

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY MARCH 1, 1973 ● No 1010 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY DAVID MAUDE
OUR LABOUR
CORRESPONDENT

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The future of crisis-torn capitalism is at stake. All policies which do not face up to that hard, central fact are policies of betrayal and defeat.

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By this he means a series of selective strikes, some of three days, and other sanctions stretching indefinitely into the future.

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The first is that Ford's, unable to carry on its usual high rate of continuous exploitation, will lock the strikers out under conditions where they are left without a policy and prey to demoralization.

The second is that lack of a decisive policy will split factory against factory, sending the Ford workers back to work with the company's derisory £2.40 pay offer—and the principle of state control of wages—fully accepted.

So it is hardly surprising that yesterday paint, trim and assembly plant and body plant meetings rejected a three-day strike call.

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It is in opposition to this betrayal, and those activities that the All Trades Unions Alliance has called for a mass lobby of the TUC next Monday, on the policy of General Strike to force the Tories to resign and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

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FEBRUARY FUND-FINAL TOTAL £2,062.91

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And we know it is this that wins all your support. Militancy alone will not defeat this government. This is why we demand the TUC calls a General Strike to create the industrial and political conditions to make this government resign.

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Up, up and up goes the cost of living

WHAT WE THINK

'THE TIMES' has called for a 4-per-cent increase in income tax in next Tuesday's budget, with no increase in company taxation.

It wants a cut in the budget deficit of at least £1,000m with further retrenchment over the next two years, and also a 'rein back' in the growth of home demand by the equivalent of about 1.5 per cent of national output.

This is to be taken out of the pockets of the working class and would also create a minimum level of unemployment of between 500,000 and 600,000. 'The price must be paid for the self-indulgence of the last two years,' says the leading Tory newspaper.

Workers who have been struggling against rising costs, unemployment and low wages are aware of little 'self-indulgence' on their part. 'The Times' call is an intensification of the capitalist attack on the working class. Workers' real wages are being deliberately driven down.

Rising interest rates over the past 12 months now amount to an increase of £1 a week per family in the cost of living. And worse is to follow. In 1972 the banks' base lending rates rose from 4.5 per cent to 7.5 per cent. This year they have moved up to 9.5 per cent and the chief executive of one of the big four banks—Natwest—has forecast a further rise.

Yet last year all the big four—Lloyds, Barclays, Midland and Natwest—reported record profits, up by 30 to 50 per cent.

This week the base rate of interest of the finance houses went up to 10 per cent, the fourth consecutive monthly rise. The base rate has doubled from 5 per cent in one year. Building Societies are almost certain to follow suit.

This means an increase in hire purchase payments, mortgages and bank loan interest charges. Prices are being consciously forced upwards by government policy and by gross profiteering.

The latest food price rise is in the retail price of sugar. It will go up by 1p per 2 lb bag in the next few days because the Ministry of Agriculture has cut the sugar subsidy from £15 to £10 per ton. This is the first of three steps for phasing out the subsidy altogether by June 30 in accordance with the agreement made by the European Common Market Agricultural Ministers in January.

The wholesale price of bacon will go up by at least 5p a pound because the Ministry of Agriculture is also with-

drawing its bacon subsidy—again under EEC arrangements.

Meanwhile cheese prices are being kept artificially high in order to maintain profits. Prices are still as high as last summer's peak, even though stocks are at a record 84,700 tons. Some English cheddar is in danger of going bad because it has been held off the market in order to keep the price up. English cheddar is now selling at 33p to 38p a pound, nearly twice as much as 18 months ago.

On April 1, with the introduction of Value-Added Tax, basic necessities like shoes and clothes will increase in price by about 10 per cent. And the government has the power to increase the rate by 2.5 per cent in the first year of operation and then to make changes of up to 20 per cent in any subsequent year.

By driving up the cost of living in this way, while holding down wages under its state pay laws, the government is seeking to provoke confrontations with the working class. Yet Labour front-bench spokesman Mr Peter Shore said on Tuesday that it 'would be wrong to dismiss out of hand' the government's pay and prices policy! Inflation had to

be stopped, said Shore, and the government 'had taken the first step'. Its state pay laws, according to this former contributor to 'Universities and Left Review', marked 'an important advance in government thinking'.

While the Labour front-bench lines up with the Tories, the trade union leaders and the Stalinists play into Heath's hands by permitting the working class to dissipate its strength and confidence in isolated, piece-meal battles. The revisionists, like the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group, who shout for militancy while leaving out the political question of a united struggle to bring down the government, assist the Stalinists and Labourites to divide and mislead the class.

In the chaos that such misled, isolated struggles would create, the Tories would seize on the alarm of the middle class to build up right-wing forces for smashing the working class altogether.

The urgent task now is to unite the working class by demanding that the trade union leaders mobilize a General Strike to create the political and industrial conditions for forcing the Tory government to resign. That is why the Socialist Labour League has called for a mass lobby of next Monday's special TUC. We urge all workers to join this lobby.

North Vietnam seeking 'ceasefire' assurances

US keeps GIs in Vietnam

THE UNITED STATES yesterday halted all further troop withdrawals from South Vietnam after Hanoi had said it would release no more American prisoners of war until it received assurances about the cease-fire agreement.

The dispute, coming only one month after the agreement was signed in Paris, indicates that the deal is close to breakdown. US Secretary of State William Rogers and North Vietnam's Nguyen Duy Trinh held crisis talks with Saigon and NLF representatives on the question in Paris yesterday.

Outward flights of US servicemen from South Vietnam were stopped at dawn yesterday, according to US military sources in Saigon. There are nearly 12,000 GIs still in the country.

North Vietnam has so far freed 163 of the 562 American prisoners of war due to be released under the ceasefire terms. But it has pointed out that release of North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front prisoners and civilian detainees in the south is not going ahead as planned.

Hanoi has also accused the South Vietnamese forces (still effectively commanded by American 'advisers') of making 'nibbling' attacks on areas held in the south by the liberation forces.

Many villages which raised the red, blue and gold NLF flag at the time of the ceasefire have been bombarded by Saigon government artillery and attacked from the air by the US-equipped South Vietnamese Air Force.

The US claims that the release of its prisoners from North Vietnam is conditional only on withdrawal of American troops from the south.

Hanoi points out, however, that the South Vietnam regime is a puppet of the US and that the US must take responsibility for its ceasefire violations.

The clash between the main signatories has created an impossible situation for the 13-party conference in Paris which is supposed to guarantee the terms of the ceasefire in Indo-China.

The North Vietnamese and the NLF have apparently succeeded in excluding the United Nations, one of the 13 parties, from the talks. When the drafting committee met yesterday the UN representative, to whom North Vietnam had strongly objected, was absent.

BY FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

Hanoi has rejected a Canadian proposal that Kurt Waldheim, the UN secretary-general, should be empowered by the conference to circulate reports on ceasefire violations and to have the right to reconvene the international meeting.

The fate of the Vietnam ceasefire terms now looks almost as murky as the agreement reached in Laos on February 21. Within 20 hours of signing, it was announced in Vientiane that US planes had bombed liberation forces' positions.

The raid was flown in response to a direct plea from Laotian puppet ruler Prince Souvanna

Phouma who clearly realizes that there is now no other way he can cling to power except under a huge US air umbrella.

The fact that the US so rapidly broke the Laos ceasefire is not really very surprising. According to 'Time' magazine, the agreement 'gives the communist Pathet Lao just about everything it has asked for ending the shooting.'

'The communists will be allowed to retain the land they now control, which is about two-thirds of the country (but only one-third of the population). The other third of the land will be governed by a new regime with

communists holding half of the key offices. Each side will have veto power. . . .'

The magazine quotes one top puppet administrator to the effect that 'Souvanna capitulated on every point except one—that he should be Prime Minister—and he didn't even get that in writing.'

It adds: 'As the agreement was signed' at Souvanna's residence, only the communists were smiling, and the chief communist negotiator sardonically "thanked the American ambassador for all his help".'

This agreement lasted less than a day. How long can what remains of the Vietnam ceasefire continue to operate?

Italy: Union bureaucrats play down strike



One of the 'General Strike' demonstrations in Italy on Tuesday—this one's in Milan.

THE 14 million workers who participated in the staggered General Strike and demonstrations throughout Italy on Tuesday were told quite bluntly by union leaders that the only perspective was 'pressure' on the Andreotti government for a better deal.

In Firenze, CGIL union secretary Lama accused the government of 'supporting the actions of the employers'.

Storti, the CISL general secretary, told a mass meeting in Terni the workers' struggle

offered a solution to the 'difficult economic situation' by increasing demand.

At Taranto, CISL secretary, Scalia called for the 'collaboration of all the active forces in the country to help economic and social development'.

The economic crisis in Italy, the growth of fascism and the grave dangers facing the Italian trade union movement were far from the lips of union bureaucrats intent on restraining the mass movement.

They take their ini-

tiative from the class-collaborationist, counter-revolutionary policy of the Italian Communist Party, the architect of the one-day protest strike and the pursuit of structural reform.

Enrico Berlinguer, its secretary, told a Press conference at the King Street headquarters of the British Communist Party on Tuesday that there were no basic differences between the communist parties of Europe.

The CPs were all against the multinational companies, even though the British CP disagreed about the

acceptance of the Common Market.

'Fifteen years ago, the Italian CP was against the EEC, which today it accepts as a de facto reality.'

'But the acceptance of a de facto reality does not mean that we do not want change, and that the communists do not want to go beyond the limits of the EEC for co-operation throughout Europe.'

British CP secretary John Gollan replied: 'We are completely against the European Community, but we are not against Europe.'

BRIEFLY ● BRIEFLY

GOLD increased by over a dollar an ounce on the London bullion market yesterday, continuing the rapid rise which began on Tuesday. It was fixed in the morning at \$85.30 an ounce, almost \$5 up on the price when the markets opened on Monday. The rise in the price is symptomatic of a general flight from paper money.

VIOLENT tension in the campaign leading to next Sunday's Congressional elections in Chile broke out on Tuesday evening in the southern town of Puerto Varas in clashes between the police and left-wing organizations. In the two months run-up to the elections, 1,000 people have been injured and seven killed.

The Christian Democratic and Socialist Parties have announced that they will both organize victory rallies after the polling booths close on Sunday, thus contravening the ban imposed by Interior Minister General Prats.

SPANISH military court has sentenced a young Basque, Venancio Luluaga, to 15 years imprisonment on charges of damaging the Candy Club Bar in San Sebastian in a petrol bomb raid. Luluaga has also to pay a £12,000 fine. His defence told the Santander court the charge was a complete frame-up.

AMERICAN diplomats are expected in Peking shortly to open the 'liaison office' agreed upon during Dr Henry Kissinger's visit. It is expected to be located in a new embassy quarter built since the 'cultural revolution'. The mission will be headed by a diplomat of ambassadorial rank. 'We're setting up an embassy in Peking and simply calling it by another name' an elated American official exclaimed.

LISBON'S criminal court sentenced five young Portuguese to prison sentences of from two to six years on Tuesday. They were convicted of being members of a secret cell of the Portuguese Communist Party. The prosecution claimed that they were planning 'armed insurrection' with Portuguese emigrants in Europe.

FRENCH airline pilots continued their two-day strike yesterday in protest against the military take-over of air traffic control. Air traffic controllers are demanding the right to strike—denied by a law of 1964—and wage increases. The government refuses to negotiate and has declared the strikers 'outlaws'.

THE DOLLAR was at its parity floor in Holland, forcing the Dutch central bank to buy dollars to support the guilder rate. There was also some selling of dollars on the Frankfurt and Paris exchanges.

PAGEANT DIARY

The Road to Workers Power

Merthyr and
Middleton

Pageant casts double in a week

NUMBERS taking part in the Manchester episode of the Pageant have doubled in the past week and there is now a cast of 50 to play the Peterloo and Chartist episodes of working-class history.

Extra numbers are important in the Manchester section of the 'Road to Workers' Power', since there are many crowd scenes—Peterloo, workers' meetings outside factories and a mass Chartist rally on the moors.

Yesterday the Peterloo episode was rehearsed with the full contingents marching on to the arena—the floor of Langley Estate Community Hall—seconds before the cavalry charge.

Another important development has been the back-

ing given to the Pageant by Vic Brox a leading member of 'Music Force', a musicians' co-operative in Manchester.

Vic has written two excellent songs and incidental music for the Pageant. One song, 'The Chartist Marching Hymn', captures in a simple and powerful way the feeling, determination and the joy of the early Chartists.

It is already a big favourite with the people taking part.

The growth in the Manchester campaign has led to important political results.

A thriving Young Socialist branch has been established on Langley Estate near Middleton.

The drive out to workers and youth continues.

General workers at the Shell Carrington site near Manchester have bought 25 tickets for Empire Pool rally. Now the craft section is considering support.



Director in South Wales Roy Battersby (centre) talks to the Merthyr Tydfil cast—now numbering over 60.



Yvonne Price (left) and Maureen Bentley who are continuing to defy the Tory rent Act.

Rent fight tenants back campaign

TWO KEEN supporters of the South Wales Pageant campaign are Maureen Bentley and Yvonne Price, housewives and tenants' leaders from the Gurnas estate, Merthyr Tydfil.

The 2,000 people living on Gurnas were let down badly by Merthyr's all-Labour council which collapsed and implemented rent rises under the Tory Housing Finance Act.

Now Maureen and Yvonne, with a group of tenants, are fighting a desperate rear-guard action to defy the

Tory law.

With hundreds of other Gurnas tenants they are refusing to pay the 50p to £1 increases slapped on by the council on February 14.

Last week they were evicted from the housing department in Merthyr for trying to canvass people paying their rents.

But the fight will go on.

'It was a terrible blow when the council gave in,' said Maureen, who has three children. 'We all thought that because we backed them they would stand firm.'

'They gave in without a fight,' Yvonne told me, 'not like Clay Cross. They are a much smaller council, but they are still fighting.'

Maureen pays £4.47 for a three-bedroom council house. That is without the increase.

'We could afford to pay more. But why should we. It's a question of principle. We pay enough already under these Tories. Prices are going up,' she said.

'If you could guarantee that it would go to improve the housing situation it would not be so bad. It's

impossible to get repairs done on our estate, for example. But it won't, it will go straight into the hands of the money men.'

'This is not the last of it,' said Yvonne. 'They will bring in more increases until the so-called "fair rent" level is reached.'

'We met an old lady the other day. Her rent went up by 98p, but she gets only 20p of that paid by the rebate. "That's my meat for the week gone," she said. That's what these increases mean to poorer people.'

Brolly brigade
'standing on
our own
two feet'

On Tuesday civil servants—like those from Manchester (see right)—stopped work for the day, closing government buildings, airport control towers, Social Security offices, customs and so on. Here Philip Wade talks to three London civil servants who explain why they struck.

FOR THE first time in 60 years civil servants were standing on their own two feet, demanding the right to higher wages for what they do.

'It is about time this strike took place—it should have happened years ago,' Reg Williams, a member of the Civil and Public Services Association executive committee told me.

'It is the beginning of an historic change for civil servants. No one expected us to get the support we did.'

Civil servants were finished relying on Family Income Supplements to make up their wages, he added, pointing out that certain grades—even when the person was 21 and married—were still entitled to claim the maximum FIS.

'The reason we're fighting is because we won't get by anymore just being polite and talking over a table. This is only the beginning—we're only just finding our feet.'

White-collar workers, he told me, had to consider themselves as part of the whole working class in Britain. 'We are united and support all those fighting like the gasworkers and the hospital staff.'

Although his executive was not contemplating all-out strike action, but a campaign of selective and guerrilla walk-outs, Reg Williams thought the country was heading towards a General Strike.

'Heath can please himself when he goes to the country. Whatever happens he's in for a hiding.'



ONE OF the key issues among civil servants living in and around central London is the impossibility of buying a house or finding somewhere decent to live on the salaries paid.

An executive officer in one of the ministries, Raymond Billyard, told me he had been married for 15 months and still couldn't find a house to live in.

'It's ridiculous. They're asking £14,500 for a house in Earlsfield [south London]. We need another 15-20 per cent to be able to live.

'I earn about £1,800 a year, which some people say is not bad. But it doesn't go anywhere and would never cover mortgage repayments.'

Among the lower grades,

the pay was disgraceful. There were young people, who had come down from the north of England, earning £9 or £10 a week, and practically starving in the process.

'I've been in the Civil Service nine years and after that you can't go anywhere else. All I can do is stay and fight to improve conditions.'

'The reason we're out on strike is because of the underlying situation where only wages are suppressed while nothing is done about prices and profits.'

Now that the Tories had broken the agreed method of settling their salary increases, civil servants would now have to put in a claim like everyone else and strike over it, he thought.

THE TORIES had to be forced to a General Election, was what Lawrence Waite (22) from the Department of the Environment told me. 'We can't be pushed around any more. The worm has turned. All the low-paid workers like us, the gasworkers and the hospital workers should get together.'

Lawrence had just come off the first picket duty he had been on in his life. Rising to the task, he had turned away oil tankers, building workers and postmen who all agreed not to cross the picket.

After six years in the service, he was still only earning about £23 a week. 'I've just got married and have to live in a bed-sit because of that.'

'We want a bloody decent wage so I can buy a house and raise a family. There's no doubt we'll be out on strike again shortly.'

What concerned him, however, was the possibility of the civil servants being left to fight alone. 'The TUC won't even make a declaration of support. They're too busy getting themselves knight-hoods.'

A POLICY TO MEET THE CRISIS

THE TORY government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a General Strike. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged to socialist policies' knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present Wilson-Feather leadership of the labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must

be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure, as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages.

4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be dis-

banded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory government cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must

be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to

the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all ex-colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

We appeal to all readers of the Workers Press and our supporters to join the SLL and help transform it into a revolutionary party.



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NO UNITED CURRENCY FOR EUROPE

The devaluation of the dollar and the crisis on the European money markets has demonstrated once again the Utopian character of the Common Market's scheme for monetary union.

The Finance Ministers of the nine, who met in Brussels in the immediate aftermath of the dollar devaluation two weeks ago, tried to put as good a face as possible on the disaster.

They confirmed that the European Monetary Co-operation Fund will be set-up on schedule on April 1. They also decided to advance the deadlines set at the Paris summit last year for two reports on further steps to monetary union.

These decisions fooled nobody. The general consensus of the Press commentators was that far from coming closer, monetary union was in fact getting further away than ever.

Just before the Finance Ministers met, Italy floated the lira, devaluing it against the other EEC currencies and opting out of the famous 'snake in the tunnel' scheme to maintain uniform Common Market currency parities.

The Italian float was top of the agenda at Brussels and undoubtedly led to some acrimonious exchanges. The Italian decision violated the 11-month-old agreement by the EEC countries to link their parities together as a step towards unity.

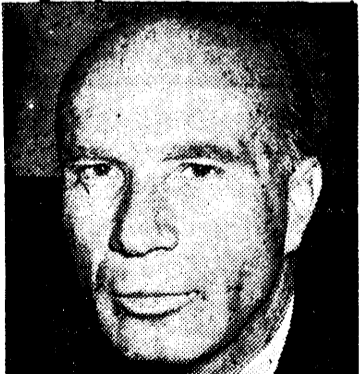
Not only did the lira float violate this commitment, it also complicated the already complex market farm system which relies on fixed parities to work out what each country should receive for farm subsidies and levies.

Anger among smaller states

The Italian move was not the only bone of contention between the Finance Ministers. There was considerable anger among the smaller EEC member states at the cavalier treatment they received from the Big Three during the monetary crisis.

Countries like Belgium and Denmark felt the question had been decided behind their backs. There was no meeting of all EEC Finance Ministers during the crisis—they were simply called together after it was over to hear what had been decided.

The Market's executive commission played no role at all during the turmoil on the foreign exchange markets and at one point the Finance Ministers of Britain, France and West Germany held their own private meeting, prompting the Benelux countries to lodge a protest.



Above: Guido Carli, president of the Bank of Italy.

The image of Market unity was further tarnished when German Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt announced that the Big Three had failed to find a common solution because London refused to join Paris and Bonn in a joint float of their currencies against the dollar.

Schmidt added, as a kind of consolation prize, that such a float would be organized, at least in principle . . . next time there was a dollar crisis!



Above: German Finance Minister Schmidt. A float to be organized next time there is a dollar crisis!

The anodyne communiqué announcing the speeding up of monetary union plans is at best an attempt to paper over the cracks. The 'Financial Times' commented somewhat acidly:

'The Community has made so many false starts along the road to monetary union by failing to grapple with the harsh realities of economic life that it is difficult to feel confident that the latest statement of intent really will produce an effective and durable agreement.'

The paper pointed out that—nearly a year after the 'snake' project first began to operate—the pound, the Irish pound and the lira are floating, the French and Belgians have two-tier markets and the Germans have multiplied their exchange controls.

It also cast doubts on Schmidt's dream of a joint float next time the mark comes under pressure. The paper said the Finance Ministers had not 'produced any evidence that they will be able to reduce the underlying economic discrepancies which are bound to make it difficult to hold the snake together, or that the stronger economies in the community will be prepared to pay the price for helping the weaker'.

This can only be construed as classic understatement. The crisis plainly revealed that there is no unity of the European employers in the face of the American onslaught—an onslaught which has only just begun.

The position was perhaps best summed up by Guido Carli, the president of the Bank of Italy, who gave a devastating assessment of the prospects (or lack of prospects) for European monetary union in a recent address to financial journalists:

'Not only have we not made progress on the path towards union, but we have in fact gone backwards.'

The idea of postponing economic union until monetary union had been achieved was wrong, Carli said.

'The hope that through monetary techniques we can

overcome structural differences and legislative deformations now appears without foundation.'

Carli pointed out that monetary union presupposed a uniform system of legislation throughout the EEC on such questions as stock exchanges, investment funds, company law and property.

No monetary unification

Italy, he said, had yet to bring in any of the measures which were supposed to bring its economy into line with the other states. In other words, monetary unification inside the EEC is further away than ever.

Eighteen months after August 15, 1971, the day Nixon

ended gold backing for the dollar—EEC countries are more divided than ever before.

Not only does this demonstrate the great depth of the economic and political crisis facing the Common Market, but it also serves as a warning to the working class of Europe. Lenin, writing 58 years ago at the height of World War I, characterized the perspective of capitalist unity in Europe as follows:

... A united states of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists . . . but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty against Japan and America, which feel badly done out of their share by the present division of the

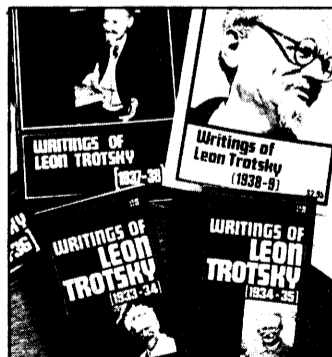
colonies and which for the last half century have grown strong infinitely faster than backward, monarchist Europe.

Compared with the United States of America, Europe as a whole signifies economic stagnation. On the present economic basis, i.e., under capitalism, a United States of Europe would mean the organization of reaction to retard the more rapid development of America.

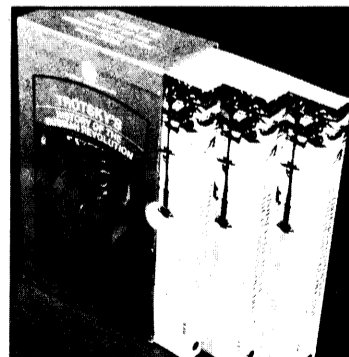
The more the European bourgeoisie are driven into crisis and disunity, the more they are driven together to fight the working class of the entire continent.

The break-up of Common Market relationships under the impact of the Nixon measures and the dollar devaluation can only be seen in this light.

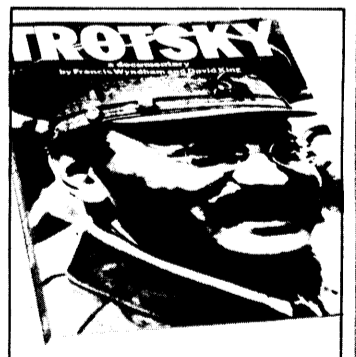
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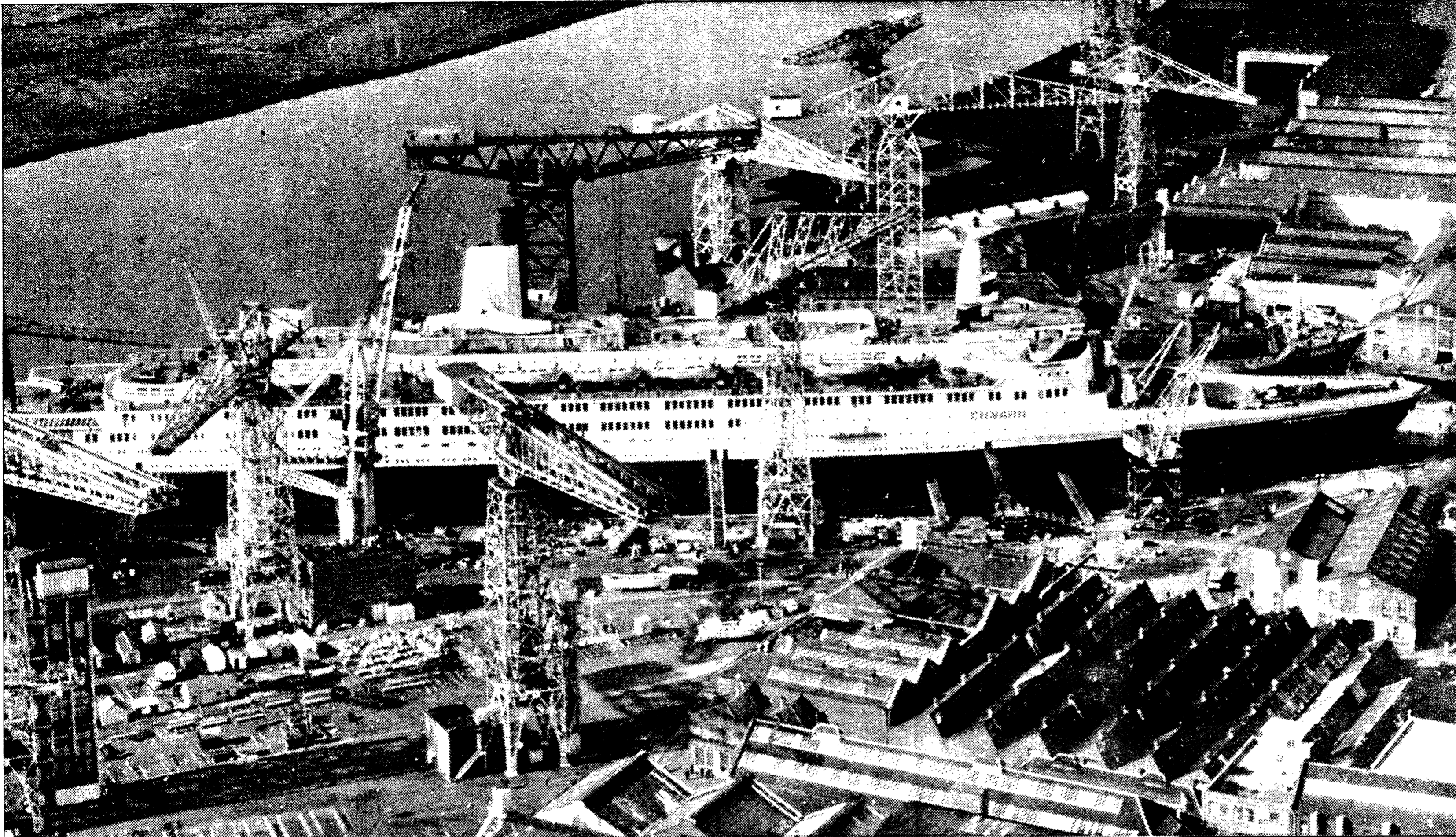
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On the eve of the government's report SHIPBUILDERS WARN OF REDUNDANCIES

BY IAN YEATS
As Britain's shipbuilders anxiously await the government's nearly completed report on the industry's future, they face disaster of unparalleled dimensions.

Only last year the Tories came to the industry's rescue with a £50m handout spread over three years—£10m more than in the previous four years. In the month before the 1972 Anthony Barber budget, the shipbuilders waged an indefatigable campaign for cash aid, including among their spokesmen the government's own chief economic adviser. On March 2, 1972, Sir Donald MacDougal said: 'This is an industry where other countries are giving assistance to their own firms. On these grounds it is very hard to resist the conclusion that we should go some or all the way to matching this kind of assistance.' The managing director of Scott-Lithgow's—one of Britain's most forward-looking shipbuilders, Mr A. Ross Belch, warned that a 'cash injection' on the scale of the £35m given

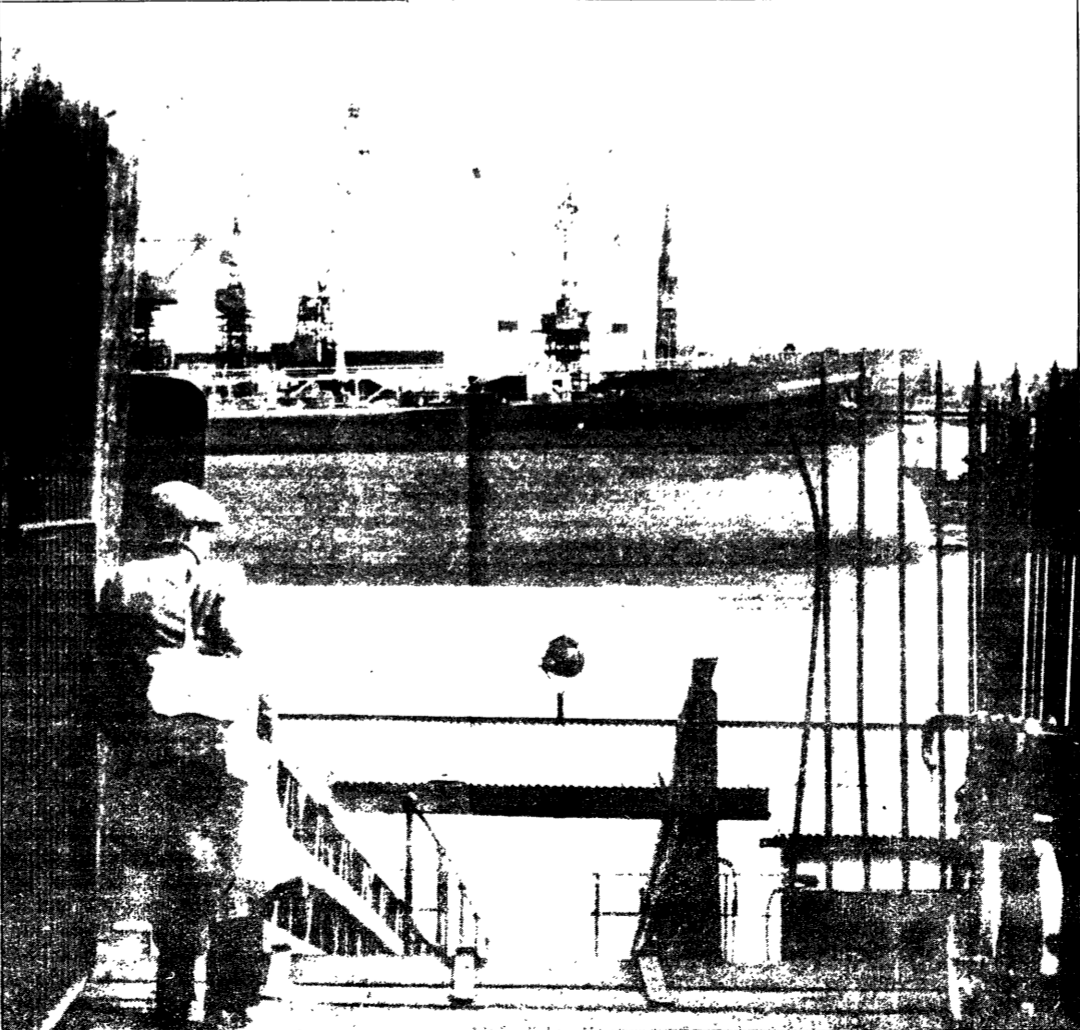
to the now defunct Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) was needed even by his own company to restore 'the financial strength drained by galloping inflation'. In the face of a concerted lobby by the shipbuilders, their friends and their MPs in April last year, the Tories came across with £50m in grants and loans to help with the modernization it was claimed was crucial for survival. At the same time they appointed a firm of consultants, Booz, Allan and Hamilton, to investigate the cash needs of the industry and a draft of their report was handed to the government a fortnight ago. Speculation suggests that demands from shipbuilders for even bigger handouts—over £200m according to Press leaks—are likely. But only six months after Barber's budget generosity, their plight has so deteriorated that even cash is unlikely to be sufficient. On October 10, 1972, the newly-elected president of the Shipbuilders' and Repairers' National Association, Mr Tony Greenwell, warned that money was only one of the things

the industry wanted—the other was protection. He said: 'In this country the larger yards have work for another year or two, but some of the medium and smaller yards are already close to the stage where redundancies are inevitable.' Sure enough, less than four months later redundancies were declared at one of Britain's stumbling small yards—Robb and Caledon at Dundee. Greenwell called, predictably, for cash aid from the government, but the call was given a new twist by his plea that the money should go to shipowners not shipbuilders. More important, and for the first time, he called for 'concerted action' to prevent Japan from coming to dominate the world's shipbuilding markets. He said: 'Our entry next year into the EEC provides an opportunity for participation in a European policy. The time is certainly right because our colleagues in the European shipyards are suffering just as much as we are. There are a number of possible approaches, but if negotiations with Japanese shipbuilders cannot produce results,

then EEC maritime interests, and the vast employment they provide, must be safeguarded by action from all EEC governments.' Last week the position had hardened yet again and a S&RNA spokesman told me a common European maritime policy was now number one on the agenda.

CRITICAL LEVELS

Common Market shipbuilders have operated under tariff-free conditions since the war in sharp contrast with the protected and heavily-subsidized Japanese industry. Japanese competition has reached critical levels with their output accounting for over 50 per cent of world markets—more than all of Europe put together. There have already been lengthy talks between Japan and EEC representatives on limiting Japanese capacity, cur-



Swan Hunter yards—if it wasn't for the orders from Maritime Fruit Carriers, the yards would run out of work almost immediately. Right: Anthony Barber—the signing of the Treaty of Rome forced him to pitch his hand out to British shipbuilders. Above: Shipbuilding on the Upper Clyde.



Anthony Barber—the signing of the Treaty of Rome forced him to pitch his hand out to British shipbuilders.

rently running at 12,835,000 tons a year. All such advances have been rebuffed and, alongside frantic modernization and rationalization of their yards, the clamour for protection from British and European shipbuilders is mounting. The S&RNA spokesman told me: 'It is a vicious circle. If nothing is done, profits will fall and then there will be no money for modernization. Europe will fall even further behind. No firm decision has yet been taken, but it almost certainly will be as slump, reflected in freight rates, worsens. An added incentive to this type of 'aid' are the Market's own rules. Signing the Treaty of Rome forced Barber to pitch his hand-out to British shipbuilders at a diminishing rate, starting in 1972 at 10 per cent of contract price and sliding down to 4 per cent this year and 3 per cent next. The call for subsidies to shipowners rather than shipbuilders, which many yard owners would like to see repeated in the Booz, Allen and Hamilton report, is an attempt to get round the problem. The S&RNA would certainly like to see incentives to customers, but whether the Tories can now afford such subsidies is open to grave doubt. The writing, as Sir Eric Yarrow observed last summer with his acid 'Only the most competitive will survive', is on the wall for British shipbuilders. It can be little comfort for the majority to know that Belfast's Harland and Wolff has the capacity to turn out as much as all Britain's 36 other shipbuilders put together. At a million tons the heavily-aided Northern Ireland yards are only 250,000 tons under total UK capacity. More alarming still, in the whole of 1972 British yards built only 839,000 tons gross, leaving 86,000 tons excess capacity. The full extent of surplus capacity is disguised by the fact that most of them work on the basis of single shifts. The total number of ships launched from British yards has fallen steadily in the five years since 1968. Up to 1971 the number of new orders placed with the shipbuilders fell from 207 in 1968 to 70. But at the end of 1972 there was a slight 'recovery' due primarily to just two factors, the movement of grain to Russia, India and China and the demand for oil, triggered by the so-called US energy crisis. Most observers agree that both these phenomena are likely to disappear by this summer at the earliest and next summer at the latest.

MODERNIZED YARDS

With world shipbuilding capacity consistently outstripping the growth of trade, the builders are faced with a desperate need to drive down costs. European yards have been modernizing since the end of the 1960s and in the past two years all Britain's major shipyards have put modernization programmes in hand. Most have opted for new, covered yards with maximum mechanization and computer-control and the process of scrapping labour-intensive 19th-century plant is under way. Austin and Pickersgill, Swan Hunter, Appledore in Devon, Harland and Wolff, Scott-Lithgow at Greenock, Court Line (Doxford and Sunderland group), Govan Shipbuilders and Robb Caledon and Hall Russell (Dundee and Aberdeen) all have multi-million pound schemes on hand. Much of these are dependent on Tory cash, but despite the modernization, thinning order books continue to hold out the prospect of a bleak future. The Tories will doubtless have this firmly in mind when they consider the Booz, Allen and Hamilton report. If there is a chance at all for British shipbuilders it lies, in the S&RNA confirmed, in increased capacity. But this by no means means more yards, or even the present total. It means fewer but larger units on the lines of Harland and Wolff and Scott-Lithgow, with fewer men working round the clock. For some there is more hope than others. Harland and Wolff, the Vosper Thornycroft group at Southampton and Yarrow's on the Clyde are all involved in naval work. Appledore and Austin and Pickersgill specialize in small ships of 15,000 tons and less, although even here demand is falling off. But the future for Swan Hunter, Govan Shipbuilders on the upper Clyde, Cammel Laird at Birkenhead and small builders like Robb Caledon looks set decisively in the direction of shutdowns and big redundancies.

BUSINESSMEN SPECULATE

The orders responsible for temporarily boosting order books have come in the last six months and in Britain in the last six weeks. In line with European trends, they could be withdrawn just as quickly. Part of what the S&RNA calls the 'astronomical' leap in orders is based on the speculation of two Israeli businessmen, Milor Brenner and Yaacov Mirador. Owners of the Haifa-based Maritime Fruit Carriers, they placed orders for 20 ships worth £150m with Swan Hunter—literally saving the yards—and orders for six giant 330,000-ton tankers worth £600m with Harland and Wolff. The danger signals began flashing within days of their massive order when, on February 19, Michael Baily asked in 'The Times': 'Are the



Lord Goodman, Victor Feather and Dennis Hamilton at the Fanfare for Europe celebrations. Feather edges closer and closer to open collaboration with EEC institutions.

THE MANY ROADS TO CORPORATISM

By our industrial correspondent, Royston Bull

The ruling class and the labour movement bureaucracy are now proceeding at headlong speed towards corporatism in Britain.

Plans for tying the trade union movement permanently to the big capitalist corporations are already in a highly advanced stage.

These plans, of which the working class has been told nothing, are being discussed daily and in detail by right wing and Stalinist trade union leaders at various levels and in various localities.

The drive towards corporatism has been spearheaded by the Tories' labour courts (the National Industrial Relations Court and the industrial tribunals), and the newly established Pay Board which will police the state control of wages.

The main fight now facing workers is to make sure that the reformist and fake 'left' trade union leaders are prevented from selling out the basic rights of the working class through co-operating with these agencies, and to insist instead that new leaderships are put in to mobilize for the defeat of the Tories.

The essential task of these two agencies is to get the idea accepted that conflicts of interest between workers and management can be reconciled through fair and impartial judgements from the guardians of 'the public interest', the NIRC and the Board.

But away from the glare of publicity surrounding these main avenues of class collaboration, which in reality entail the further domination of the working class by the bourgeoisie, corporatist thinking is

being peddled in a variety of new ways.

In Brussels, at the headquarters of the monopolists' Common Market, TUC leaders led by Victor Feather and Jack Jones have just come out of talks for forming an alliance between the Common Market orientated trade unions and the TUC.

Feather has been elected president of the newly-formed European TUC. In presenting Feather to the Brussels conference, the German TUC president Heinz Vetter, who acted as king-maker, declared that all member countries should participate in the work of the EEC.

Collaboration

Thus despite overwhelming majorities at both the TUC and Labour Party conferences for a complete boycott of all Common Market institutions, the TUC leaders, led by the pro-Market Feather, edge closer and closer to open collaboration with the employer-dominated EEC institutions.

Meanwhile back in this country, a TUC study group, including Hugh Scanlon and Jones as members, has actually been discussing, at the Tory government's request, the introduction of Common Market corporatist legislation into Britain.

Thus the TUC's acceptance 'in principle' of worker representation opens the door wide to corporatism.

The proposals, announced by the EEC a few months ago, are dressed up under the title 'industrial democracy'.

At their core is one of the greatest illusions of all—and one of the most dangerous. That by putting 'worker directors' onto the boards of com-

panies, somehow the working class gets equality of control over capitalism.

The Common Market 'industrial democracy' proposals are a fraud. They are based on the co-determination system of Germany which was imposed by the allies after the war and is now being enthusiastically peddled everywhere.

The essence of co-determination, described in detail later, is to tie workers hand and foot to their company's interest by a series of joint-partnership measures, all of which keep alive the ideology of 'mutual interest' between workers and management.

At the same time as co-determination instils a company union mentality in the workforce, the law raises obstacles to real trade unionism getting a hold on the factories.

As a result, there is considerably less trade union organization in Germany than in Britain, and the German unions have allowed themselves to be shackled by endless punitive legal restraints on their freedom of action.

This is the system which the Stalinists and TUC bureaucrats are now inviting into Britain at a time when the Tory government is searching desperately for new ways of sowing division and confusion in the working class.

New laws

The Tories welcome these diversions with open arms in a period when they are preparing for a showdown with the trade union movement.

The government is now forced by the calamitous nature of the economic crisis to reduce unit labour costs or

else fail to survive the coming trade war.

This means cutting wages in effect, and to do it they have had to introduce laws controlling wages and other laws to control the trade unions.

They are preparing to use state power—courts, fines, imprisonment, police raids—to win the coming confrontation with the working class.

It is in this period that the right wing TUC leaders, the 'lefts', and the Stalinists—all the bureaucrats—come together in an unholy alliance in the face of the rising militancy of the working class.

These leaders are so corrupted by bourgeois ideology that they find the idea of a working class seizure of power incomprehensible and are hostile to it.

Thus, when the working class is getting ready for the biggest political challenge it has ever faced as a result of the onslaught on its basic rights by the ruling class, the gentlemen TUC leaders are preparing to go back to Downing Street to announce their acceptance of the kind invitation to join the boards of the big corporations.

No wonder that the 'Financial Times' reported with some glee last week: 'TUC leaders have come down for the first time in favour of worker-directors being appointed to company boards following a request from the government to give their views on two-tier European companies.'

This marks a major switch of policy, particularly for some left-wing union leaders such as Mr Jack Jones of the transport workers, who have traditionally believed that the functions of management and unions should be kept separate.

The third area where the corporatist idea is being promoted by union leaders is within British industry.

Apart from the more obvious class collaboration going on in bodies like the Industrial Society, which promotes co-partnership conferences and gets its funds mainly from big business plus a few subs from the big union leaders, corporatist solutions are being put forward within individual industries.

The latest is the car industry. A document prepared by leading union bureaucrats is being pushed at district automotive committees of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Called 'Policy for the vehicle building and automotive industry', it advocates a straight corporatist set-up.

The objective, it states, is 'to achieve genuine equality between capital and labour by 1980'. In view of the class war that is about to break out, unleashed by the Tories, one wonders whose side these gentlemen are on.

Unequal

This 'equality' would give, the policy goes on, 'joint control of the industry ranging from day-to-day operations to shaping the future development and the allocation of all resources.'

Presumably there will be a committee system for democratic decision-taking. In which case why not make all the members of such committees equal? Why should some who are sharing this 'joint control' remain the owners of the capital, and the rest be exploited by it?

There is, of course, no answer. The very notion of such a happy alliance of such obviously unequal partners is a piece of the purest idiocy.

The document, therefore, is founded on a complete nonsense. And it has to stick with the fraudulent idea from first to last because at no point can its authors bring themselves to face the question: Who will take the capital away from the capital owners?

They cannot ask the question because to pose it means at the same time giving the answer: No one, unless they are willing to fight the capitalists for it. Everyone knows that the capitalists will not give it up without a fight.

And this is the essence of all the corporatist-collaborationist plans. The proposals are nothing but a piece of mystification, introduced with one purpose only. To obscure the question of class power.

Because what every problem facing the working class now brings up is the question of who shall rule: Them or us? And whose will shall prevail: Theirs or ours?

The trade union bureaucracy dimly understands that something is disturbing the traditional compromise relations between themselves and the ruling class, but their whole background makes it impossible for them ever to understand in a revolutionary way the question: Whose power? And least of all to give the correct answer.

And so either by default or design, they must inevitably end up on the side of the counter-revolution. Because they cannot make the revolution, the bureaucracy including the Stalinists, must willy-nilly throw in their lot with extreme reaction.

These early moves towards corporatism are the start of this process of complete degeneration of the trade union bureaucracy. Feather and company are not just getting in the way. They must be seen as part of the enemy.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

SENTENCED

Melvyn Leslie Bronstein, a member of the Divine Light religious sect, has been convicted and sent to prison for six months for allowing drug-smoking on his premises.

When police raided his house, Bronstein said: 'You came looking in my house for drugs—you never came looking for love. You only find what you are looking for.'

Bronstein was right. The police discovered traces of cannabis in cigarette ends. In dismissing his appeal last week Mr Justice Caulfield said the sentence was 'rather lenient'

THE LUMP



All of a sudden Eric Heffer has hit upon the idea of introducing a Bill into the House of Commons aimed at ending labour-only sub-contracting, or the lump, as it is better known.

Many building workers will want to know why Heffer's Private Members' Bill this time is connected with the industry.

Last year, some will remember, when Heffer drew lucky in the ballot for a private Bill he chose the abolition of hare coursing, would you believe, as the subject for reform.

UCS TABLE

Henry Fry, secretary of the Trade Union Labour Co-operative History Society, has acquired a really fascinating exhibit for the museum his society is planning to open shortly.

It's a table, a perfectly ordinary plastic-topped canteen table. But apparently Henry and his clumsily-titled

society (understandably, they prefer to be known as TULC) believe they've got a real crowd-puller.

The table's only historical significance is that the UCS shop stewards' co-ordinating committee used it to sit round while planning what the General and Municipal Workers' Union journal describe as 'their successful campaign for the survival of the yards'.

In other words, it was across its boards that the decision to masquerade the reformist 'work-in' tactic as a militant struggle against unemployment was first fought for by the stewards' Stalinist leaders. Hence the enthusiasm of the G&MWU leaders' official organ.

TULC could have quite a field day with this sort of thing—it could set up a special section devoted to 'Furniture on which Historic Betrayals were Hatched'.

VAT PRICES

Tory spokesmen are, quite naturally, doing their best to give the impression that Value-Added Tax has nothing to do with more price rises.

Why, we are told, prices are actually going down in some cases, didn't you know?

Of course, none of this is true. Living proof has come from the honest and respected Wine Growers' Association, established in 1870.

In the last week or so they have issued a wine list. Nothing strange in that, except it is marked 'Pre-VAT 1973' and is followed by this interesting and self-explanatory statement:

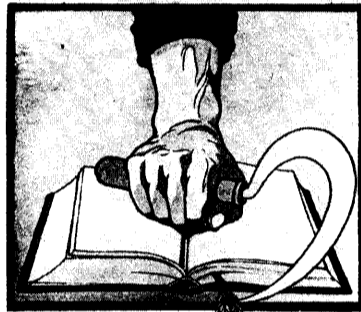
'With the introduction of VAT from April 1, we anticipate that all fine wine-buyers in the United Kingdom will be faced with an immediate and unavoidable price increase. Our aim in producing this sale of wine now, is to present to you the opportunity of forestalling what may be a sharp rise in your cost of drinking. This price list is valid until March 30, 1973.'

If some prices are to come down from April 1, then Workers Press has yet to discover which goods they affect.



A LIMITED HISTORY

BOOK REVIEW



'Strike: A Live History 1887-1971'. By R. A. Leeson. Allen and Unwin. £3.75. 246 pages.

A collection of reminiscences of some 80 people who have taken part in more than 180 strikes in 20 different industries over the past 84 years ought to have produced a valuable book.

It is saying a great deal for Bob Leeson, books editor on the Communist Party's 'Morning Star', that he has succeeded in not doing so.

Most of the book is given over to Stalinists, ex-Stalinists and Stalinist sympathizers—Jack Dash, Dick Etheridge, Peter Kerrigan, Abe Moffat, Will Paynter, Jimmy Reid, Bill Warman et al.

Labour MP Dick Kelley tells us that 'militant action is important to educate the management'.

Jack Dash manages to compress his memories of the 1945 docks lock-out into two paragraphs in which he says he thought the Labour government would bring the employers 'before some sort of judicial body' under wartime regulation 1305.

Later, describing the use of this same regulation to jail dockers' leaders in 1950, Dash reduces this page of workers' history to a 'great faux pas of Hartley Shawcross' (the Labour Home Secretary).

One of the greatest understatements of the century comes from Will Paynter:

'While I was general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers', he says, 'I saw the industry contract.'

During that whole period Paynter was a leading CP member and the number of men employed in the pits fell from 710,000 to 350,000. While that was going on Paynter denounced strikes, led no struggle against closures and blamed the miners—especially



Lancashire cotton workers come out on strike in August, 1932. Above: Jack Dash addresses a dockers' strike meeting, 1960.

their 'absenteeism'—for the economic state of the industry.

The last contribution in the book comes from Jimmy Reid, convenor of shop stewards at the now defunct and divided Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. With no apparent embarrassment Reid announces that the initial decision at UCS was that there should be 'no run-down letting men go out of the gate over a period'.

'A sit-in strike was not appropriate', says Reid, without explaining why.

In the event, Reid and his fellow-Stalinists organized a work-in for the liquidator, allowed 2,000 men to go down the road and finally accepted a settlement which flouted every fundamental principle of trade unionism.

It would not be true to say that this book is without interest, particularly in the early sections. One contributor describes the 'smell-money strike' of pit boys in South Wales in 1904. When there was no clay for shot-firing, the boys had to collect coal-dust, stone-dust, horse droppings and human droppings and make a mixture of it.

They won extra money for this job after striking for a week.

It is interesting to see how workers began to realize the need for an alternative to the Liberal Party against the Taff Vale judgement which made unions liable to legal damages for losses caused by strikes. In South Wales this was

known as 'the Judges' Law'.

Another bitter strike described in the book was that of Jewish furniture trade workers against the firm of Isaac Griew in 1909. Griew paid 9½d an hour for a 54½-hour week.

The strike lasted three months, during which strikers held mock funeral services outside the houses of scabs.

It is significant that the liveliest accounts recorded in this book come in the early part of the century.

Since 1925, when the British Communist Party came completely under the domination of Stalinism, no one connected with it has been able to give an honest, political estimation of the struggles of the working class.

The worse the crisis of capitalism becomes, and the more the employers are forced to attack the working class, the more treacherous is the role of Stalinism.

On the docks, in the mines, the shipyards and the factories, the Stalinists seek to divide and weaken the working class and to shore up the old leaders.

The struggle against Stalinism is an integral part of the real story of the strike struggles of the working class. That is the task of Trotskyism.

So it is perhaps appropriate that Mr Leeson carries on the cover of his book a large picture of the mass lobby of the TUC organized with Socialist Labour League banners dominating the scene!

POLITICAL PROFILES

By LEON TROTSKY
Paperback. £1.00 Illustrated

Sharp pen-portraits of leading figures of the Second International in Russia and Europe, for the first time published in an English edition. The translations were first commissioned by the Young Socialists' paper 'Keep Left'! Their enormous success has led to the completion of the translation of the whole book, which is the first part of Volume 8 of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1926. It provides the most vivid picture available of the historic figures of the Second International, their strengths and weaknesses, written by an observer who was also a participant in the daily struggle of the European and Russian working class.



Now available from New Park Publications
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

9.42-12.10 Schools. 12.25 Disc a dawn. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45 High street. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 2.50 Workers at risk. 3.15 Parents and children. 3.40 Bean's boots. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 John Craven's newsround. 5.20 Brady kids. 5.45 News. Weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 TOP OF THE POPS.
7.15 Z CARS. Operation Watchdog.
8.00 SOME MOTHERS DO 'AVE 'EM!
8.30 REPORTER AT LARGE. God Bless Nanny. **9.00 NEWS.** Weather.
9.25 1,000 WELSH VOICES. On St. David's Day.
10.00 FRANKIE HOWARD IN WHOOPS BAGHDAD.
10.30 1973 WORLD FIGURE SKATING CHAMPIONSHIPS.
10.55 MIDWEEK ELECTION SPECIAL. Lincoln; Chester-le-Street, Dundee East.
 1.00 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 All our yesterdays (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Mr. Trumble. 12.25 Witches brew. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Jokers wild. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Afloat. 3.25 Misfit. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 Pebbles and Bamm Bamm. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY. 6.30 CROSSROADS.
6.55 FILM: 'THE SEA SHALL NOT HAVE THEM'. Michael Redgrave, Dirk Bogarde, Anthony Steel. Air-sea rescue during the war.
8.30 THIS WEEK. 9.00 LONGSTREET. Wednesday's Child.
10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 CINEMA.
11.00 CHILDREN TO CHILDREN. From Mexico—Today is Tomorrow.
11.30 WORLD FIGURE SKATING CHAMPIONSHIPS.
12.30 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.
12.45 IT'S WORTH READING. Mary Craig talks to Kingsley Amis.
 DOL11.30WO...R9,71kOE01.0m

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play School. 5.25 Open University.
6.40 SIXTEEN PLUS. A Matter of Skill
7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY. 7.30 NEWS. Weather.
7.35 THEIR WORLD. Elephants. **8.00 EUROPA.** Corsica.
8.30 WEIR OF HERMISTON. Part 3.
9.15 TIMES REMEMBERED BY PROUD MUMS. Vidal Sassoon's mother, Betty.
9.25 HORIZON and where will the children play? Vancouver, British Columbia and Boulder, Colorado's unique attempts to solve their growth problems.
10.15 PLAY: 'THE GREAT ACROBILE'. By Roy Minton.
10.45 BUDDY RICH AND HIS ORCHESTRA. In concert.
11.20 NEWS. Weather. 11.45 REAL TIME.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 4.25 Follyfoot. 4.55 Jackson five. 5.20 Doctor in charge. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Maverick. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Cottage to Let'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 London. 12.30 News, weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 2.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 10.57 News. 12.30 Faith for life.
SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by Day. 6.40 Film: 'Last of the Renegades'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Anna and the king. 9.30 All our Saturdays. 10.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.05 Dick Van Dyke. 11.30 London. 12.30 Weather. Guideline
HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 5.02 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.05 Film: 'Five Steps to Danger'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 10.00 Operetta: 'Yeoman of the Guard'. 11.30 London. 12.30 Weather.
HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 2.30-3.00 Hamdden. 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35 Cantamil. 4.50 Rovers. 6.01 Y dydd. 10.30 We always sing in our chains.
HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Sport West.
ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Katie Stewart. 3.00 London. 4.30 Land of the giants. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.35 Wind in the willows. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Britain. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Gallant Journey'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Pathfinders. 10.00 London. 10.30

Bygones. 11.05 Cinema. 11.30 London. 12.30 Living and growing. 1.00 Living word
ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Programme guide. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Julia. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Moss Rose'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Persuaders. 10.00 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 London.
ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.31 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.30 London. 3.25 Women. 3.55 Harriet. 4.23 News. 4.25 Elephant boy. 4.55 Phoenix five. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Escape from San Quentin'. 8.30 London. 9.00 O'Hara. 10.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about? 11.30 London.
YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Jobs around the house. 3.00 London. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.30 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'This Island Earth'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 London. 12.30 Weather.
GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Felix the cat. 12.05 London. 5.15 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Film: 'Captain Pirate'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawk. 10.00 London. 11.00 What the papers say. 11.15 Pete Smith. 11.30 London.
TYNE TEES: 9.25 Thoughts from the little read book. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 A place in the country. 3.00 London. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 Stingray. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Odongo'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sport. 10.55 Police call. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 London. 12.30 News. 12.40 Lectern.
SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 4.25 Lost in space. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Scotch corner. 7.00 Cimarron strip. 8.30 London. 9.00 Pathfinders. 10.00 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 London.

All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

Fight rising rents and prices
 Defend basic democratic rights
 Force the Tories to resign

DERBY: Thursday, March 1, 7.30 p.m. Metal Mechanics' Premises, Charnwood Street.
CROYDON: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Support the gasmen'.
HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road (near Finsbury Park Station). 'Marxism and the trade unions'.
KINGSTON: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. 'Liverpool Arms', Cambridge Road. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.
WALTHAMSTOW: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. 'Royston Arms', Chingford Mount Road, Chingford, E.4. 'The Pageant and the Road to Workers Power'.
BRIXTON: Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. Brixton Training Centre, Control Room, Effra Road, SW2. 'Forward to the Pageant'.
DAGENHAM: Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Common Market Conspiracy'.
EAST LONDON: Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp

Street, E14. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.
SOUTHALL: Wednesday, March 7, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'The Road to Workers' Power'.
TOTTENHAM: Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Road, nr White Hart Lane. 'Forward to the Pageant'.
WOOLWICH: Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, SE18. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.
WEMBLEY: Thursday March 7, 8 p.m. Copland Secondary School, High Road.
SLOUGH: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.
STEVENAGE: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town. 'Forward to the Pageant'.
LEWISHAM: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opp New Cross Station. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.
WILLESDEN: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10. 'Support gasmen and civil servants'.

LINCOLN

By-election special

PICTURES BY
 Christopher Davies
 REPORT



John Dilks, the Derby councillor chosen by the Lincoln Constituency Labour Party to replace pro-Marketeer Dick Taverne, seen speaking to workers during his campaign in the town.

Jobs, closures and wages the real issues

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

Voters go to the polls today in three crucial by-elections in seats all previously held by Labour—Lincoln, Chester-le-Street and Dundee. In two of the seats—Lincoln and Dundee—the former Labour MPs were both right-wingers and fellow travellers of Mr Roy Jenkins, the ex-deputy leader of the party. In October 1971 the MPs for these two seats, Dick Taverne and George Thomson, voted with the Tories to secure Britain's entry into the EEC.

Thomson has since deserted the Parliamentary Labour Party to become an EEC Commissioner on a salary of about £15,000 a year. The other British commissioner is Sir Christopher Soames, a former Tory MP. Thomson took as his 'chef de cabinet' another Labourite, Mr Gwyn Morgan, the assistant general secretary of the Labour Party. In this article Workers Press looks at the fate of the other Labour outcast, Taverne, and his bid to hold the seat today as a social democratic candidate.

THE REAL issues in the Lincoln by-election are the issues which are facing the working class nationally—how to beat unemployment, plant closures, soaring prices, attacks on wages.

To defeat these attacks on the working class means a fight to force the Tories out of office. It was a recognition of this fact that prompted the local Lincoln Labour Party to dump Taverne after he voted with the Tories on the EEC.

When Taverne and 68 other Labourites trooped into the Tory lobbies on that day in October 18 months ago, they not only took Britain into the capitalist market of western Europe, but they also kept the Heath government in office.

At the private party meeting which dropped him as candidate, the case against Taverne was best summed up by Nev Frohock, a delegate from Carlholme ward:

'We've got to see what's happening here tonight in the light of the fact that outside this building there's a war going on—a deepening international crisis, a trade war and class war.

'Anybody who gives aid, succour or help to the Tory government which is waging this war against the working class should not only be thrown out as a Labour MP, but should not even be allowed to belong to this party.'

The photographs on these pages vividly confirm Mr Frohock's statement and expose the situation facing the working community of Lincoln.

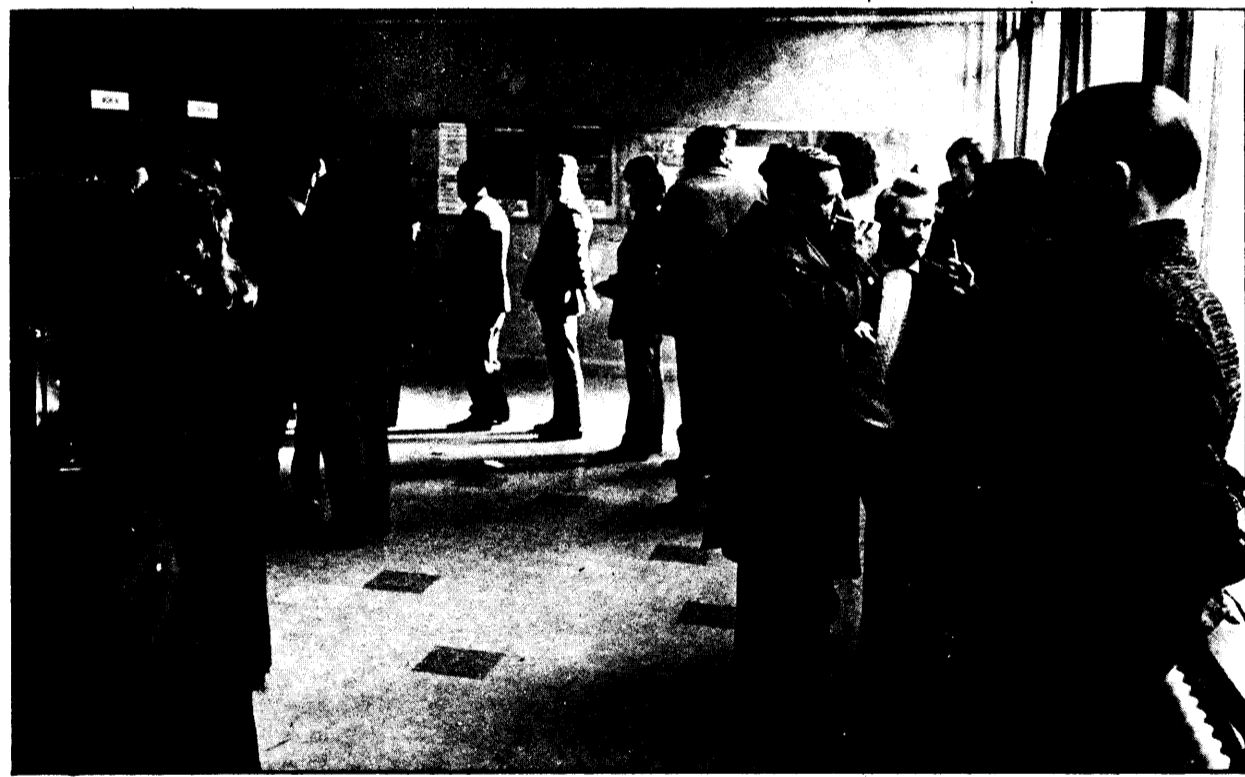
Above left: Two young workers unable to find employment are forced to work for a voluntary commission called 'Lincoln Enterprises'. The youth on the left cannot find work; he was a former Borstal boy who has now worked a year at Lincoln Enterprises cutting stones.

Left: A former manager of a hosiery factory now does 'repairs and alterations' at 'Lincoln Enterprises' mainly 'to keep my spirits up'.

Middle right: The jobs queue in Lincoln shows young and old collecting their pittance to live on. Unemployment in the city hovers around 6 per cent.

Right: Women have organized price committees to conduct weekly checks on price rises.





Candidates in Lincoln

THE LINE - UP in the Lincoln by-election is straightforward enough. Two Tories, Jonathan Guinness and Dick Taverne, versus Labour, John Dilks.

Not that you'd ever guess by reading the capitalist Press. Their voluminous reports have managed a transformation job:

GUINNESS, the debonair champion of the people.

TAVERNE, the wounded man of conscience who is fighting for truth, integrity and political cleanliness.

DILKS, in all this, is a forgotten, faceless man. His campaign has not had the aggressive backing of the Tory Press, which has almost unanimously been predicting a mauling for the Labour man.

'The Times' has played the most extraordinary role. Since last year it has been advocating the establishment of a new 'Centre Party' and Taverne epitomizes the type of character they want to boost.

The editor, William Rees Mogg, a former Tory candidate, has taken it upon himself to lead the Taverne bandwagon.

And last week one of his leading writers, Bernard Levin, went to Lincoln to speak on Taverne's behalf. Also sharing the platform that night was Mervyn Stockwood, the Bishop of Southwark, who was a close friend of Oliver Cutts.

Guinness, the chairman of the right-wing Monday Club, has carefully nurtured the image of himself as a maverick Tory, somebody who is not tied up with Heath's policies.

Indeed, when William Whitelaw, the Ulster Secretary, compared trade unionists with Irish 'terrorists', Guinness was one of the first in the campaign to denounce him.

But the mask is flimsy and it slips every now and again.

In his most chilling 'morning briefing' Guinness suggested that there should be a change in rules about no razor blades in prisoner's cells. Then, he said triumphantly, if prisoners wanted to commit suicide they could.

He tries to be non-committal about the state pay laws—as a Monday Clubber he is opposed to this 'creeping socialism'—although he boasts his enthusiasm for the Industrial Relations Act.

From Dilks, however, there has been an extremely disturbing reluctance to talk about the Phase Two and three legislation.

Is he, like Wilson and Jenkins, secretly in favour of state control over wages and a new style of corporatism?

Lincoln Labour Party members took an admirable lead in getting rid of Taverne.

But this does not mean any lessening in the fight to expose those who refuse to fight for the downfall of the Tory government and the implementation of socialist policies by the next Labour government.

Tories tamper with gas

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

GAS WORKERS in Stockport have accused local Tories of endangering the lives of old people.

Teams of Young Conservatives have been going around loosening the main gas tap in the houses of some old people in a dangerous attempt to increase the gas flow.

The action is designed to get publicity for their discredited party and to witch-hunt the gasmen.

Gasmen on Stockport picket lines pointed out yesterday that the Young Tories had never bothered about the welfare of old people before the strike and

Loosening mains taps is 'extremely dangerous'

that their activities could be extremely dangerous.

This kind of provocation has encouraged north-west gasmen to demand all-out strike action.

Stewards at several centres in greater Manchester are now on record demanding an all-out stoppage.

Ron Jones, a militant gas fitter at the Stockport depot, hit back at what he called 'vicious lies' over the level of his pay.

He held up his wage slip: 'There is the evidence. £27 a

week for seven consecutive nights.

'This lying publicity about £36-a-week gasmen is even getting me into trouble with my wife. I have never earned or known anybody to earn this amount of money in our works.'

Phil Lancaster said the only way to win the strike was an all-out stoppage.

'Heath will not bend to any kind of selective action. It's time now that all the unions got together and broke this government.'



RON JONES . . . Vicious lies about pay

No General Strike move on March 5

BY ROYSTON BULL

THE TUC General Council yesterday walked away from even a token fight with the Tory government over the pay laws when it rejected by 31 votes to two a recommendation that next Monday's special Congress should call a one-day General Strike.

The council agreed to the recommendation of its Finance and General Purposes Committee that no amendments, resolutions or reference back will be allowed to any section of the spineless Congress report.

This means that the bureaucratic TUC leaders are tying the hands of the trade union movement in the face of the most determined attacks made on basic democratic rights since the depression of the 1930s.

Only Lawrence Daly, miners' secretary, and Alan Sapper of the television technicians spoke up for united industrial action by the whole trade union movement.

Sapper also called for a mass demonstration in London against the pay laws, as was organized against the Industrial Relations Act.

The hold of the right wing, aided and abetted by the 'lefts' Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, was so great that little argument was required by the TUC leaders to quell this token resistance to their policies.

Mr Daly said later he accepted that his idea of calling a one-day strike would not effect the government's determination to defeat the trade union movement on state control of wages.

The purpose of the idea was to test the strength of the movement and open the way for more extended General Strike action later, he said.

Despite the General Council's veto, Joe Gormley, miners' president, announced after a meeting of his executive yesterday morning that the union would try to move a resolution next Monday.

This, he said, would demand that the unions either defeat the pay laws with a General Strike or accept state control of wages.

London teachers reject their union leaders

A NATIONAL Union of Teachers' executive resolution merely 'saluting' the 'magnificent response' to their selective strikes campaign for a rise in the London allowance was overwhelmingly shouted down at Westminster Halls on Tuesday night.

All but about 30 of the 2,000-strong meeting persistently howled down platform speakers chanting and clamouring for an alternative resolution drawn up by Wandsworth Association to be put to them demanding an indefinite strike and unity with all workers currently in struggle against the Tory pay laws.

After only an hour the executive was forced to abandon the platform and, with microphones unplugged and lights out, the meeting voted on the 'illegal' Wandsworth motion. Nearly every hand went up in support.

NUT president-elect and Communist Party member Mr Max Morris told the capitalist Press afterwards:

'This was planned disruption by Trotskyites, International Socialists and the Socialist Labour League—and a lot of them were not teachers.' (Shades of Lord Cooper.)

Throughout day one of the union's second strike wave aimed at persuading the Tories to exclude the allowance from Phase Two of the pay laws, frustration at the executive's milk-and-water policy had been building up.

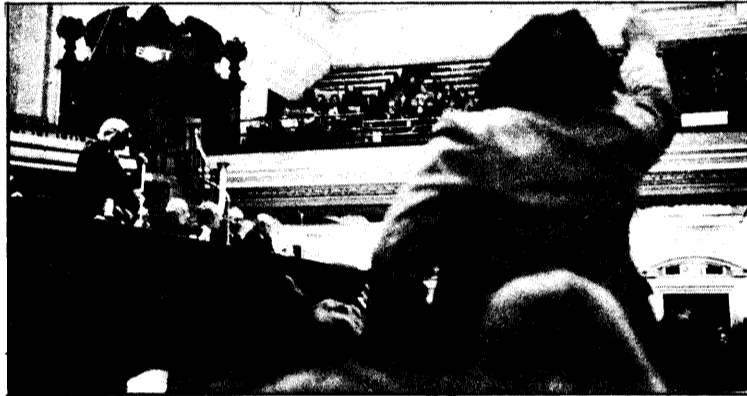
After 12 hours' picketing and leafleting, culminating in a mass march through the centre of London, teachers anger had reached boiling point.

At Westminster the executive was barraged with exaggerated yawns, jeers and heckles as Morris explained that the campaign would reach its high point on March 8 with a rally and a deputation to Tory Education Secretary Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

'She cannot avoid hearing the message of burning indignation that the deputation will carry on behalf of London's teachers,' he said.

'Whether we shall by then have succeeded in thawing this icy lady's heartless attitude to the problems of London schools we cannot say.'

ASSESSMENT BY IAN YEATS



Angry teachers continually raised questions from the floor at Tuesday night's meeting.

But the teachers plainly wanted him to say. And, to be sure, they wanted a lot more than rolling strikes and deputations.

They demanded to know why the executive had ignored decisive rank-and-file calls for an indefinite strike of all teachers?

Why was the Tory 'wage freeze' not mentioned in their resolution? Why was unity with gasmen, civil servants and hospital workers not called for?

Alf Wishir, replying for the executive, said the 'pay freeze' was utterly separate from the London allowance; that they had chosen the issue most capable of uniting teachers; that 'certain facts and figures' showed that backing for an indefinite strike was not there.

Scuffles and fighting broke out

as rival speakers struggled to gain control of microphones. As executive members abruptly left the hall the Wandsworth resolution was put by Mr Fred Scott.

It called for an extension of the teachers' campaign 'of militant action' against the Tory 'wage freeze into and beyond Phase Two' and for a 'joint plan of action' involving other unions fighting in support of pay claims.

Not once did it mention the absolutely central question of the role of the Tory government. And not once did it call for the mobilization of the entire trade union and labour movement in a General Strike to bring that government down.

In effect the resolution called for more militancy to 'substantially' win the £300 London

allowance the teachers are demanding.

But, as one teacher pointed out, Tory intransigence on the allowance is only the first blow in their campaign to limit teachers wages generally.

The Heath government has not 'frozen' wages. It is operating a state pay plan which will continue for the foreseeable future under which the Tories will dictate—without exception—the level of all rises.

The pay laws, together with the anti-union legislation, form part of an unshakable and determined government policy of curbing inflation. The Tories want to solve the chronic crisis in world capitalist trading relationships by forcing down workers' wages and living standards.

To demand unity only among those sections of workers currently in struggle excludes the vast majority of the trade union and labour movement.

London teachers are looking with justifiable concern toward the last phase of the NUT campaign, due to begin on March 6—the day after the special TUC conference.

There is only one way for them to win. The Tory pay plan cannot be broken or breached any more than the anti-union Act or the rent Act could be 'killed'.

The government must be forced to resign and all teachers should join the mass lobby of the TUC on Monday to demand a General Strike to force the Tories to call a General Election.

£10m LCS pension case to be heard

THE COURT of Appeal yesterday decided to allow a full hearing of a writ issued against the London Co-operative Society.

Mr Justice Plowman yesterday heard an application by

the LCS to have the action against it struck out.

He decided, however, to allow the summons, which has been taken out by Co-op employee Mr Robert Evans, a Transport and General Work-

ers' Union shop steward.

Mr Evans' High Court summons claims that the LCS lent itself money from the workers' pension fund at low interest rates. The judge said £10m was involved.

Special ATUA meetings

BRISTOL
HOSPITAL WORKERS
Thursday March 1
7.45 p.m.
Central Hall
Old Market

GLASGOW
HOSPITAL WORKERS
Sunday March 4
3 p.m.
Partick Burgh Hall
(near Merkland St.
Underground)

Socialist Labour League Public Meetings UNITE IN ACTION TO DEFEND BASIC RIGHTS

SOUTHAMPTON
THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m.
Joiners Arms Hotel
St Mary's Street
Speaker: ALAN THORNETT
(Deputy senior steward,
Morris Motors, in a personal
capacity).

DAGENHAM
THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8pm
Manor Park Library
Romford Rd/Rabbits Road
opp Rabbits Pub
speaker: G HEALY
(SLL National Sec)

HULL
THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m.
'Windmill Hotel'
Witham
Speaker: CLIFF SLAUGHTER
(SLL Central Cttee)

WEST LONDON
THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m.
Lyndhurst Hall
Grafton Road, NW3
Speaker: M. BANDA
(SLL Central Committee)

LUTON
FRIDAY MARCH 2, 8 p.m.
Assembly Hall
Town Hall
Speaker: M. BANDA
(SLL Central Committee)

TOTTENHAM
TUESDAY MARCH 6, 8 p.m.
Lord Morrison Hall
Chesnut Grove
Speaker: G. HEALY
(SLL National Secretary)

SHEFFIELD
TUESDAY MARCH 6, 7.30 p.m.
Friends Meeting House
Hartshead
Speaker: CLIFF SLAUGHTER
(SLL Central Committee)

BASINGSTOKE
WEDNESDAY MARCH 7,
8 p.m.
Public Library
Speaker: M. BANDA
(SLL Central Committee)

TUC must call a
General Strike to
make the Tory
government resign
LOBBY THE TUC
MONDAY MARCH 5

9 a.m. Central Halls, Westminster
(opposite Houses of Parliament)

Report back meeting: 2 p.m. Friars Halls, Sheetmetal
Workers Union, Blackfriars Bridge (nearest tube
Blackfriars).