

Workers Press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY OCTOBER 30, 1972 ● No. 907 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony

BY JACK GALE

Barber said yesterday that companies had been 'forced to accede excessive wage claims' and that 'one way or the other the uncertainty must be resolved and will be'.

The government, however, is in a weak position. Unable to curb the unions in direct confrontations like the miners' strike and the use of the Industrial Relations Act, the Tories have sought since last July (when talks first began) to rule by collaboration with the union leaders.

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This has not been stopped by the strength of the union leaders, but by the determination of the working class to secure substantial wage increases in the face of a soaring cost of living.

The government had hoped to secure a 'voluntary' acceptance of wage control by the TUC bureaucracy, to isolate and defeat a key section of workers such as the power workers and to launch an all-out attack on the working class as a whole once entry into the Common Market had been secured.

They are now unable to work to this schedule. They are forced to fight before they are ready. The ruling class is

in difficulties—but this makes them all the more determined to defeat the working class, even if it should mean dictatorship.

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scope for free trade unions while Worsthorne calls openly for the 'authority of the state'—that is, a dictatorship over the working class.

To create the conditions for such dictatorship the Tories scream about strike 'violence'. They themselves are responsible for the violence by their attacks on the working class and their attempts to break strikes. (See What We Think p. 2)

The background to these unavoidable conflicts is the economic and financial crisis which has raged unabated since President Nixon took the dollar off gold on August 15, 1971.

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In Holland the government has threatened a compulsory wage freeze if a new 'social contract' is not accepted by the unions. And the entire executive of the 600,000 strong Socialist Federation of Trade Unions had to resign because of a split over a package deal for the talks with the government.

Everywhere relations between the ruling class and the reformist trade union leaders are being broken up. The central task now facing the working class is to prepare for the conflicts immediately ahead.

What is involved is much more than conflicts between groups of workers and groups of employers. Now the working class as a whole is in conflict with the Tory government and the instruments of the bourgeois state.

This poses the question of power. The trade union leaders must be forced to mobilize the working class behind the power workers and all other trade unionists fighting for wage increases. This would create the conditions to force the Tory government to resign.

There should then be an all-out campaign to return a Labour government which would be pledged to socialist policies, including the nationalization without compensation and under workers' control of all basic industries, banks and insurances.

Only through the expropriation of capitalism can prices be controlled and jobs guaranteed.

JUST OVER 100 delegates and visitors attended the second day of the first annual conference of the National Union of School Students in London yesterday.

Under discussion at the morning session were amendments to the draft constitution. Newly elected NUSS president Bob Leeson told Workers Press that there would be certain changes of policy now that he had taken over.

'We will have a vigorous campaign to achieve democracy in schools. This will include mass meetings throughout the country and the organization of strong branches and strong areas.'

The union would be sending letters to headmasters throughout the country informing them that action would be taken if NUSS was not recognized.

He said that over the next year the union intended to develop a fairly comprehensive alternative to the present education system. On the question of unemployment, Leeson said they intended to work as closely as possible with the trade unions to reduce unemployment, particularly among school students.

Schools union will seek recognition



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TWO MORE DAYS TO RAISE £436.19

WE ARE getting closer, but we are not there yet. This month it is going to be a fight to the finish to raise our £1,750 target.

Whatever the decision between the trade union leaders, the Tories and the CBI, nothing can halt the head-on clash between the government and the working

class. More and more wage claims are demanding to be met as rapid inflation forces up prices even more and erodes workers' standard of living.

As the pound remains at a new low, the crisis facing the Tories worsens.

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more than ever to give a lead to thousands of workers coming into struggle. Our Fund is more than important. We have two days left and we need £436.19 to complete our target.

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What we think

Spider Heath

The witch-hunting hour has struck. Scarcely a day goes by without some blood-curdling drivel in the Tory-owned media about strikers, militants and pickets.

In the forefront of this red-baiting is the 'News of the World', owned by millionaire publisher Rupert Murdoch.

Advertising yesterday's two-page tirade against the left, the 'News of the World' said:

'Who are the Strife Makers? Tomorrow the "News of the World" continues the vital investigation that's got all Britain talking . . . names the men determined to smash the system, put an end to our way of life. Tomorrow in the "News of the World" you'll meet—Mr Trouble: the spider at the heart of a nationwide web of agitation and strikers.'

On reading this advertisement millions of trade unionists will recognize 'Mr Trouble', the man creating industrial havoc and putting an end to their way of life. The spider is Edward Heath.

Since coming to power in June 1970, Heath and his Tory gang have launched attack after attack on the basic rights and living standards of the majority of people in Britain, the working class.

Their Industrial Relations Act is an attempt to smash free trade unionism, the 'fair rents' Act will double council rents and throw council housing to the mercy of the speculators' market, entry into the Common Market will be paid for by workers by massive price increases and higher levels of unemployment.

Heath has provoked industrial strikes on a scale not seen since 1926—first the dustmen, then the Post Office workers, the powerworkers, the miners, the railwaymen. It is no accident that while the gutless trade union bureaucrats are closeted with the spider at No 10 Downing Street, the Tory Press comes forward with a venomous witch-hunt against the rank-and-file leaderships.

The object of these media attacks is to strike fear into the middle class. If the Tories are to win in the coming struggles with the working class, they must capture the company executives, the clerks, the sales representatives, the accountants, the corner shopkeepers—their wives and their mothers-in-law!

To do this they are filling their columns with the most phoney, far-fetched rubbish about 'moral pollution', tidal waves of drug addiction and, of course, the militancy of the working class. Only yesterday the Reverend Harold Goodwin of St Giles-in-the-Fields, 200 yards from Congress House, told his flock that strikes have become 'a murderous weapon' and should be outlawed.

Goodwin said a modern strike is 'manifestly a conspiracy'. But there is only one conspiracy—that by the agencies of the ruling class—the Press, the church, the Labour Party reformists and the trade union bureaucrats—to keep this Tory government in power and the working class in economic bondage.

These attacks by Murdoch and his hirelings cannot be ridiculed out of existence—although many of the claims in the series are side-splittingly ludicrous.

Workers Press has a daily duty to fight on the side of the working class to expose the slanders put around by the wretched scribblers of Fleet Street. We will discharge that duty fearlessly.

US sabotaging deal say NLF

THE VIETNAMESE National Liberation Front yesterday accused the United States of sabotaging the agreement with Hanoi to end the Vietnam war and charged it with wanting to prolong the conflict.

A statement by the Provisional Revolutionary Government broadcast by Liberation Radio called on all South Vietnamese people under Saigon's control, including troops, to demand that the US sign the draft treaty agreement with North Vietnam on Tuesday.

On Saturday, North Vietnam announced that its negotiators would only hold further talks with President Nixon's adviser Henry Kissinger if the US agreed to sign the treaty by Tuesday.

The Americans are claiming that President Nguyen Van Thieu's opposition to the deal makes further delay necessary.

The Kremlin is also urging North Vietnam not

to break off the talks. When he met NLF and Hanoi envoys in Moscow on Friday, premier Kosygin told them he hoped the talks on Vietnam would be continued.

However, Thieu seems to expect that some kind of ceasefire agreement will shortly be reached whether he likes it or not.

He has ordered all South Vietnamese to display the Saigon government flag and promised the death penalty to anyone found with the NLF flag.

Both sides are attempting to stake a claim to as much territory as possible in the south before the ceasefire deadline.

For the past few days the NLF and North Vietnamese have been attacking vulnerable Saigon-controlled towns and vil-

lages throughout the south.

The proposed treaty provides that all American troops should leave Vietnam within 60 days of signing—and Thieu clearly fears this is the end for his puppet government.

Hence his desperate attempts to cause a breakdown in the talks.

The Thieu regime is entirely a creature of American imperialism: despite having over a million men under arms, he has no popular support among the Vietnamese masses and his government is dependent completely on American finance and air power.

The North Vietnamese, on the other hand, can keep their forces in the south under the draft treaty, though there are rumours that secret codicils

provide for reduction of Soviet and Chinese aid and at least a partial North Vietnamese withdrawal.

Kissinger has denied that any secret clauses are attached to the draft deal.

The deal is being strongly supported not only by the NLF and Hanoi, but also by the Cambodian and Laotian liberation movements.

The Cambodian liberation front, in particular, controls almost the entire country except for some areas in the south and around the capital, Phnom Penh.

Whatever administration emerges under the terms of the ceasefire, it is certain only to provide a framework for continuation of the guerrilla struggle.

Years of massive American intervention in Vietnam have failed to break the Indo-Chinese revolution.

If they sign the deal, the Americans will leave within 60 days, making the collapse of their puppet regime inevitable in the coming days.

Chile strike terms

PRESIDENT Salvador Allende of Chile announced in a nationwide broadcast over the week-end that he was breaking off negotiations with the leaders of the transport-strike which is now in its 18th day.

Allende said that the demands put forward were too political and that he was prepared to work for a 'union, but not a political settlement'.

Since the strikers are transport employers opposing a proposed nationalization in the south, and since they are supporters of the right-wing Christian Democratic Party, it was not too clear what kind of 'union' settlement the democrat Allende was referring to.

The broadcast belies government and Stalinist propaganda of last week which claimed the strike was weakening.

On the contrary, the strike is hardening and the fight is on for a political programme outlined last week by a 'national command' which is organizing this employers' strike.

The programme calls for:

- Restoration to their former owners of firms taken over by the state since August 21.
- Suppression of the 'committees in defence of the revolution'.
- Constitutional reform to prevent any nationalization without permission from parliament.
- The expulsion of 'foreign extremists'.

● An end to the present silencing of the radios not under the control of Allende.

Allende has already conceded the last point. He has freed Chile's 155 radio stations from a compulsory link-up with the state network.

This was after an Appeals Court judge had ruled that the restrictions were constitutional.

The court also cancelled suspensions imposed on 16 radio stations which had disobeyed the compulsory link-up with the state network.

The bold talk about 'no negotiations' is a cover for yet another retreat by Allende in the face of employers who want to remove his government and wage civil war against the working class.

Spain purges & trades with Maoists

FRANCO'S police have arrested six people, including an American teacher, after seizing an illegal printing press in a hotel at San Agustin, 19 miles from Madrid.

The police found stockpiles of the Maoist newspaper 'Workers Vanguard' near the printing press.

This weekend purge of Spanish Maoists comes at a time of much enthusiasm in the Spanish Press for trade with Maoist China.

Representatives of both

countries have been negotiating in Hong Kong where two firms with Spanish capital, the Spanish East Asia Ltd and Spanish Trading Co, have already started business with peaceful co-existence, Mao.

It is hoped that these negotiations will open the way for a visit to Peking by Foreign Minister Lopez Bravo and by a commercial delegation led by Jose Luis Ceron.

Ceron has considerable experience of dealing with

Stalinists since he was in charge of the Spanish side of the negotiations which resulted in the recent Moscow-Madrid trade pact.

URUGUAY'S army has arrested Dr Jorge Battle, leader of the 'Unity and Reform' faction of President Bordaberry's ruling Colorado Party for making a broadcast alleged to be offensive to its morale. Three cabinet ministers have now resigned in protest against the arrest.

Low-key Canadian election

CANADA faces the prospect of a period of political instability if today's election fails to give outgoing Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau a clear parliamentary majority.

Trudeau's glamour image of the new politician who would make great changes is badly tarnished. The US takeover of Canadian business and natural resources has not been stemmed.

The French Canadian nationalists have gained further support.

Growing recession and an unemployment rate of over 7 per cent have turned many workers to the reformist New Democratic Party.

The election generally has been in a low key with many voters disillusioned with Trudeau's Liberal Party which has held power since 1963, but seeing no alternative. The New Democratic Party, which held 22 seats out of 264 in the last parliament in Ottawa has emphasized handouts to big business with the slogan 'corporate welfare-bum'.

Its reformist character prevents the NDP from giving a clear lead to the working class in a situation of rocketing prices and high unemployment.

A DUTCH-style summit between the trade unions, the employers and the government is floundering.

The largest union, the Industrial Workers' Union, which is affiliated to the socialist-controlled federation of trade unions, the NVV, has rejected its

'Chronicle' trial in secret

A SOVIET scientist concerned with the publication of the underground paper 'The Chronicle of Current Events' is being tried behind closed doors in the town of Noginsk, 40 miles east of Moscow, on a charge of carry-

package for the talks—a 3½-per cent wage rise, compensation for increases in the cost-of-living and a 40-hour week.

The NVV has split on the issue and its executive has resigned. The Dutch government has threatened it will impose a compulsory wage and price freeze.

ing on 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'.

Top nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov has appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for immediate intervention on behalf of the scientist, Kronid Lyubarsky.

At least four other people are believed to have been arrested with him by Soviet security police last January in an effort to stifle the 'Chronicle'.

The bureaucracy's fear of growing criticism has resulted in the doors of the court being padlocked and foreign correspondents banned from Noginsk.

Young Fabians cover Labour's rent collaboration

BY PHILIP WADE

FOUR WEEKS after the first increases under the Tories' 'fair rents' Act, the Young Fabian Society has come up with no less than a 14-point scheme to 'mount bureaucratic resistance' to the law.

But this worthless 28-page document, published today, has to be seen for what it is: nothing less than an apology for the collaboration by the vast majority of Labour councils with the Tory rent increases.

In fact it was written by Cllr

James Goudie, who, as deputy leader and chairman of the housing committee on the Labour-controlled Brent council, north London, actually took part in implementing the Act in his borough. He is also a prospective parliamentary candidate.

The Young Fabians are a group of some of the worst out-and-out reformists you could ever hope to find. And the very first page of the document shows the unprincipled and opportunist character of their so-called 'stand' on the 'fair rents' Act.

Most tenants still want to

know why over 340 Labour councils are implementing the legislation. But 'this pamphlet is not directly concerned with this controversy', writes the author.

'Labour's strong and fundamental objections to it [the Act] have been made cogently and persuasively,' he adds.

So that is why the Labour right-wing, nationally and locally, forced through the increases!

As the Labour leaders are also confirmed Fabians, this pamphlet really speaks for them when it talks of the Act's repeal 'in the

period between 1974 and 1976'.

In other words, as far as they are concerned, there will be no direct challenge to the Tory government until that time.

In the meantime, therefore, while the Tories are supposed to remain in office, the job of Labour councils is to mount this spurious 'bureaucratic resistance'.

The 14-points will really shake the Tories to their roots. Included are such shattering demands that 'councils should regularly apply for increases in the rebate and allowance scheme'.

Another point is for 'public meetings' by the new rent scrutiny boards when a dispute arises over the 'fair rent' levels.

On and on the rubbish flows, avoiding any question of actually putting up a fight against the Tory government. Instead we have the Fabians asking for the bureaucrats of the labour movement to unite and collaborate.

Yet every tenant knows that no amount of manoeuvring and manipulation will solve the question of doubled rents. That can only be achieved by the removal of this Tory government now.

TEXTILE JOBS UNDER THE AXE

Irish wool textile workers have pledged 'militant resistance' to a threat to make up to 1,200 of their number redundant.

The plan to sack the 1,200 workers is the result of the Atkins report which outlines proposals for massive rationalization throughout the textile industry.

Sackings

Resistance to the sackings has been proposed by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which has called on Eire's Minister for Industry and Commerce Mr Lalor to provide new jobs in areas where existing mills are due to close before they go out of operation.

Union officials are also demanding copies of the report on which the rationalization programme is based and they have asked the Minister to provide special enhanced payments other than those provided under the Redundancy Act.

The IT&GWU has rejected as 'completely unacceptable' the plan that each mill to be closed should be informed of this decision without reference to the overall situation in the industry.

Refused

In a letter to the Industry Minister, IT&GWU vice-president, John F. Carroll, said:

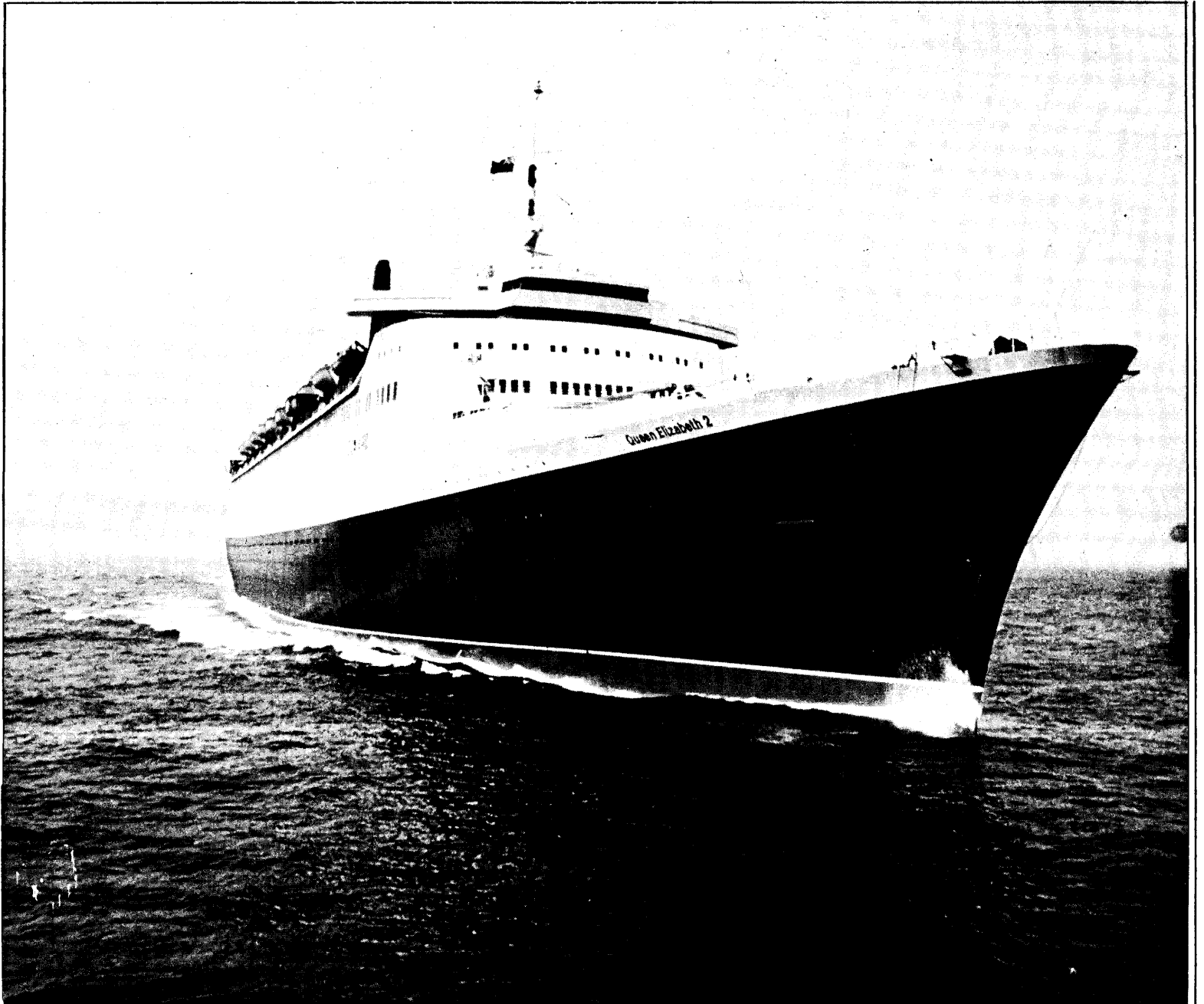
'It is not possible that the workers in the industry will sit back quietly and let this possible loss of jobs develop over the next couple of months.

'It is our intention to convene very soon a national consultative conference of our members in this industry. They will be given as much information as in our possession at this point of time, which includes the fact that we have not got a copy of the full [Atkins] report and that this has been refused to us by your department.'

The union has deplored the 'fact that the Minister has declined to disclose to us the mills which will be affected by closure or rationalization.

'It is not possible that 1,200 workers who are recommended for the scrap heap will thank the textile industry and the government for this extreme deprivation of their normal, social, political and Christian [!] right to work in their homeland.'

And Carroll added: 'Redundancy compensation will not suffice. Jobs are the answer.'



HOW THE SHIPPING SHARKS MAKE PROFIT

Victor Matthews, chairman of Cunard, has expressed some interest in P&O, Britain's other major shipping group which is currently the centre of a take-over controversy.

He told pressmen the other day: 'Personally I would love to see these two names put together. But that is being sentimental, and in business I am not sentimental.'

Matthews, it must be said, is being downright honest in so far as the word has a meaning in business circles.

He is no sentimentalist, that's for sure. Along with his partner, Nigel Broackes, he has developed the giant property and shipping conglomerate, Trafalgar Investments, which now has assets of tens of millions of pounds.

As each bid and counter-bid is flung into the P&O arena, Trafalgar simply cruises in the nearby waters like a cunning shark waiting for the

moment to strike.

Working in their advantage is the steady lowering of the reverse bid and the publicity surrounding the takeover which has revealed P&O to be nothing more than an ailing tax shell surrounded by an increasingly redundant shipping fleet.

If Matthews and Broackes are hesitant in making a bid, they are waiting for a bed-rock price and they are also conscious that the shipping industry is entering a period in which cut-throat rates will operate and world trade will decline.

Why should the company get saddled with another sinking ship when its own operation is in less than happy straits?

Since taking over as chairman from Sir Basil Smallpiece, Matthews has brought about a new reorganization of the Cunard empire.

One of the most significant areas has been shipbuilding for the Cunard fleet.

Matthews is about to sign a contract with European ship-



Left: Nigel Broackes, partner in Trafalgar Investments, which now has assets of millions of pounds. Right: Victor Matthews, Cunard chairman.

builders for the construction of a new 'stretched' version of the Cunard Ambassador which will join the company's Caribbean cruising fleet.

It will be built under unique conditions. The hull and engines will be built at Burmeister and Wain in Copenhagen, it will be fitted out in an Italian yard and over half of the catering staff in the

crew will be foreign.

These contracts were achieved with the co-operation of the unions and they allow Cunard to take advantage of the cheaper labour and materials in western Europe.

The £20m deal is a sign of the times when British capitalism becomes integrated with its European neighbours in the Six.

Here's where to buy books by Leon Trotsky

And the new paperback documentary on Leon Trotsky

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HOW HOUSING GRANTS GO TO THE PROPERTY MEN

BY PHILIP WADE

Nearly 75 per cent of all the money spent in London under the last Labour government's now notorious 1969 Housing Act is finding its way into the well-lined pockets of property speculators and landlords.

This largely unsurprising fact has now been verified by the housing charity, Shelter, in a report out last week.

HIGH PRICES

It has been obvious for some time that ratepayers' money, ostensibly destined for house-improvement, has led to nothing more than a wholesale clearing out of working-class families.

In their place have come the trendies with their new flats created out of the shell of old terraced houses. The property men have taken the money and used it to develop flats for sale at prices far beyond the reach of any worker.

Formerly fashionable streets in inner London are now well equipped with an array of sports cars, bay windows and the round of dinner parties.

Shelter reckons that only about one in seven of existing tenants has ever derived any benefit from the grants given by local councils under the Act.

The others are evicted by 'fair means or foul'. Some inner London boroughs are now approving £1m worth of grants a year and over half the money is going to developers and landlords.

In the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, 70 per cent of the cash goes that way, with Hammersmith and Westminster not that far behind.



Before and after the grants under the 1969 Housing Act—this time in Fulham. On the left how it used to be. On the right the newly-converted, luxury flats for the middle class.

One prime example of the way things have worked is shown in the Lanhill and Marylands general improvement area in Westminster, described in 1965 as one of London's most distressed housing areas.

Now nearly half the dwellings have been converted or improved in just three years under the Housing Act. Average rents of furnished dwellings have risen 400 per

cent. One in nine tenants were given notices to quit.

Only the Labourites under Wilson were incapable of seeing what untold misery their wretched Act would bring to thousands of workers. In their rush to conciliate bankers and property men alike, the Act was an alternative to any attempt at real socialist measures in housing.

Not yet satisfied, the Labour Party leadership is, in fact,

proposing, when returned to power, to carry on the same old way with improvement grants 'with controls'.

Time and time again, however, it has been proved that unless an offensive is opened up against private landlordism and speculators for their nationalization, any 'well meaning' piece of legislation will only operate against the working class.

MORE JOBS TO GO ON LONDON DOCKS

New moves toward the further rationalization of London's docks are being considered by the Port of London Authority.

Although neither side is prepared to comment, we understand it is likely the PLA will shortly take over Metropolitan Terminals—a group set up to handle the West African trade into Tilbury.

Metropolitan Terminals is owned by four shipping companies, Elder Demster, Sea Lion Investments, Furness Withy Freight Handling and Palm Lines.

A joint statement by William J. Cook, chairman of Metropolitan, and William Bowey, assistant director-general of the PLA, said:

'It is only proper that all concerned should know that these discussions are taking

place. Should these discussions lead to a decision in favour of a takeover, full consultations will take place with all employees and the trade unions concerned.'

A reduction in the number of port employers was one of the central concepts of the Devlin analysis leading, it was hoped, to better manpower utilization and a drop in the numbers employed.

Metropolitan Terminals has 850 on its payroll and is one of the largest employers at Tilbury.

There is no firm information on the possibility of redundancies if the take-over goes through.

But Metropolitan was to have provided the labour for a new £2m to £3m terminal being built by the PLA at Tilbury. If the take-over goes ahead, the PLA will provide the men instead.

PONTEFRACT MEN ON CHARGES OF ACCEPTING GIFTS

Four men, including a former mayor of Pontefract, Yorkshire, have appeared before Leeds magistrates on charges of corruption in relation to building contracts in the Doncaster area and the north-east.

Maurice Byrne (48), a shopkeeper from Leeds and the former mayor, faces ten charges of accepting gifts of money totalling £5,650 while he was agent to Carlton Contractors Ltd. It is alleged he accepted the money as an inducement for showing favour to architects and other contractors.

Seven of the ten charges are jointly concerned with Anthony Joseph Flannery and William Starling. Flannery (39), former director of Horsforth, near Leeds, faces 11 charges, ten of which are in respect of accepting £3,510 for showing favours.



Above: Maurice Byrne

The other is a charge of being an undischarged bankrupt acting as a director of Carlton Contractors.

Starling (44), former director, from Staincross, near Barnsley, faces nine charges of corruptly accepting a total of £3,260.

Brian Norman Woodcock (47), another director, who lives at Kirk Ireton, Derbyshire, faces two charges of accepting a total of £310 for showing favour to a firm of architects, Brown, Lloyd and Partners.

All four men were bailed and the hearing will continue on December 12.

HAS THE PENSION FUND GONE ASTRAY

British-Leyland workers are demanding to know more about the situation in their pension fund.

The multi-million pound fund is at present administered by the company's merchant bankers, Schroder Wagg.

Most of Leyland's 200,000-strong workforce pay weekly instalments to the fund. The bankers then invest the money so that on retirement employees receive a fat pension. In theory this is what is supposed to happen.

It has been revealed, however, that some of the bank's investment moves have gone sadly astray. In one recent monthly account the fund apparently recorded a loss of £16,000. When shop stewards have asked for a detailed list of the fund's share portfolio and its performance, the information has not been forthcoming.

Many stewards point to the steady growth in share values last year and wonder why their fund could possibly have made a loss in any single month.

Dissatisfied with the lack of information on the state of the fund, some stewards' committees are pressing for details of the fund's activities over the past five years. There is even pressure for Schroder Wagg to be replaced as investment managers.

Recently Schroder Wagg was replaced as advisers to the scheme which operates at Triumph Motors, Coventry—part of the British-Leyland combine.

MONEY FOR THE DUBAI TUNNEL

The government-controlled Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD) has granted a loan worth more than £5m for a road-building project in Dubai.

A road tunnel is being built in the tiny but wealthy sheikhdom by Costain Civil Engineering.

It will run under Dubai creek and link the towns of Deira and Shindagah.

This project is only one of several which Costains have carried out for Dubai over the past few years.

The £5m loan is made available to the Dubai regime by Lloyds Bank though it is backed by the ECGD. Repayment of the loan will be over five years starting in June 1976.

Albert Costain, a partner in the family construction firm, is the Tory MP for Folkestone and Hythe.

He is secretary of the Tory MPs' building sub-committee and the housing and local government committee. His brother, Sir Richard Costain, is chairman of the company which was founded by their grandfather. The company has more than 45 subsidiaries all over the world with a turnover of millions of pounds.

BEHIND THE SOVIET-US TRADE DEAL

Economic dislocations caused by the failure of the harvest in the Soviet Union this year will force a major readjustment of the national budget, according to sources in Moscow.

One informed estimate is that the total adjustment will cost some 20,000 million roubles (about £10,000m). The money is on top of the £400m the USSR has already spent on imported grain, most of it from the United States.

The effects of the economic dislocation will include austerity programmes in government departments and sharp cuts in funds to certain industries. Already Soviet delegations to international scientific meetings are being sharply curtailed.

The food shortage hits the Soviet masses worst of all. There are long queues even for potatoes at shops in the Moscow region. Potatoes are being imported from Poland, though the country is usually self-sufficient in this staple foodstuff.

Some of the shortages may be due to shoppers coming into the city from outside to stock up in anticipation of worse shortages this winter. Police have been ordered to limit the amount of potatoes and cabbage in cars leaving the capital.

The long-term effects could be even more serious. The extreme drought which destroyed much of the grain harvest has also cut supplies of winter fodder for animals and forced the slaughter of more livestock than usual.

This could lead to a shortage of livestock in the future and largely nullify the great efforts that have been made to build up the animal population over the past ten years.

Economic problems are not confined to the agricultural sphere. The consumer goods industry, to which the Communist Party leadership

attached high priority in the current five-year plan, is tending to lag behind.

According to figures published recently by the Central Statistical Board output so far this year is 6.7 per cent higher than in 1971. The highest increases are in engineering, chemical, petrochemical and power industries—all of them heavy industry.

But production of footwear, textiles, clothing, radios, televisions and washing machines had not shown such good performance, according to 'Pravda'. In some sectors production of consumer items even fell behind the 1971 levels, the Party newspaper said.

Fewer shoes, television sets and washing machines were produced this year than last and there was a shortage of 'technological equipment for light industry', delaying automation schemes for consumer-goods production.

EFFECTS

Behind these problems of the Soviet economy is the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in a single country', which is the basic creed of the ruling bureaucracy.

Soviet agriculture is suffering from the devastating effects of the forced collectivization carried out under Stalin in the early 1930s. Livestock were slaughtered wholesale in this veritable civil war in the Soviet countryside.

Schemes to overcome the backwardness of Soviet agriculture have been only very partially successful — as is shown by the fact that Soviet agricultural productivity is only one-eighth that in the US.

Industrial development has been enormous as a result of the nationalization of the means of production and the application of planning. But the plans are administered bureaucratically and imposed from above.

In an attempt to overcome these problems — which are now becoming burning ques-



Above: Russian shoppers come into the city to stock up in anticipation of winter shortages.

tions involving the whole future of the ruling caste—the Kremlin has turned towards the United States for assistance.

The huge trade treaty negotiated following Nixon's visit to Moscow in May is the result. It means a massive injection of foreign capital to open up the oilfields and natural resources of the USSR. But it temporarily eases some of the bureaucracy's economic headaches—at a price.

The price is political—it is the collaboration of the Kremlin in the counter-revolutionary schemes of American imperialism against the

workers of Europe and Asia.

Peter Peterson, President Nixon's trade negotiator, made this clear to US businessmen when he explained the advantages of the trade deal to them following his negotiations in Moscow.

US FAVOUR

He told them that the deal would buy Soviet political collaboration and that the actual terms of trade would be considerably in America's favour. This is because the US exports will be mainly job-intensive products like machine-tools and consumer goods, while the Soviet Union

will mainly be exporting raw materials and natural gas.

But in the long-term, trade deals with the west cannot settle the problems of the Soviet economy. The bureaucracy's deal with Nixon is a reactionary attempt to overcome its crisis at the expense of the international workers' movement.

The basic problems will, however, remain. And they can only be resolved by the political revolution to restore the rule of workers' councils as part of the international revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism and bureaucracy.

BANGLADESH MINISTER BACKS TORY WAGE CONTROL

The hue and cry for state control of wages in Britain has been joined by an unlikely crusader from Bangladesh — Finance Minister Tajuddin Ahmed.

In his speech to the Commonwealth Finance Ministers conference, Ahmed told Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber: 'We are all with you when UK wishes to curb inflation and thus remove the basic cause.

'The floating of the dollar

in August 1971 was followed by wage and price freeze. The floating of the pound may be a temporary measure, but without any positive scheme to keep the price line down, we doubt if a long-term stability of the pound sterling, with which we are most concerned, could be achieved.'

In plain language, this means action to hold down wages along the lines now being discussed between the TUC and the Tories in the Chequers talks.

The Awami League Finance Minister has every ground for sympathy with the Tory government in Britain. The new Bangladesh government is exerting considerable efforts to hold down workers' wages at home, despite roaring inflation which is eating into the value of the takka.

But apart from a basic class solidarity with the British employers, the Bangladesh government has other reasons for egging on the Tories to attack the working class in Britain.

The rising price of British exports to Bangladesh eats into the country's slender reserves of foreign exchange. As Tajuddin put it: 'The developing nations are largely dependent on imports of raw materials from the developed countries and therefore the high cost of imports causes inflationary pressure in our own country.'

Nor is the fall in sterling parity any help: 'We have



Finance Minister, Tajuddin Ahmed

built up [our foreign currency] reserves with considerable sacrifices and we would naturally want this to be duly protected,' Tajuddin said.

'We hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not decide to float sterling for an indefinite period and that he would decide to return to a fixed parity at the earliest.'

The Bangladesh employing class gets precious little thanks from the Tories for its grovelling acquiescence in its anti-working-class plans. The rapid downward drift of the sterling parity must have been greeted with horror in Tajuddin's Dacca office.

The British entry into the Common Market is a further blow to Bangladesh. The EEC imposes an extremely unequal trading relationship on the former colonies of its member-countries.

The Bangladesh Finance Minister complained that there is no tariff exemption for jute goods — which make up the biggest portion of Bengali exports. Worse still, the com-

mon external tariff imposes what Tajuddin described as 'a surcharge on the developmental efforts' of the poor countries.

'We are also concerned to find that the EEC is rather limited in its approach too in their negotiation on trade liberalization. It does not show sufficient awareness that there is a close link between trade liberalization and monetary reforms, probably because it might oblige them to make very liberal trade concessions.'

The Bangladesh government is upset because the Common Market is acting like what it is—an association of imperialist bandits to exploit working people in Europe and pauperize the colonial and ex-colonial countries in the pursuit of profit.

But since he is in full agreement with the Tories' attacks on the British working class, it is impossible for him or his Awami League colleagues to fight this development: except by impotent appeals to the imperialists to be more humane.

JACK JONES

The Liverpool dockers who wines and dines with Edward Heath, Tory banker Lord Aldington and the port chiefs. David Maude and Alex Mitchell investigate the rise and rise of a 'left'.

In the middle of the docks strike on August 11 reporters crowded into the National Ports Council offices in New Oxford Street.

They were there to hear a progress report on the deliberations of a joint inquiry into the jobs crisis on the docks, chaired jointly by the general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the chairman of the Port of London Authority. Neither had much to say. But as the PLA chairman, Lord Aldington, was preparing to make a brief television statement, he remarked about his partner—the T&GWU's Jack Jones—to his interviewer: 'Oh, we get on very well, you know.'

There were a few raised eyebrows. Jones has often been presented as a dragon of the far left. It is time there was some plain speaking about this myth.

On the first night of the Labour Party conference, the T&GWU held its traditional reception for trade union delegations, party rank and files and the Press.

It was an 'invitations only' affair in one of the banquet halls of the Imperial Hotel on the Blackpool promenade.

There was many a raised eyebrow when into the room swanned Roy Jenkins and Shirley Williams, two of the right-wingers who consistently voted with the Tories (or abstained) to ensure the passage of the European Communities Bill.

They not only defied TUC policy, but also the policy of the Brighton Labour Party conference in 1971 and the overwhelming decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party itself.

In voting for entry they ensured Heath's passage into the Six as well as the survival of his government.

Jenkins and his cronies, the most reactionary representatives of the Tory Press mingled together, drinking and eating from the free spread—paid for by the rank and file of the union bus drivers, lorry drivers, car workers, dockers and fishermen.

What was most significant, however, was the cuddling up to Jones of the so-called 'lefts'. There were the members of the 'Tribune' group and its hangers-on in the trade union movement making their genuflections before 'Brother Jack'. He is for workers' control, they say. He is for the pensioners too.

This is the sort of stuff that finds a note of credulity in the 'Morning Star' and the cretinous journals of the Labour Party.

The proof of Jones's position was vividly revealed in the next days of the party conference. After a series of backroom manoeuvres with

Wilson and the treacherous Labour leadership, Jones abdicated any leadership on behalf of his own one million members and the rest of the working class.

● He abstained on the National Executive Committee (NEC) statement on the Common Market. This statement, supported by the right-wing Jenkins faction, gave Wilson complete room for manoeuvre on the Market and does not represent 'in principle' opposition to entry.

● On the little-reported but crucial prices and incomes vote Jones again abstained. This gave the right wing a substantial majority to pursue immediately talks for a pay policy to be introduced by a future Labour government.

It is important to stress that an abstention is not simply a neutral vote. It is, in fact, a vote which open the door for the right wingers and thus is a direct attack on the trade union movement.

Despite this appalling capitulation into the camp of the Tories, the 'left' Press maintained its cover for Jones throughout the conference week. In 'Tribune' a special article was devoted to Jones and his 'fight' against the Industrial Relations Act. And 'Labour Weekly' also devoted great space to propagating the militant myth of Jack Jones.

With the Labour conference behind him, Jones has embarked on even greater efforts at class-collaboration. In particular, we must examine his record on the state pay talks with the Heath government. Since the miners' strike the TUC leaders have been engaged in a series of behind-the-scenes manoeuvres with Heath and the CBI. And in these talks both Jones and Scanlon of the AUEW have played a prominent role. Not that you would recognize this from the 'Morning Star', which continues to place faith in the 'left-ward' movement of the trade unions.

ENTHUSIASM

Last week the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) representatives let the cat out of the bag so far as Jones's collaborative role is concerned. They admitted that it was Jack Jones who came to the Chequers meeting on October 16 with a scheme for how wage drift can be avoided and earnings kept to the flat rate £2 suggested under the state pay claim.

The CBI gushed with enthusiasm as they told the Press about the Jones proposal to put a squeeze on earnings.

All that is required is for all wage packets during 1972-1973 to be calculated on the old rates of pay and for any state-approved increase to be tacked on at the end of the pay slip as a final 'government bonus'.

Thus all increments, like piece-rate and overtime pay-



ments and special bonuses for skills or bad work conditions, would be based on the old rates of pay instead of on the old rates plus £2.

Mr W. O. Campbell Adamson, the CBI director general, told reporters: 'The Jones formula appeals. It is a nice, clean way of doing things.'

He described in glowing terms how the effect of wage drift which could turn a £2 rise in basic rates into something much greater on earnings could be avoided—thanks to 'the Jones bit on the end'. And there are other areas in which Brother Jack has proved to be something less than the workers' friend.

Jones's verbal commitment to industrial democracy, which so delighted the revisionist academics of the Institute for Workers' Control, have not always resulted in a spirit of total frankness with his own members.

In September 1970 a small but extremely powerful group of port employers and ship-owners held the first of a series of meetings with Jones and the T&GWU national docks officer, Tim O'Leary. Topics discussed included the abolition of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

The Dock Labour Scheme, legislated in 1947, gives dockers registered under it the statutory right to a job and joint control with the employers over discipline.

Sir Arthur Kirby, then chairman of the National Ports Council, had described the scheme in July 1970 as 'the sheet-anchor of dockers' rights for a quarter of a century', and it was not exactly news that the employers wanted to

get rid of it. But that concrete plans for its abolition should be brought forward within three months of the election of a Tory government was surely a matter for discussion in the elected councils of Jones's union.

DISASTROUS

Yet not only was the matter not discussed, it was never even reported to the T&GWU docks and waterways committee, docks delegate conference or general executive.

Moreover at his first secret meeting with the port employers—Sir John Nicholson of Ocean Steamship, Sir Andrew Crichton of OCL and George Tonge of Hay's Wharf—Jones insisted that it would be disastrous to talk publicly about any change in the existing structure of the port industry until Phase Two of the Devlin modernization scheme had bedded down.

The employers' proposal, outlined in detail at the Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, on October 1—was simple: the conditions of 1947 no longer applied, the scheme and the National Dock Labour Board should be scrapped and replaced with a conventional hire-and-fire agreement within the compass of the industry's National Joint Council.

By November 6 things had progressed sufficiently for Nicholson to report confidently, at a private lunch with Transport Minister John Peyton, that Jones was apparently not hostile to the employers' plans 'despite his understandable and doctrinaire preference for nationalization' and that he would be prepared at the appropriate time to talk turkey

about getting rid of the NDLB.

Unless the hard-headed Nicholson was uncharacteristically deluding himself, this is an interesting observation. It highlights a general truth about the Jones style of trade union leadership. On the one hand he maintains 'doctrines' he would 'prefer' to implement, but in practical, day-to-day negotiations he is quite prepared to make all sorts of unprincipled concessions.

Another occasion on which Jones's actual practice fell somewhat short of total consultation with the rank and file occurred towards the close of the ten-week Ford strike in 1971.

With Hugh Scanlon, once regarded by Fleet Street with quite irrational fear as his terrible twin in the presidency of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Jones was responsible for the secret ballot formula which ended the strike.

The formula was hammered out at clandestine meetings between Jones, Scanlon and the head of Ford Europe, Stanley Gillen, on March 29 and 30. These were arranged on March 26 without any consultation whatsoever with the convenors and shop stewards concerned.

The actual sequence of events was this:

On March 25 the trade union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee met. The full-time union officials and convenors present decided to ignore a meeting of the full NJNC fixed for the following day and set up a central strike committee.

The convenors, in particular, were convinced they were

in for a long battle. Their confidence in this assessment had been increased by an incident that same morning.

While on their way to the meeting, the Liverpool delegation had run into Jones on Euston Station. They had questioned him about speculation in 'The Times' about a possible intervention by the union leaders. Dismissing this as totally unfounded, Jones told them: 'I'm not involved. It's up to you lads—you're running the strike.'

But while the NJNC was in progress, Gillen was on the phone first to Robert Carr, then Employment Secretary, to try and arrange a meeting with Jones and Scanlon.

Carr did not think he could pull it off. But he suggested Gillen contact TUC secretary Victor Feather, who was able to deliver the goods by the very next morning. Jones agreed to the meeting, but did not see fit to inform the men to whom he had so categorically ruled out intervention 24 hours earlier.

The first of the convenors heard of this was during the afternoon of Tuesday, March 30, when they were summoned to London to hear the formula that was to split the strikers and end the strike. As one of them subsequently told Workers Press: 'I was flabbergasted. There we were, fighting Henry Ford and the Industrial Relations Act, and there Jones was agreeing with Henry's sidekick to a secret ballot, one of the first provisions of the Act.'

The convenor in question should not have been surprised.

It was admittedly another 13 months before Jones and

the T&GWU leadership could signal their final acceptance of the Act by appearing at the National Industrial Relations Court and handing over the £55,000 in fines it had exacted because of 'blacking' action by their dockers members in Liverpool, but the key retreat had already occurred two weeks before the Ford secret ballot was agreed.

On March 18, 1971, the TUC met in special session at Croydon. A right-wing rump who had already declared their intention of co-operating with the Act handed Feather and his General Council a majority against strike action to prevent it reaching the Statute Book. But instead of challenging this phoney and disastrous decision, Scanlon and Jones accepted it.

From then on any real fight against the Act and its Tory authors collapsed.

The bitter fruits of this abandonment of principle were tasted by workers during the long docks crisis which blew up in March of this year when a small haulage and warehousing firm, Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd, complained to the NIRC that its lorries were being turned away from Liverpool docks.

OBEYED

First, at a half-strength meeting of the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee on May Day, some of the very same men Jones and Scanlon had failed to fight at Croydon were able to smash the policy of no co-operation with the institutions of the Act.

When a few days later the T&GWU appeared in court the

full flavour of this betrayal came through emphatically.

'It will be my case,' said the union's QC, Peter Pain, 'that it has always been union policy that court orders, however distasteful they may be, should be obeyed, and through the full-time officials the union has sought to have that carried into effect.'

Pressed by NIRC president Sir John Donaldson to say whether he was challenging the principle or the application of his previous judgements, Pain made the key admission: 'Their application.'

It is inconceivable that such a crucial statement could have been made without the clearest of briefs from Jones and the top leadership of the T&GWU. Yet to say that only the application of the judgements was all that was questioned was to attempt to sidestep the force of the court's powers, which would then be turned against the shop stewards.

'I shall be asking you to say that the shop stewards did not have the union's authority for their actions and that these circumstances do not put the union in contempt,' said Pain.

In this way the T&GWU leadership accepted the whole framework of the anti-union Act, placing itself in the role of merely arguing with the courts about how it should be applied. And although the NIRC at first refused to accept the T&GWU's interpretation, following the Appeal Court judgement of June 13 was the law according to Jack Jones which hung the threat of jail over the shop stewards' movement.

Meanwhile other principles were also being undermined.

On June 2, 1972, Jones met Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan to discuss the jobs crisis which was threatening to push the docks industry into a lengthy strike. It was agreed that a joint committee should be set up with the port employers to find a negotiated solution.

Joint chairman with Jones was to be Lord Aldington, chairman of the Port of London Authority, banker and former deputy chairman of the Tory Party. Aldington, formerly Toby Low, was and remains a close friend and associate of Tory premier Edward Heath.

It was with the promise of a quick report from this committee that on June 14, the same day as the NIRC's first threat to jail dockers, Jones won the postponement of official national strike action.

At a point when all the forces were present for a campaign to force the Tory government to resign, in other words, Jones's concern was to defuse the crisis and find ways not only of accepting the Industrial Relations Act, but of implementing the principle of unemployment on the docks.

When Donaldson finally jailed five London dockers, including members of Jones's own union, the T&GWU secretary sat with hands folded as an unprecedented anti-Tory strike movement swept the country.

At a point when the slightest push should have sent the Tories toppling, the man who had once said he would rather face jail himself than accept the Act lifted not a finger. Meanwhile desperate

attempts to bring the Jones-Aldington report out on time went ahead.

The six-page report was published three days after the dockers were jailed, as the spontaneous walk-outs which had shut down the docks and Fleet Street were rapidly spreading into other industries.

It confirmed all dockers' worst fears. The employers' assessment of the situation on the docks, that besides the 1,650 men on the temporarily unattached register (TUR) another 4,000 men were surplus to requirements.

Nothing about the millions taken out of the industry by the employers with no investment in return, nothing about the 20,000 jobs lost in the last five years, nothing about the supposedly official policy of the T&GWU docks and waterways committee—100 per cent nationalization of the industry with workers' control.

By last week the Jones-Aldington report had already achieved a large part of the job it was intended to do. One thousand, seven hundred men had already left the industry, out of a total 5,500 applications for severance received. The register, in other words, has been slashed under conditions where over 800,000 workers, many of them Jones's members, are still wholly unemployed.

Jones as yet may not number himself among Heath's best friends, but his so-called working relationship with one of the men who is may yet qualify him as a contender for the title.

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

A review by Tom Kemp. Part One 1933-1934

A series of volumes covering Trotsky's writings in the period of his exile from the Soviet Union, 1929 to 1940, is in course of publication by the Pathfinder Press of New York and is available in this country. It is, of course, ironic that the publishing house of the Socialist Workers' Party, which has abandoned Trotskyism and Marxism in any form, should turn to the reverential task of bringing out writings which are a condemnation of their own political degeneration. Many years ago Lenin spoke of those who try to turn revolutionaries after their death into 'harmless icons'. This has, for a long time, been the position of the SWP. Aside from the motives and circumstances of their publication, these volumes provide an invaluable addition to the literature of Marxism which we strongly recommend to every reader. The two most recent to appear in the form of books of over 370 pages for the years 1933-1934 and 1934-1935 are priced at £1.43 each. Four others in a large format, mostly reproducing items directly from the sources in which they were first printed in English, covering the years 1935-1936, 1937-1938, 1938-1939 and 1939-1940, cost £1.25 each. In this article, which reviews the volume for 1933-1934, and in those which are to follow, the attention of prospective readers will be drawn to the problems dealt with by Trotsky in these writings and particular items will be discussed in more detail.

Trotsky's years of exile, from his expulsion from the Soviet Union in 1929 until his assassination by an agent of Stalin in Mexico in August 1940, was a period of bitter and unremitting struggle to expose Stalinism and to assemble the forces for a new international.

This took place under the most harrowing conditions in which he was pushed from one country to another in Europe as the current of fascism and war rose higher.

In this period of defeat and betrayal for the working class Trotsky maintained the historical continuity with the founders of the Marxist movement, with Lenin and the Bolsheviks and with the Communist International which Stalin has destroyed as a revolutionary force.

The recognition of this great historical responsibility pervaded all of Trotsky's writings during the 1930s. There was no one else able to carry forward the tasks which he recognized as imperative if the working class was to rise again from its defeats.

The world scene which confronted Trotsky when he left Turkey in July 1933 to take up residence as a political exile in France was both sombre and full of opportunities. Capitalism had gone through the worst crisis and depression in its history and seemed on the brink of collapse. Unemployment and grinding poverty was the lot of millions of workers in the richest countries in the world. Preparations were already being made for the next imperialist war.

Instead of being able to take advantage of the decay and decline of capitalist economy and the whole bourgeois social order the working class in the advanced countries was itself held back by its treacherous leaderships and the bureaucratic apparatuses whereby they maintained their hold on the movement.

After their betrayals in 1914 the social democratic parties of the Second International, including the Labour Party in Britain, had become allies of the bourgeoisie and opponents of revolutionary change. They sought palliatives for the depression by patching up capitalism. They gave life to the illusion that by reforms the position of the working class could be radically im-

proved and that ultimately capitalism would be replaced.

The founding of the Communist International in 1919 preserved the continuity with Marxism. Its goal was the construction of revolutionary parties able to take power from the ruling class. But first these parties had to win cadres from the advanced workers and then break decisive sections of the masses from the hold of reformism.

In the reflux which followed the revolutionary years after the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917, the workers' state degenerated. Stalin emerged as the representative of the new bureaucratic caste produced in backward peasant Russia under conditions of extreme isolation. The communist parties were subordinated to the dictates of Moscow where policy was determined by Stalin himself and his hand-picked henchmen.

The adoption of the policy of 'socialism in one country' represented Stalin's break with Marxism. The role of the communist parties became that of border guards for the Soviet Union, instruments of Stalin's foreign policy. The disastrous results were shown notably in Britain in the General Strike of 1926 and in China in 1926-1927. Trotsky and the Left Opposition carried on a struggle against this degeneration, upholding the banner of Marxism against a new form of revisionism.

By their command of the apparatus of the Russian party and the Communist International Stalin and his allies of the moment were able to beat down the Left Opposition, exiling and imprisoning thousands of its supporters. Trotsky himself was too closely identified with the Revolution, where he had stood at Lenin's side, and with the victories of the Red Army in the Civil War to be liquidated or even imprisoned at this time.

International

Finally it was decided that the best way to silence and stifle this intransigent upholder of revolutionary Marxist principles was to send him as an exile into the capitalist world. Here, it was hoped, he would be isolated more completely than he could ever be at Alma Ata or even in a labour camp or prison. Without a movement or supporters what could a single individual do?

The Stalinists hoped that



1933: Von Papen, Hitler and von Hindenburg (foreground) after Hitler had been in power six weeks.

Trotsky's treatment would result in him becoming an enemy of the Soviet state and that he could be finally discredited once he was on capitalist soil. They would not have the trouble of killing or imprisoning an old revolutionary fighter; wait long enough, they must have reasoned, and he will go over to the bourgeoisie as other exiles had done or were to do.

In this calculation they were, of course, mistaken. Despite all the difficulties of working from a Turkish island, Trotsky continued his political activities without interruption. Just as in 1916 the adherents of the Third International had fitted into two stage coaches, so now the partisans of a new international were a comparative handful. Trotsky set himself the primary task of bringing together these forces and finding the biggest possible audience in the working-class movement internationally for the principles for which the Left Opposition was fighting in the Soviet Union.

Isaac Deutscher and others have written about this last period in Trotsky's life to depict him as the tragic hero fighting against the current of history. They denigrate his efforts, which he considered the most important of his life, to build a new international. They turn him into a 'great man', a 'harmless icon', who left some literary and political works of great value (though not without their errors!) but who would have been better advised not to waste his time trying to regroup the revolutionary forces in order to build a new leadership.

The series of volumes covering the period of Trotsky's exile, of which six have been published so far, enable us to follow his struggle on almost a day-to-day basis. Although the conditions under which he lived prevented him from participating actively in the political work of the International Left Opposition, he was its driving force and main inspiration.

He kept in touch with every group which manifested support for the stand of the Left Opposition, followed through its activities and tried, from his vast experience, to assist it to develop politically and to grow. Many items in this collection deal with the life of the movement. We are able to follow Trotsky's attempts to win support from the best

elements in the parties and groups which, breaking from social democracy or Stalinism, still hesitated in a political limbo without taking the path of revolution.

Many documents and items of correspondence concerning Trotsky's relationships with his supporters and people he was trying to win for the movement remain, of course, unpublished in the archives at Harvard University. Many of those which appear in these volumes were almost equally inaccessible and could only be found in long-forgotten articles in papers or internal bulletins or in out of print pamphlets. Some appear in English for the first time.

The series is entitled 'writings' rather than either 'collected' or 'selected' works. It does not include Trotsky's longer works written during this period or others which are permanently in print. Nor is it a selection which picks out the more important according to some arbitrary judgement. The writings represented here are obviously of different orders of importance and some can only be understood with the help of the quite instructive and copious notes.

The volumes provide a view of the crisis in the working-class movement in the 1930s which is quite without parallel. Trotsky was concerned all the time with the analysis of events and with prognoses about the probable course of development in order to arm and guide the movement. His writings exemplify the point that Marxism is the science of perspectives.

What is important in considering Trotsky's work at this time is not that he was sometimes to be proved wrong as events developed, but that he was wholly right about the main trends. All the other tendencies in the labour movement were in complete disarray. The Stalinists dare not reprint their writings of the period. A 'selection from 'Inprecorr'' would only incite ridicule. The reformists seldom write anything which can last beyond the next change of government.

The volume for 1933-1934 is of great significance because it includes Trotsky's re-assessment of perspectives made necessary by the triumph of Nazism in Germany and the smashing of the working-class movement which followed. Trotsky had foreseen this

disaster, which had been made possible by the 'third period' line of the Comintern based on the view that the main danger came from social democracy and that there was little to choose between a fascist government and any other form of bourgeois rule.

During 1933 and 1934 the communist parties continued to maintain that this policy had been correct. A resolution of the Executive Committee of the Comintern which Trotsky discusses, passed in January 1934, still claimed that the difference between social democracy and fascism only involves the 'forms and methods of fascistization'. By then the social democracy in Germany had been wiped out and thousands of its worker followers executed or confined in concentration camps.

Throughout the last critical years of the Weimar Republic Trotsky had argued vigorously against the 'social fascist' line and for a united front approach by the German Communist Party (KPD) to the Social Democratic Party (SPD) leaders which would force them to fight fascism or expose them so that real inroads could be made into their ranks. Instead everything which the KPD did alienated SDP workers from it and tied them more closely to their leaders.

Going over this period in the aftermath of the defeat was, for Trotsky, a means of drawing lessons which could be applied to other countries where the fascist danger was now on the immediate agenda.

'Had the Comintern placed, from 1929, or even from 1930 or 1931, at the foundation of its policies the objective irreconcilability between Social Democracy and fascism, or more exactly between fascism and Social Democracy; if upon this it had built a systematic and persistent policy of the united front, Germany, within a few months, would have been covered with a network of mighty committees of proletarian defence, that is potential workers' soviets.' (p.215)

And Trotsky goes on to say that the Soviet Union should have announced that it would have regarded Hitler's coming to power as a preparation to strike eastward and would have reinforced its military forces on its western borders in order to strengthen the confidence of the German working class.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

WEALTH

The governors at the Cheshire school where 18-year-old Merry Hamp was almost totally blinded after an accident seven years ago are to appeal against the £76,000 damages awarded her by the High Court.

The school, Mount Carmel Convent, at Alderley Edge, is run by nuns of the Sisters of St Joseph—a 'small order'. The governors claim it has no sources of revenue but for the £150-a-year fees paid by the 575 pupils.

They also say that the school had only insured themselves up to £25,000 for personal injury accidents.

Apart from the £76,000 damages the nuns will also have to foot legal costs and other expenses which could push their liability up to £100,000.

Joseph Rylands, chairman of the school governors said: 'We made some provision, but we cannot meet the whole amount.'

'It is likely that our advisers will suggest that we appeal against the amount of the award. If we are successful in reducing the amount it will relieve considerable anxiety.'

It all sounds heart-rending, doesn't it. A struggling little band of nuns cornered by adversity and having their noses rubbed in the dirt to boot.

But the headquarters of the 'small order' are in Marseilles, France, and presumably live off a little more than the contributions from a handful of pupils.

The matter does not end there. The nuns in this small order are Catholic. Behind all their petty wrangling stands the wealth of the richest church on earth. Why doesn't the Pope sell off a bauble or two?

RELATIONS

More details have emerged about the growing accord between the Moscow Stalinists and the Madrid fascists. The Spanish Cortes (parliament) will approve by the end of the year the newly-signed trade agreement with Russia. In the New Year the two countries will swap trade delegations of a semi-diplomatic status.

According to the text of the agreement, both countries

will send 12 representatives. Of these, a maximum of four will have diplomatic status and protection. Foreign correspondents say that discussions will continue 'for the eventual establishment of full diplomatic relations between Spain and Russia.'

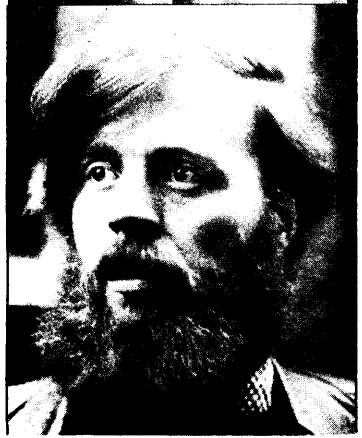
LUNCH

Lord Annan, the right-wing Labour academic, recently lectured the National Union of Students about its role in the Stirling University incident in which the Queen was alleged to have been ruffled by a number of wine-swilling students.

Annan disclosed that the Communist Party president of the NUS, Digby Jacks, had taken Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Tory Education Secretary, to a restaurant for lunch.

'The Sunday Times' got on the scent and discovered that the scene of this grisly tête à tête between the Stalinist and the reactionary Cabinet minister was Mirabelle's, described as 'one of Europe's most expensive restaurants.'

Below: expensive diners — NUS president Jacks and Mrs Thatcher



VOTE, VOTE, VOTE FOR CAPITALISM

'The Candidate'. Directed by Michael Ritchie. With Robert Redford and Peter Boyle.

Having given us hippy-trendy gangsters, detectives, cowboys and spies, Hollywood now comes up with politicians.

Two former campaigners from the Democratic Party—Michael Ritchie used to guide President Kennedy's TV appearances and screenwriter Jeremy Lerner was a speech writer for Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign—have combined to pep up the threadbare image of the established political parties.

Needless to say in a year when the major trade unions, for the first time in 16 years, are abstaining from supporting either of the two major capitalist parties, this is no academic problem.

Bill McKay (Robert Redford) agrees to stand as Democratic candidate for the position of Senator of California. He is counterposed to the so-called 'straight society' (capitalists, trade unions, consumers etc.) as a member of the equally so-called 'alternative society' who are, we are led to believe, different, because they remain true to doing their own thing.

Although his father (Melvyn Douglas) is a former state Governor, and a rich, shrewd old politician, he qualifies as a representative because of his work in a community law centre.

On announcing his intention to stand he refuses to be photographed with the staff of the law office on the ground that he is not 'responsible for what they think'.

'They' all clap enthusiastically! The motive of Hollywood for basing this view of the US electoral process on a false 'hippy-style' dichotomy is not difficult to understand.

The film starts with some leading Californian Democrats discussing the lack of appeal of their proposed candidates (significantly enough—and just look what's happening to McGovern!) and one of the local king-makers (Peter Boyle) makes Bill McKay an offer he

can't refuse. 'You'll lose, but you'll have a year to speak up for good causes and catch the headlines.'

McKay soon shows he's not afraid to say that the US isn't what it used to be, or that pollution is getting worse, and that a car park has been built on a beach where he used to sunbathe (strong stuff this!).

However, the profound message of the film is that he who get involved in big-time politics, whatever his intentions, will have to compromise his principles in the end.

He tries to take the campaign to the people, but it doesn't work. Workers refuse to shake his hand or listen while he stands at the factory gate (the inference being that they are waiting for orders from their union boss).

He books a public meeting, but nobody comes. He is insulted and attacked by odd people and freaks on the streets, and meanwhile the purpose-built mass media image gradually eclipses his former self.

The ultimate bankruptcy of his conception is shown via an attempt to cash in on a forest fire which has been caused by Republican farmers who have interfered with land drainage. Just when he appears at the scene of action, his opponent descends from the sky in a helicopter and with some well-chosen clichés dominates the TV and Press.

Slowly he drops his former intransigence on abortion reform and bussing, supports law and order and agrees to the deletion of a TV commercial advocating more welfare assistance on the grounds that it is 'bad TV'.

Meanwhile his backers, via their 'plastic politics', concentrating on his honest, youthful, radical appearance, have built up the sacred ratings to a point where the Republican opponent Corcky Jarmin (finely played by Don Porter) agrees to a TV debate.

Just before the end he suddenly breaks from the scripted exchange of mealy-mouthed half-truths, in a radical outburst, protesting at the lack of real discussion about the

social roots of poverty and crime, which causes Jarmin to lose his cool and bluster preposterously.

Allegedly this enormously boosts his ratings even further. Even so, he winds up, making content-less speeches to a background of patriotic music (like Jarmin) which enraptures his supporters (however, it doesn't seem to be doing McGovern much good—but that's real life).

The insipid Robert Redford's task of establishing the plausibility of the candidate is made that much more difficult by the non-character nature of Bill McKay, because he is such a fiction, while many of the characters who surround him are obviously true social-character portrayals.

His opponent has already been mentioned. The same goes for his wily, yet tough, manager and also for his wife (played by Karen Carlson) who hits it just right as the careerist pusher type, who persuades him to compromise with the media, and plays the regal part on public occasions. However a poor job is made of depicting their increasing estrangement under the pressure of image-building.

This is a phoney film. The real corruption isn't shown. Such candidates are well and truly bought men, before they even announce their intention to stand.

The crucial dinners of the rich backers, where the real wheeling and dealing is done, is not even suggested.

In fact there is no suggestion where the obviously immense amounts of money needed come from. The film was supposed to be something of an exposure of the US election process, but concentrates on depicting the nature of 'advance' work—drumming up crowds, organizing parades and publicity gimmicks.

Bill McKay wins, much to his surprise, and the film finishes on his plaintive question: 'What do I do now?' However, like a number of 'hippies' who've made it, in real terms they don't ask this question. They get on and do whatever their capitalist masters bid them.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;
Where Is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87;
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
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Paperback 75p
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Paperback 60p

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London SW4 7UG.

1,000 MORE TO FACE THE DOLE IN BATTERSEA

The 1,400 workers at the Morgan Crucible factory in Battersea, south London, know now how and when they are to become victims of a multi-million pound property development scheme.

Plans have just been announced to close the factory in the next three years and use the 11-acre site for office development and luxury flats.

Workers at the plant have been living under the threat of mass redundancies since 1968 when 2,500 were employed at the plant which fronts the river Thames on the south side.

TRANSFER

Then the firm announced the carbon material and brush manufacture side of the business would be transferred to Morrision, near Swansea, South Wales.

Since that date the workforce has been reduced by over 900 — largely through

sackings.

Although the company says some work will be available in Swansea and at another factory near Battersea, almost another 1,000 workers will be forced to join the area's rapidly-growing dole queue.

NO DECISION

Over 27,000 jobs have been lost in the Wandsworth area in the past six years—more than one quarter of the borough's total working population.

Morgan, in partnership with the builders, Wates, proposes to construct on its Battersea site about 290,000 square feet of office and luxury accommodation for 1,300 people in 53 houses and two blocks of flats. Undoubtedly Morgan and Wates stand to make far more than the £10m they are expected to lay out to push the construction through.

Only Wandsworth council's planning committee now stands in their way. As yet no official decision has been made on the requested outline planning permission by the Labour Council.

ASSET STRIPPERS AT WORK

BY PHILIP WADE

Asset strippers and property developers are keeping a close eye on a number of textile companies which are quoted on the northern stock exchange.

In what are known as 'shell' operations, the Barclay Securities of this world are preparing to move in.

Finding a 'shell' is the game through which ailing companies with low share prices are bought out and then pumped full of new assets. From, for example, being in textiles, the company suddenly emerges as nothing more than a property venture.

The advantages of moving in this way are that competitors are fooled by what is going on and those in the know can make enormous sums of money when the shares suddenly rocket to untold heights.

Harry Hyams started in life this way when he bought the Oldham Estates Company for next to nothing. Now he is a multi-millionaire and his secrecy of movement has paid off.

Shiloh Spinners is one com-

pany in the greater Manchester area currently under the spotlight. The shares are quoted at 21p each, whereas the assets at real value would give a share price of over 39p.

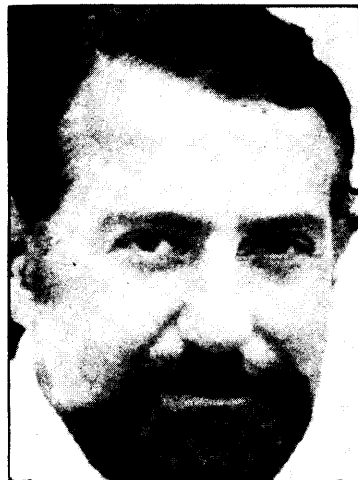
The company has about 20 acres of land which is considered ripe for housing development. Two or three companies are reported to be watching Shiloh and a take-over is expected in the next few weeks.

Another firm under observation is Werneth Ring Mill. Last month the Sheffield-based Northern Provincial Investment bought a 13½ per cent stake in the company.

Since then Northern Provincial have been carefully buying more shares, although at the same time, of course, denying a take-over bid was in progress.

Ash Spinning, near Oldham, has assets which would almost more than double its current share price quotation. Other potential 'shells' include Clover, Croft and State of Rochdale and Ellenwood at New Hey, near the motorway.

The latter could be used for an industrial estate or warehousing, if the tyre fabric manufacturing side were hived



Harry Hyams — his secrecy of movement through 'shell' companies paid off, in millions.

off to another textile company.

And there are a number of other companies which could soon find themselves divested of textile machinery and turned over to property development.

What this means for the workers in these factories is, of course, almost certain redundancy. While British industry slumps towards all-out collapse, the financial vultures are lining up.

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GOODMAN DIRECTS A TORY PR STUNT

Some local authorities are refusing to co-operate with a Tory plan to organize a 'Fanfare for Europe' from January 3 to 13 to celebrate Britain's entry into the Common Market.

The government has allocated a total of £350,000—£250,000 for cultural events and £100,000 for 'other activities'—to mark the occasion.

Chairman of the organization, Lord Goodman, said last week the celebrations were not a political event. The festival, he said, is 'designed purely from the point of view of making it entertaining'.

Goodman and his committee know very well that the Tories are lavishing this money around deliberately to make EEC entry as palatable as possible for the public.

Treasury funds are being used in a naked propaganda exercise on behalf of the government.

Goodman, a Labour peer, is Harold Wilson's private solicitor. He is chairman of the Newspaper Publishers' Association and a director of a number of big entertainment companies. His co-chairman, Lord Mancroft, is a former junior minister in the Tory government and he remains a director of the Cunard Steamship Company.



Labour Lord Goodman who is directing 'Fanfare for Europe'.

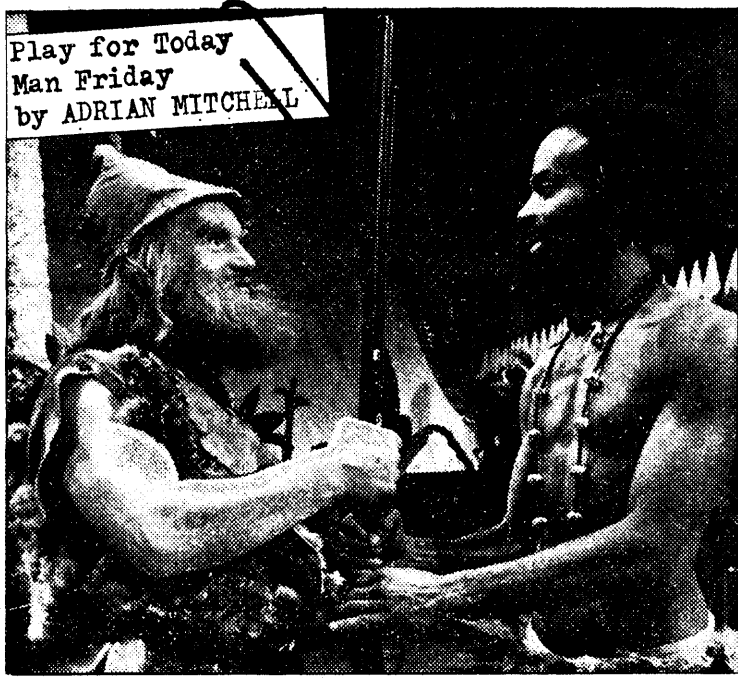
Goodman was chairman of the Arts Council whose budget the Tories slashed so viciously. He scarcely protested against this move, but he willingly

accepts a job with the Tories to spend money on so-called 'cultural events' in the month of accession into the reactionary European clique.

BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stalinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
Death Agony of Capitalism
(The Transitional Programme)
Pamphlet 5p
Class Nature of the Soviet State
Pamphlet 20p
In Defence of the October
Revolution Pamphlet 15p
The Theory and Practice of
Revisionism Pamphlet 15p
Postage 10p per book, 3p per
pamphlet. Order from:
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Colin Blakely as Robinson Crusoe and Ram John Holder in the title role of 'Man Friday', Adrian Mitchell's new version of the time-worn story on BBC 1's Play for Today series tonight.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.05 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Yoga. 2.50 Film: 'Strongroom'. 4.15 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.15 Addams family. 6.45 London. 10.35 Name of the game. 11.55 News, weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Film: 'The Man With A Cloak'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Question time South. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 1.00 Helen McArthur show. 1.30 London. 2.00 Common Market cook book. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'Mary Had A Little'. 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: 'Two on a Guillotine'. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 41 as above except: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 as 41 plus: 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos.

HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.30

TV

BBC 2

11.00 11.25 Play school.

7.05 **CHILDREN GROWING UP.** All in the Game.

7.30 **NEWSROOM.** Weather.

8.00 **ALIAS SMITH AND JONES.** The Fifth Victim.

8.50 **OUT OF THE BOX.**

9.25 **SHOW OF THE WEEK: SACHA'S IN TOWN.** Sacha Distel with guests Mireille Mathieu, Dawn.

10.10 **SEARCH AND DISCOVERY.** Digs and discoveries in 1972.

11.00 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.05 **LATE NIGHT LINE UP.**

BBC 1

9.38-11.55 Schools. 12.00 Profit by control. 12.25 Cywain. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mills at one. 1.30 Along the river. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 The long chase. 5.45 News and weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.**

6.45 **TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM.** United Kingdom v Canada.

7.10 **Z CARS.** Public Relations.

8.00 **PANORAMA.**

9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS.** Weather.

9.20 **PLAY FOR TODAY: 'MAN FRIDAY'.** By Adrian Mitchell. With Colin Blakely and Ram John Holder.

10.40 **MASTERMIND.**

11.10 **LATE NIGHT NEWS.**

11.15 **THE SKY AT NIGHT.** Collapsing Stars.

11.35 **IRELAND.** Ulster Will Fight.

12.00 **Weather.**

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.35 Personnel people. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Larry the lamb. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'My Six Loves'. Debbie Reynolds. 4.25 Free-wheelers. 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 **SEZ LES.**

9.00 **KATE.** Moonlight and Roses.

10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**

10.30 **MISS LONDON 1972.**

11.30 **DRIVE-IN.**

12.00 **BEYOND INSTITUTIONS.**

night. 10.35 Film: 'Desire Under the Elms'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'Family Doctor'. 4.25 London. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Film: 'Quebec'. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Frozen Dead'.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 2.00

All our yesterdays. 2.30 News. 2.31 Common Market cook book. 3.00 Film: 'The Disorderly Orderly'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the Press. 11.00 Spyforce. 11.55 News. 12.10 Greatest fights of the century. 12.25 Six years in Sunderland.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Enchanted house. 3.00 News. 3.05 Film: 'Don't Ever Leave Me'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale Farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Julia. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Meditation.

First step to dockers' and drivers' unity

BY DAVID MAUDE

FIRST STEPS towards united action to make east London cold store jobs dockers' work were taken at a meeting of dockers' and lorry drivers' shops stewards on Saturday. The stewards decided unanimously to ask Jack Jones, Transport and General Workers Union secretary, to make a new approach to the owners of two stores: Midland Cold Storage at Hackney and UK Cold Storage, Dagenham.

Called by officials of the T&GWU's London region, the meeting declared that it was the policy of both the docks and commercial sections of the union that work at the stores was dockers' work. If Jones's new approach was rebuffed, it was agreed, a further meeting would be called to decide on united action by dockers and lorry drivers.

Both the Vestey organization, which owns Midland, and UK's parent company Hay's Wharf have fiercely resisted the demand that they employ registered dockers at their cold stores.

However, the Vestey's legal action which jailed the Pentonville Five failed to shift the dockers' pickets. So did the sacking of 27 T&GWU cold store workers just over a week ago.

Saturday's meeting adopted a *status quo* position as regards the picketing: the lorry drivers' stewards recognized they could not ask for the pickets to be withdrawn, while the dockers stressed the importance of drivers continuing to respect the picket line.

It was understood that, alongside the declaration that cold store jobs should be dockers' work, it was also policy that none of the unregistered workers currently working there should lose their jobs.

Workers Press has fought consistently for united action between dockers, lorry drivers,

cold store and container depot workers over jobs. As one participant in Saturday's meeting insisted afterwards: 'It is vital that it is understood that the main enemy of the docker is not the lorry driver and that the main enemy of the lorry driver is not the docker, but that the employer is the main enemy of both.'

What is urgently needed now is a policy for united struggle—a policy which Jones and the T&GWU leadership have shown themselves incapable of fighting for.

- No redundancies can be tolerated amongst any section of workers in the port, warehousing and transport industries. All workers must be maintained on full pay until they can be nationalized, placed under workers' control and planned on socialist lines.

- The statutory guarantee of registered dockers' jobs contained in the National Dock Labour Scheme must be defended—and extended to cover every port, container depot and cold store.

- The T&GWU biennial delegate conference must be recalled to adopt this policy, demand the ending of all talks with the Tories and mobilize union members to force the government to resign.

In this way the political conditions can be created for the return of a Labour government which would nationalize the port, warehousing and transport industries without compensation and under workers' control.

Talks on Arthur Lees' strike tomorrow



'EXPLORATORY' talks with the management are to be held tomorrow to try to resolve the dispute at Arthur Lees' Sheffield works.

Maintenance workers have been on strike for four weeks for a substantial improvement in the bonus structure.

After a mass meeting earlier last week works convenor Alan Bentley told Workers Press:

'There will be no compromise and we will fight all the way.'

A strong day and night picket is being maintained at the factory (above), which is Sheffield's largest privately-owned steel works.

But George Caborn, AUEW district official and a Communist Party member, is seeking talks that 'would be in the interests of all sides'.

AUEW shop stewards have been issued with two union pamphlets called 'A Guide to Time-Study' and 'Work-Measurement Techniques'.

A picket who followed a lorry after it had broken through the picket lines claims to have been stopped by a car containing two men who said they were from the 'Road Haulage Security Organization' and warned him off.

Socialist Labour League

Leeds

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Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee member)

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Provos make 'start anew' plea to Protestants

FROM IAN YEATS
IN DUBLIN

AN OLIVE branch was held out to Ulster Protestants yesterday by Provisional Sinn Fein president Rory O'Brady in a speech to the movement's biggest Ard Fheis since 1925.

One thousand provisionals from Ulster and the Republic, meeting under close Special Branch surveillance, at the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union headquarters at Liberty Hall, Dublin, heard O'Brady say:

'We do not wish to submerge the Unionists of the North in an all-Ireland state.

'We offer them very real powers in majority control of a greater Ulster through the Dail Uladh plan (Ulster parliament).

'Incorporation of nine counties will give a healthier balance of population in the North—something the six-county state has always lacked.'

Addressing himself directly to Ulster Protestants, O'Brady said: 'We would never ask you to join the 26-county state—we are trying to escape from it ourselves.

The recently-released Provisionals' policy document 'Eire Nua' looks forward to a 32-county Ireland governed by four regional parliaments involving the scrapping of partition governments and the severing of all links with Britain.

The keynote of this year's Ard Fheis was the urgency of following up what Sinn Fein leaders claimed as their victory in bringing down the 'puppet regime' at Stormont—with massive recruitment into the Republican movement.

Although it was not stated in so many words, Provisional leaders are anxious to heal sectarian divisions in the North and win support from all sections for their regional government plans.

During the private conference session on Saturday there were fierce clashes over the historically-contentious issue of the oath of allegiance and a split was narrowly avoided by a compromise resolution of unique significance.

After 50 years Provisional Sinn Fein members may now retain their membership and swear allegiance to the partition government at Westminster provided only that they repudiate the oath in writing to their local branches.

For over half a century the oath had to be repudiated publicly thus severely limiting recruitment.

O'Brady and Provisionals chief of staff Sean MacStiofain laid heavy emphasis on the need for new political organization and initiatives alongside their military activities.

The Sinn Fein president called for more work in the trade union movement and said that all local elections in the Republic would be vigorously contested.

Said O'Brady: 'The aim must be to achieve the leadership of the people. Building regional government structures and involvement in local issues together with support for the North provides the means.'

On Saturday about 50 students from Trinity College, Dublin, who picketed the conference with banners demanding 'peace' were given a hot reception by the Provisionals and at one stage had to be protected by police.

TENANTS meeting at Paisley, near Glasgow, yesterday enthusiastically endorsed a call for the trade union leaders to end their collaboration with the Tories and fight to remove them from office.

They agreed to lobby Labour councillors before next month's council meeting to demand that they rescind their decision to implement the Tories' Housing Finance Act.

Willie Docherty, chairman of the Paisley Tenants' Action Committee, said that the Industrial Relations Act, the Common Market and the Housing Finance Act were not separate issues. By acting in support of the tenants, trade unionists could develop the strength to fight them.

Boilermakers ballot to return, but Stormy opposition to Tyne deal

TWO THOUSAND Tyneside boilermakers employed at Swan Hunter's decided by a ballot vote of 1,337 to 803 to end their eight-week old strike yesterday.

The result came after a stormy mass meeting on Saturday at which union president Dan McGarvey outlined the terms of the package deal which would give the men an immediate increase of £2.50.

This would be followed by 50p instalments in January and April of next year and £1 the following August.

As part of this is to be paid on the bonus, the full amount of £4.50 will depend on a drop in what McGarvey termed 'the alarming rate of absenteeism in the yards'.

The deal was bitterly attacked by a large minority of the stewards who argued for the original £4.72 cost-of-living increase in the basic rate.

McGarvey attempted to silence this criticism by trying to bind them to last Thursday's 28-23 decision of the shop stewards' committee in favour of the offer.

Les Jordan, a leading steward, told the mass meeting: 'The un-



Les Jordan: Personally attacked by McGarvey

democratic manoeuvres of the full-time officials have come as no surprise to us, but I'm bitterly disappointed with the majority of the stewards who have opened the door and allowed them to take control of the dispute.

'Inflation since last June has wiped out the £2.50 before we even see it. When the Tories take us into the Common Market we will not notice the rest,' he continued.

Urging the men to continue the struggle, Mr Jordan pointed to the growing financial sup-

port from other yards up and down the country.

'I received a cheque yesterday for £290,' he said.

This was used by McGarvey to launch a personal attack on Jordan. 'What is Jordan doing with the money? He is not your treasurer. I'm sure the boilermakers will reject procedure which can lead to the type of financial practices which we have seen before on the Tyne.'

Terry Daley, secretary of the shop stewards' committee, repudiated the implications of McGarvey's attack. He pointed out that it was Mr Jordan's job to tour the country to raise financial assistance.

McGarvey said that the men's security of employment had been discussed during talks with the management.

The two-year guarantee of employment expires in March next year and there was argument on this issue,' he said. 'The firm said they don't have enough orders to guarantee employment for a further year.'

He made it clear that under no circumstances would 'we accept a staggered pay deal if members are going to be laid off in March next year. We will be seeking further guarantees and watching the situation'.

Council workers' chiefs cave in

UNION LEADERS representing 950,000 council workers yesterday agreed to postpone talks on their members' £4 pay claim. The talks had been scheduled for today.

When the two sides met on October 19 the employers declined to reply to the unions' claim until after last Thursday's talks between the TUC, the CBI and the Tories at 10 Downing Street.

For the union side, Transport and General Workers' Union national officer John Cousins insisted they would 'not be seduced' by anything which emerged from the talks.

And in the National Union of Public Employees' journal, published today, there is a lot of big talk about pressing the employers to negotiate the claim 'on its merits'.

If they don't they will appear as agents of the government, the journal says. 'The whole tone of the employers' response makes it clear that the deciding factor, so far as the employers are concerned, is not the merit of the claim itself, but the policy which the government is determined to impose on the public sector.'

The front-page article also reports that as the beginning of this month 'representatives of the employers were summoned to the Department of Employment and given a straight talk on how vital it was that they should not make any offer until Heath cleared his lines on the Chequers talks'.

The crucial question, however, is not to prove government intervention. That is well known. What council workers want to know is what their leaders intend to do about the Tories.

Besides a £4-a-week increase in pay, the claim asks for a 35-hour week, more holidays and a 'threshold' clause which would raise earnings if the cost of living rose more than an agreed amount.

Yesterday's agreement to postpone the talks will be seen as evidence that the union leaders—like their power union colleagues—are prepared, for all their fine words, to come to terms with the Tories' state pay plan.

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WEST GERMAN officials yesterday released three Arab guerrillas to fly by executive jet to Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Other guerrillas had taken a hijacked Lufthansa Boeing 727 there with a number of hostages. Earlier Israel's ambassador in Bonn demanded all requests to release the prisoners—taken after the Munich Olympic Games shoot-out—be ignored. The hijackers, armed with grenades, seized the Boeing between Beirut and Ankara and it ordered it to Munich where the guerrilla prisoners were held. Later they switched destinations and directed the plane to the Yugoslav airfield.

New 'blacking' move to support Fine Tubes strikers

SIX HUNDRED delegates from 17 different trade unions voted unanimously in Birmingham on Saturday to implement and extend the blacking of all firms concerned with Fine Tubes Ltd, the Plymouth firm which has been strike-bound for two years and four months.

There were convenors and shop stewards from all major car plants, including British-Leyland, Ford, Chrysler and Massey-Ferguson and from Rolls-Royce and Hawker-Siddeley aircraft plants. Nineteen trades councils were also represented.

They called on all union executives to ensure that their officers and members effectively implement the black on Fine Tubes in deed as well as word. The demand was addressed particularly to the Transport and General Workers' Union and Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, whose members have been picketing the US-owned factory since the strike began.

Inquiry ignored

Though the strike is official, both unions have yet to instruct their members to impose the black, leaving a vital loophole through which supplies can get in and out of the factory. In addition, the engineering union has stopped paying strike pay to its members at the Plymouth factory.

Opening the Digbeth Hall conference, strike committee chairman Herman Welch outlined the history of the bitter Fine Tubes dispute. Since the strike began on June 15, 1970, the company

had used scab labour to keep the factory going. They had ignored the recommendations of a government inquiry into the strike.

Pickets had been attacked at the gates, he alleged, and negotiations with the company had been confined to two brief meetings in February and July this year.

'We are going to fight on until we win because we believe we have a right to belong to a trade union,' Mr Welch said.

In the discussion which followed many speakers attacked the official union attitude, particularly that of the AUEW, which now claims it is up to the shop floor to implement the blacking.

Joe Beckett, the local AUEW divisional secretary, was barracked by the meeting when he tried to justify the union's position.

Beckett tried to lay the blame for the Fine Tubes position on the strike committee and the Plymouth membership of the union. But he was sharply attacked by Plymouth delegates who pointed out that the officials had done nothing to encourage local support for the strikers.

There was also a cool reception for Terry Friel, representing the UCS shop stewards' coordinating committee, when he laid the blame for the Tory government on the English workers.

Claiming the UCS sell-out as a victory, Friel said: 'Time has overshadowed the Fine Tubes men, but the battle is not lost.'

AUEW assistant secretary Ernie Roberts, appearing in a personal capacity, told the meeting he was 'ashamed' the Fine

SOCIALIST
LABOUR LEAGUE
PUBLIC MEETING

BEHIND THE
ASSASSINATION
OF TROTSKY



a reply to Joseph
Losey's film

WEDNESDAY NOV 1

'The Three Legs'
The Headrow
LEEDS

7.30 p.m.

Speaker:
Cliff Slaughter
(SLL Central Committee)

admission 10p

Socialist Labour League
PUBLIC LECTURES

OXFORD

Thursday November 9
Basic essentials of Marxism

Thursday November 16
A theory of knowledge

Thursday November 23
Opponents of Marxism

Thursday November 30
Marxism—the science of
perspective

SOUTH OXFORD
COMMUNITY CENTRE
Lake Street, 8 p.m.

Lectures given by
SLL general secretary
G. Healy

Tubes strikers had been left to fight alone.

'We have to teach these anti-union American employers we are not serfs in this country,' he said.

Roberts claimed there was sufficient strength at the conference to defeat Fine Tubes, but he asked:

'Where is the TUC General Council in this struggle for basic trade union rights?'

Questioned from the floor he said the AUEW should 'bend' the rules to pay benefit to its members at Fine Tubes.

IS rebuffed

Attempts by the state capitalist International Socialism group to push for the formation of rank-and-file Fine Tubes Action Committees were firmly rebuffed from the chair. The strike committee insisted that its resolution should go through unamended.

Strike committee members insisted the main task was to ensure that the black on Fine Tubes products was made really watertight and that the unions take action to implement their decisions.

A collection at the conference raised over £1,000, including £380 donated by construction workers at Fiddler's Ferry power station site near Warrington.

Strike committee secretary Dick Williams said money to support the strike was urgently needed as the committee has to pay benefit to AUEW members who are without strike pay.

The committee's address is:
65 Bretonside, Plymouth, Devon.
Up-to-date blacking lists are
supplied on request.