolete book has been replaced there will not be the same opportunity for staff who are so inclined to hide behind the rules to achieve a disruptive effect', he said rather snottily.

'The rules are intended to be observed reasonably.'



Richard Marsh, chairman BR

However, if the railwaymen quite reasonably observed the rule about carrying the rule-book everywhere, the prospects of any increase in efficiency becomes extremely remote. Unless the BRB wants its workers to cut up rough, it should stop making snide remarks about them.



FORD WORKER SPEAKS ON RIGHT TO WORK

John Forde was one of the 2,000 Ford workers at Halewood, Liverpool, who struck ten days ago against company plans to transfer production into Europe. In this open letter he talks about the issues involved in the fight for the right to work.

Dear Brothers and Sisters, The Ford Motor Co has decided to run down its British operations and transfer production to Europe.

This fact—courageously exposed by clerical workers under threat of the sack—is now staring every Ford worker in the face.

What may not be so clear is the reasons for this turn of events and how we are going to fight back.

The way I see it is this. At his last shareholders' meeting, Henry Ford II said that the company 'can't hire people simply because they need work'.

He said that the social responsibility of the corporation was fundamentally the same today as it has always been—to earn profits for shareholders by serving con-

sumer wants with maximum efficiency'.

This is about as clear as you can get it. Ford exists to make profit. If this multi-national giant doesn't think it can do that here it will move.

The Tory government, which exists solely in order to help firms like Ford solve their problems at our, the workers' expense, will do everything in its power to assist Ford to either tighten the screw or shut up shop.

Our struggle, therefore, cannot just be restricted to one company or even one country. It must be an international struggle linking up with that of working-class people all over the world.

It can't be non-political either. Because if we do not fight the Tory government, fight to force it out of office, we will be defeated. Anyone—be he Labour MP, union leader or shop steward—who tries to tell us anything different is going to mislead us.

The capitalist system, for which Ford and the Tories stand, has now fallen into disarray.

Each capitalist power is now trying to drive down the wages and conditions of its own working class. They must do this in order to make themselves more competitive in the

Top: Ford Halewood workers during their strike in March, 1971

trade war which has opened up as a result of last August's US decision to remove gold backing from the dollar.

In such a situation, Britain is the least capable of survival, for a number of reasons.

Britain was the first capitalist country. For a long time the employers here relied on the advantage this gave them rather than investing in new production techniques. They fleeced the colonies instead.

Now, however, they no longer have the Empire. And they are faced with a powerful and well-organized, working-class movement which is determined that the rights it has won in struggle will not be taken away.

Workers will defend these rights despite the treacherous leadership they are saddled with in the unions and the Labour Party, a leadership which is constantly covered up for by the so-called Communist Party.

When we in the Halewood transmission shop struck just over a week ago, we were told by Labour MPs, who waffled about the need for Ford's plans to be exposed in the capitalist press, about socialism in the far-distant future.

This is rubbish. They want to kid us just a few reforms here and there will do the trick when it is quite obvious that the whole issue of who controls Ford's, and whether the Tories remain in office, must be at stake.

One-day strikes are not enough.

What we need is a General Strike to force the Tories to resign. We need a Labour government to nationalize Ford's and the rest of the car industry without compensation and under workers' control. If our present leaders won't fight for this, we must replace them with those who will.

John Forde

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

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Officials use CPer to get Leeds return

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

COMMUNIST Party member Arthur Dale, chairman of the Leeds building workers' co-ordinating committee, played a key part in ensuring a return to work vote at a mass meeting of 1,000 strikers on Saturday.

He was called to the platform at Queen's Hall after right-wing Yorkshire area UCATT officials had failed in attempts to get a decisive vote to end the strike.

The officials expressed their disappointment with the terms agreed on Thursday night, but urged the men to return to work. A show of hands vote appeared to give a majority in favour of staying out, throwing the platform into confusion.

The officials refused to take a motion rejecting the settlement

which had been passed by Leeds action committee on Friday.

They also denied the platform to an electrician from Whitney's, Leeds, who wanted to urge continuation of the strike.

Instead Dale was called up from the body of the hall and urged the men to go back 'with dignity and solidarity... though this makes me as sick as it makes you'.

Dale used the same scare statement as the rest of the platform, saying any picketing on Monday would not have official union support.

His intervention was decisive in swinging the vote: a show of hands after his speech showed 800 to 200 in favour of a return to work, despite vociferous opposition from a section of the meeting.

BBC 1

9.38-11.55 Schools. 1.30 Pogles' wood. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-3.33 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Parsley. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.50 Deputy dawg. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Frog prince. 5.45 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE. Vic Feather confronts viewers.

6.45 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM.

7.10 'Z' CARS. The Team.

8.00 PANORAMA. Pornography.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.25 THE VIEW FROM DANIEL PIKE. Little Bird Lost.

10.15 FILM 72. Joan Bakewell previews new films.

10.45 MASTERMIND.

11.10 THE SKY AT NIGHT.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.35 PLACES FOR PEOPLE.

12.00 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.00 Larry the lamb. 12.15 Sound of. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Freud on food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Enchanted house. 1.35 Skippy. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'It's Only Money'. 4.25 Freewheelers. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Bless this house. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

8.30 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.

9.00 KATE. People Depend on You.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 CADE'S COUNTY. Jessie.

11.30 DRIVE-IN.

12.00 THE 'TOO DIFFICULT' FILE.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-7.00 Open University.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather. 8.00 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES.

9.10 CONTROVERSY. Concorde—No threat to the environment.

10.10 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 10.15 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. The Seventh Juror.

10.45 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

TV

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-11.57 London. 2.00-2.20 London. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Film: 'Breakaway'. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 2.58 News. Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 11.50 News. 11.53 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30-11.55 London. 12.55 News. 1.05 Tennis. 1.30 My three sons. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Bellbird. 2.40 Film: 'Anything Goes'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Southern scene. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 11.55 Farm progress. 12.25 weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 12.20 HR Pufnstuf. 12.45 Common Market cook book. 1.15 Scales of justice. 1.45 A place of her own. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'The Fake'. 4.10 Tinkertainment. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Bitter Harvest'. 12.15 weather.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 3.00 Saint. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Brian Connell. 10.55 Journey to the unknown.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.15 Saint. 2.05 Good afternoon. 2.30 Horoscope. 2.35 Women today. 3.00 Film: 'The Love War'. 4.25 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.30 News. 1.32 Cartoon. 1.40 Finding out. 1.58-2.43 London. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday. night. 10.35 Film: 'Bond Street'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 12.15 Common Market cook book. 12.45 Crownin. 1.45 Whicker within a woman's world. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'Back Room Boy'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.25 Calendar special. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.15 Grasshopper island. 12.30 Galloping gourmet. 1.00 Woobinda. 1.30 Cinema. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Film: 'A Raw Wind in Eden'. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 News. London. 5.20 Peyton Place. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsday. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Curse of Frankenstein'.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 12.20 Alexander the greatest. 12.50 Edgar Wallace. 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Common Market cook book. 2.59 News. 3.00 Film: 'The Bells Go Down'. 4.25 London. 4.55 HR Pufnstuf. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.25 Best of friends. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 News. 12.10 Greatest fights of the century. 12.25 Junkies are people too.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 12.15 Saint. 1.10 Double talk. 2.00 Horoscope. 2.35 Women today. 3.00 Film: 'The Love War'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Scotland today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.35 Name of the game.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 12.15 Film: 'Ensign Pulver'. 1.38 Schools. 2.46 Cartoon. 3.57 News. 3.00 Yoga. 3.30 Dr Simon Locke. 4.00 Skippy. 4.25 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Julia. 6.40 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 12.00 Meditation.

Builders draw lessons

EEC will make it a wage-cut

BY JOHN SPENCER

JIM ROCHE is chairman of the London Steel UCATT branch and during the 12-week builders' strike chaired the strike committee at the Laing's Heygate site.

He claims last Thursday's deal violated four basic principles at stake in the original claim: 'There is nothing on hours, which was an essential part of the claim. Nor is there anything in the agreement about the lump.

'The differential between labourers and tradesmen has been increased in the pay award and reduction of this differential was one of the main principles that was originally in the claim.

'Finally, the agreement contains no guarantee against victimization, leaving the employers free to sack militants if they so wish.

'The so-called cost-of-living clause can really be discounted. And though the union leaders will claim this is the highest rise ever achieved in the building industry, this rise will be nullified directly we are a full member of the Common Market.

'Long before the package deal runs out, this is going to be a reduction of wages not an increase. There's the new rent rises as well: in a matter of six months the increase will all have been assimilated.

'I expected basic principles to be maintained. We're going back to the same old industry—the lump, rotten canteens, no facilities. We're still going to have to live like animals.'

Mr Roche was particularly disgusted by the attitude of the Communist Party leaders who opposed the national stoppage.

'Their excuse was that we didn't have enough pickets. But for every site where there were lumpers who might have been against coming out, there were a dozen that were ready and willing to strike at the drop of a hat.

'There were about 300,000 actually out and we were still 520,000 adrift, on the sites still at work.

'If only a quarter of these were trade union members it would still have escalated the strike to gigantic proportions. In any case they key people would have come out—the crane drivers and plant drivers whose equipment would just have been left to rust.

'The UCATT leaders saw the threat of a national strike on their hands and backpedalled. They didn't "screw" anything out of the employers. This deal was offered the day before the final talks—it was published in "The Guardian".

'Communist Party members talk now about changing the leadership—but if you think any of these people has even resigned voluntarily you're living in cloud cuckoo land. It isn't the CP that's trying to get George Smith out. It's the rank and file.'

Councils of Action are a dire necessity

BY IAN YEATS

SHEFFIELD building workers bitterly criticized local UCATT officials after a meeting of 200 of the city's 4,000 operatives voted to return to work today by a majority of 13 to one.

Mike Duke (28) claimed Stalinist officials deliberately sought a go-back vote early in the meeting.

'They would not let me speak. They read off a long list of all the sites that had gone back and then took a vote.

'I had two resolutions criticizing the leadership and calling for the strike to go on, but after the vote they said I was out of order.'

UCATT official and CP member Hylton Stuard told the men at a stormy two-hour meeting that they had to accept the employers' deal or face losing solidarity among building workers.

Although it was a bad settlement, union leaders would try to improve it once the men returned to work, he added.

Said Mike Duke: 'If we had stuck it out we could have won. The officials say we've got to get George Smith out before we can do anything.'

'But when we go back now we've got to start from the bottom. People are wise now and realize why they have been sold out.

'The terms we are going back for are worse than when we first came out. We were offered £26 right at the start. I'm a labourer so I shall only get £22.20 and it goes into 1974. So we are tied for two years.'

'In another year the cost of living will go up and I won't be able to go in for another rise. This is the reason I fought so hard. We are going to be the lowest-paid workers in Britain.

'The Tories are smashing us one by one and it is up



Mike Duke

to working class people to stick together and stop them. It is going to be a hard fight but we can do it.'

'The likes of Feather should not be talking to Heath—they should be kicking the Tories out.'

'They don't want to face the challenge of the Tory government directly. We have given them the responsibility but they won't take it.'

'The unions have got to get together now. If Councils of Action had been set up during the building strike everyone would have been together. They have got to be set up immediately. It is one of the biggest lessons of the building strike.'

Monday Club links up with

By Phillip Wade

THE TORIES in the Monday Club have moved into open collaboration for the first time with the extreme right-wing racials organized in the National Front. Dropping all pretence of being purely right-wing Tories, on Saturday they worked hand-in-hand with the National Front at an anti-immigration rally in Central Halls, London.

Not only did the Front provide the bulk of the 2,000 people at the meeting, but its burlier members took tight control of the stewarding.

At the only entrance to the hall was Martin Webster, the Front's organizer who played a prominent part in organizing the recent Smithfield marches.

He fingered all those he thought likely to oppose the meeting and they were promptly barred entry by ten stewards.

Webster and the Monday Club were clearly enjoying each other's company as were the huge battalions of police. 'How is it going Martin?' one high-ranking inspector was heard to say to the NF man.

Monday Club director, Michael Woolrych also chatted amiably with the police who asked how things were.

Before the meeting, Colin Jordan and members of his British Movement gave out literature which was warmly received by the Dowager Lady Birdwood and other notables queuing up.

National Front

Jordan was once the leader of the British National Socialist Party, the self-styled Nazi organization.

Inside the meeting, Monday Club MPs Ronald Bell, John Stokes, John Biggs-Davison and Harold Soref obligingly churned out the anti-immigration propaganda.

'In 1958 this was a fairly homogeneous, British, White country... We are always being lectured now about Black Englishmen... The idea is preposterous nonsense,' said Bell.

Even this was not enough for the National Front. 'Enoch', 'Heath Out', 'Keep the Wogs Out', and 'Join the National Front', they screamed, interrupting all the speakers.

One unfortunate who shouted 'racists, fascists' at the platform was promptly jumped on, thrown through a door and punched.

Soref, who led the witch-hunt on the Young Socialists' summer camp, brought a little order when he called for a show of support for Enoch Powell.

When the meeting broke up, the National Front quickly organized a march to Downing Street to hand in the resolution calling for repatriation. Monday



Martin Webster, NF organizer, chief door steward for Monday Club meeting

Club members joined on behind.

At No. 10, newly-elected Monday Club chairman Jonathan Guinness, a merchant banker who comes from the famous brewing family, led the MPs to the door.

Back at Central Halls, Martin Webster led the demonstration in three cheers for the police. By this time, the Monday Club and the National Front had become old friends.

PULL OUT ALL THE STOPS

THERE is not a moment to waste. We still have £1,297.81 to raise by the end of the month.

But we are confident that you will pull the position around. While the union leaders run from each struggle, the working class remains determined to fight on.

It is this determination that lies behind your support for Workers Press. Our paper is becoming even more widely read as trade unionists everywhere are beginning to look for an alternative leadership to help them to fight.

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Builders leave a meeting in Sheffield after voting for a CP recommendation to accept the pay deal and return to work—See p.11.

STALINISTS LEAD BUILDERS' RETURN

BY PHILIP WADE

LONDON building workers are expected to return to work this morning on the orders of the Stalinist-dominated action committee.

The committee voted unanimously on Friday to recommend a return. Lobbyists from north and east London were given a hostile reception by leading Stalinists, including Pete Kavanagh.

Rank-and-file builders were demanding complete rejection of the settlement and an immediate mass meeting in central London to vote on continuing the strike. Earlier that morning, Kavanagh had recommended a return at a picket centre meeting in west London.

The previous evening at New Cavendish Street, when the £26, 26-month, no reduction in hours compromise was signed, the Stalinists proposed a motion calling vaguely for no return to work with-

out full consultation with the membership. Although prepared verbally to declare opposition to the deal, they repeatedly refused demands that they come out for an unofficial strike. Stalinists throughout the union have since moved quickly to wind up the strike.

The reason for this is that if the strike continues, militant builders will be forced to go beyond the reformist politics of the union leaders and their CP supporters.

Throughout the dispute, the Stalinists have fought to limit the struggle to selective strikes and company deals, opposing a national strike for the full £30, 35-hour week claim.

Their strategy all along has been to try and prevent building workers getting to grips with the Tory government and calling on the TUC to lead a campaign to bring it down.

In doing this, they have been the main prop of the UCATT leadership. It was no accident that

halfway through the strike George Smith, UCATT general secretary, was given a full-page in the 'Morning Star' to explain his policies.

The CP refused to break from Smith, even when on the first day of the Brighton TUC he declared for co-operation with the Tories and warned that the unions should not consider themselves an alternative form of government.

In direct contrast to the overwhelming demands for the resignation of the UCATT leadership, Saturday's 'Morning Star' again rushed to their protection.

An editorial said builders 'will resent the failure by UCATT leaders to consult them before ratifying'.

There was plenty of talk about 'cleaning up the industry' but no call for a similar sweep out in the union leadership.

On the upper Clyde, the docks and now the building industry, the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists has been open for all to see. Now the lessons must be learnt and a new revolutionary leadership built throughout the trade union movement.

● See p.11 for responses from the areas.

WEATHER

IT WILL be mainly dry apart from isolated showers in the east and south-east of England, and, perhaps, some light rain or drizzle in extreme northern Scotland later in the day.

There will be some sunshine in many places, particularly in sheltered western districts. Temperatures will be about normal in the west, but it will be rather cold in the east.

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FIVE HUNDRED tenants and trade unionists marched through Manchester on Saturday against the Tories' Housing Finance Act (below). Tenants' associations from all over the city and surrounding areas were joined by delegations from the engineers' and construction workers' unions, Manchester and Salford Trades Council and political groups. During the march there were chants of 'Heath out' and 'from Safford tenants—Tories out'. Marchers jeered Manchester council's decision to implement the Act as they passed the town hall.



YS Right-to-Work campaign Great send-off from Middlesbrough

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS' Right - to - Work march in the north east started last Saturday with a great send-off from Middlesbrough.

A large group of unemployed youth left the town's crowded precinct centre for their 15-mile walk to Hartlepool.

Yesterday the march left for Shotton, a pit village condemned to virtual death by the expected closure of the local colliery.

In Middlesbrough the marchers' slogans against unemployment and the Tory government met with a big reception.

Among the many shoppers cheering the march was old-age pensioner Harry Simes. He said he 'only just' re-

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

membered the hunger marches in the 1930s.

'It was ten times worse than it is now. But unemployment is coming to that point fast. I have always taken great pride in young people sticking up for what they believe is their right.'

Another shopper, a young housewife said: 'It's great. Not very often you see young people organizing themselves to fight for their rights.'

Trade union backing in Middlesbrough consisted of factory collections. Workers at F. Hills and Sons, Lionweld Ltd and ICI all donated money.

After the first eight miles of walking, the march was passing through another busy town centre, this time the

ultra-modern precinct of Billingham — a relatively new town where unemployment is beginning to bite hard.

This month the town's biggest employer—ICI—cut down its intake of apprentices by 100 to 60 a year.

Modern architecturally-beautiful facilities built by the Teesside council in the centre of Billingham stand out as a sharp contradiction.

They are all far beyond the financial reach of the thousands of unemployed youth in the town.

The first day of marching was undoubtedly a big success. Nineteen-year-old George Spur, who gave out leaflets on the march, said people had shown real interest in its aims.

'Every working person around here hates the Tories. What they need is a leadership,' he said. 'I think the march points the way forward.'

Socialist Labour League

LECTURES

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by

G. HEALY

(SLL national secretary)

London

Development of Marxism through working-class struggle
Sunday September 24

Nature of the capitalist crisis
Sunday October 1

Historical materialism today
Sunday October 8

EAST HAM
TOWN HALL
Lister Room
Barking Rd, 7 p.m.

Liverpool

Nature of the capitalist crisis
Tuesday September 19

Historical materialism today
Tuesday September 26

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

ALL TRADES UNIONS

ALLIANCE MEETINGS

LEEDS: Tuesday September 19, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel (upstairs room), Boar Lane. 'Lessons of the building workers' strike and the Right to Work.'

SHEFFIELD: Thursday September 21, 7.30 p.m. Manchester Hotel, Nursery Street. 'The builders' pay claim and the fight against the Tory Rents Act.'

MANCHESTER: Thursday, September 21, 7.30 p.m. The Milton Hall, Deansgate. 'Defeat the Tory Rent Act.'

WATFORD: Monday September 25, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall (upstairs room), Woodford Road (opposite Watford Junction station). 'Force the Tories to resign.'

SOUTH WEST LONDON: Tuesday September 26, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4. 'ATUA national conference.'